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SANTA CLAUS

Do you believe in Santa? Montenegro got the status of a candidate for EU membership on 17 December 2010.

On 19 December prime minister **Milo Đukanović** announced that he is withdrawing from office and handing the helm of the Government to the minister of finance **Igor Lukšić**.

Although the new minister can be held guilty for appointing his personal friends to the new ministerial posts (**Vladimir Kavarić**, **Milorad Katnić** and **Sanja Vlahović**), the positive development is that 6 ministers from Đukanović's cabinet got no presents under the Christmas tree this year. Children born at the time when **Branimir Gvozdenović**, **Predrag Nenezić** and especially **Milutin Simović** were first appointed to ministerial posts have now stopped believing in Santa.

On 24 December 2010, in the midst of power vacuum – with Đukanović in retreat and Lukšić still awaiting to be confirmed as prime minister – the Police began a series of arrests in Budva, which brought the mayor of Budva **Rajko Kuljača** behind the bars, together with **Svetozar Marović's** brother and business partners **Dragan Marović** and **Dragan Sekulić**...

Chances are that the Police and the prosecution aren't done decorating this Christmas tree. And once they get started on one tree they will have to move on to the second, third...probably more quickly than they thought.

It seems that Santa Claus has come early to Montenegro this year. Brussels asked him to. **V.Ž.**

New electoral law the key task (3 December) – Harmonisation of electoral legislation with European standards and the Constitution is the key task for Montenegro, said **Clive Rumbold** from the EU Delegation to Podgorica.

Judges against Brussels (7 December) – President of the Judicial Council and the Supreme Court **Vesna Medenica**, as well as representatives of a number of courts indirectly suggested that the representatives of the European Commission that the warnings about the judiciary's dependence on politics should be addressed to the legislators, and not to the judges, asking them to go about changing it. At the open session of the Judicial Council and presidents of courts, the first such session in the history of Montenegrin judiciary, Montenegrin judges also denied that the rapid decrease in the backlog of cases led a decline in the quality of rulings.



Vesna Medenica

Parliament adopts the plan for EU (7 December) – President of the Parliament **Ranko Krivokapić** said that the plenary adopted the Action Plan for the improvement of legislative and oversight capacities of the Parliament which details the tasks to be completed by the Parliament in order to receive the date for negotiations with EU. Among other, the Action Plan envisages expedient adoption of the new electoral law, as well as the law on parliamentary control of intelligence services, changes of the parliamentary book of procedures to facilitate establishment of sub-committees etc.

Candidate status official (17 December) – European Council officially granted Montenegro the status of a candidate for membership. "We decided to grant Montenegro the status of a candidate, underlining Council's conviction that the West Balkan countries have a European perspective", said president of the Council **Herman van Rompuy** after the summit of the heads of EU in Brussels. The decision was welcomed by both the Government and the opposition, who agreed that instead of taking time off for celebrations Montenegro ought to work towards fulfilling the seven conditions.

Government to clamp down on criminals (17 December) – The Government finalised the draft Action Plan to monitor implementation of the recommendations from the European Commission's Opinion. The plan will be open to public discussion until 25 January. The Draft envisages adoption of the new electoral law in the spring. In the second quarter of 2011 the Government is expected to prepare a proposal for the amendments to the Constitution in order to strengthen judiciary independence. The priority, according to the Government, is to step up the fight against organised crime, based on the assessment of threats and proactive investigations. The draft envisages, among other, confiscation of illegally acquired property.

To each their own share of duties (19 December) – The role of the state is to build a system based on reliable and professional institutions, a system guaranteeing the rule of law, ensuring security and protection of individual, minority, property and all other rights and freedoms...Everybody ought to carry out his or her own share of duties. Nobody can have the privilege of waiting for the Government or anybody else to complete the task of modernisation and integration of the Montenegrin society on behalf of everybody else", said Prime Minister **Milo Đukanović** at the reception on the occasion of European Council's decision to grant Montenegro the status of a membership candidate.

A VIEW FROM REGION

Progress at a snail's pace



Lagging behind in Euro-Atlantic integrations has become an important feature of Serbia in its



by Jovan Teokarević

second post-communist decade.

If it's of any consolation, our neighbours have been lagging behind too: except for Slovenia, which got its membership cards from both Brussels' addresses in 2004, no other former Yugoslav republic has succeeded in becoming an EU member to date. Chances are that Croatia will become a member of the club in two years (2012), and both Croatia and Albania have already jumped the NATO bar in April 2009.

For a while now, our snail-paced progress towards EU can only be compared to BiH, which – torn by internal divisions and a lack of consensus over the future constitutional arrangement of the country – is the only one so far not to have submitted a request for EU membership. We have, but only just, after all other countries in the region, in December 2009.

For the time being, in spite of the pompous rhetoric that we are the "cornerstone" and "regional leader", Serbia is trotting behind Albania and Montenegro. Although these countries are usually discussed in Serbia in condescending and ridiculing tones, they have managed to do more "homework" – a cruel but often accurate description of Euro-Atlantic integrations. Even in the best case scenario Serbia can hope to reach the stage at which Montenegro and Albania are now in about a year.

Based on the experience so far, by 2012, when Croatia becomes the 28 member of EU, Montenegro, Albania and maybe Serbia will be just starting accession negotiations. In the case of Croatia, these negotiations, together with the ratification of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement, lasted at least seven years. If the circumstances are less benevolent, which is often the case for Serbia, and it runs into a rut like Macedonia did because of the name dispute with Greece, the negotiations are bound to start even later. Among those deciding on its fate will by then be not only Croatia, but perhaps even Iceland – the probable 29th member of the ever larger and more complicated European family.

Even if the accession enters a high-speed track, contrary to the experience so far, we cannot expect rapid and long jumps to catch up with what we missed out on so far.

Today, accession at the end of the next decade seems ambitious, but attainable for Serbia, under condition that its third post-communist decade is marked by speedy European integrations

In confirmation of this relative pessimism, one well known British professor warned with regard to Serbia's chances in EU integrations in September 2010 that "the good news are that Serbia will become an EU member in the next 15 years". Although his intention was to cheer us up – claiming that Serbia will also be the last country to join before the EU finally "closes the gates" – it seems that the local Euro-sceptics are only Euro-optimists in disguise. All they could come up to scare the public so far was to say that Serbia will join the EU only by the end of this decade – a piece of bad news that now looks like good news.

With the current prognoses, we'll open that bottle of Champagne only in the next decade. This, on the other

hand, is a decade later compared to the "Western Balkans in EU by 2014" forecast recently advocated by the International Commission for the Balkans, as well as the Governments of Greece and Italy, although they always said it was more of an encouragement than a realistic deadline.

If we compare this to the Central European countries which are the closest to us, we can see that, following their pace of integration, we should be in the EU in the next four to five years – a decade and a half after the "5 October Revolution", which is the real beginning of transition and European integrations in Serbia. By now, neither the eternal optimists nor the government officials dare to mention 2015 as the possible date of EU accession, so it's perhaps more appropriate and realistic to measure ourselves against the more similar "students", and not against Slovenia, Czech Republic or Estonia.

Looking at Bulgaria and Romania, the best "Central European" scenario for Serbia's accession gets extended by a minimum another three years, as they became members only in 2007 (the "East Balkans scenario").

From this perspective, accession at the end of the next decade seems ambitious, but attainable for Serbia, under condition that its third post-communist decade is marked by speedy European integrations and not by lagging behind.

The author is a professor at the Political Science Department of the University of Belgrade and director of the Belgrade Centre for European Integrations

(excerpts from EurActiv Serbia)

DEPOLITICISED JUDICIARY – ONE OF BRUSSELS' CONDITIONS FOR OPENING NEGOTIATIONS WITH MONTENEGRO

A handful of judges and a sprinkle of politics



The number of judges and prosecutors in the Judiciary and Prosecutors' councils ought to be significantly



by Svetozar Trebješanin

bigger than the number of representatives of other branches, which is not the case of the moment. Also, there should be a two-third majority requirement for the Parliament to appoint the president of the Supreme Court and members of the councils, to ensure the decision is taken consensually by the government and the opposition.

According to the lawyers from the civil society, these are some of the measures to be taken in order to "strengthen the rule of law, especially through depoliticised and merit-based appointments of members of the prosecutors' and judiciary councils as well as state prosecutors", which is one of the seven conditions set by Brussels for opening negotiations with Montenegro.

"Strengthening the rule of law, especially through de-politicised and merit-based appointments of members of the prosecutors' and judiciary councils as well as state prosecutors, and strengthening of independence, autonomy, efficiency and responsibility of judges and prosecutors" is the condition listed in the European Commission's Opinion of 9 November 2010.

It is clear that Montenegro will have to amend its Constitution in the area of the division of powers. The

outgoing Minister of Justice **Miraš Radović** announced that his department, in cooperation with the Judiciary and Prosecutors' councils, will establish a working team to prepare the proposal for the amendments to the Constitution by the end of the first quarter of 2011 in order to strengthen the independence of judiciary. Government's draft Action Plan for the fulfilment of Brussels' conditions envisages adoption of amendments to the Constitution by the end of June.

In practice, there are a number of constitutional and legal models for appointing presidents to the Supreme Court, supreme state prosecutors, members of judiciary and prosecutors' councils (where such bodies exist), as well as judges and prosecutors.

President of the Supreme Court would be appointed by a two-third majority in the Parliament, not by the will of the largest party, and would thus have genuine support of the citizens and be very conscious to preserve independence in his or her work", says Azra Jasavić



Miraš Radović

photo: VJESTI

There is no magic solution that would ensure independence of judiciary, since in principle it all depends on the development of democracy, political culture and even the level of economic development of a country.

Bulgaria, for instance, had to change its constitution several times

DEALING WITH PRESSURES ON INDIVIDUAL JUDGES

Regardless of the constitutional solution, it is almost unthinkable that the judges in Montenegro will be freed of political pressures because the faith of the state is in the hands of a few powerful individuals, some of whom are in the sphere of politics.

"As for the possibility of mounting pressures on individual judges, the quality of decision will depend on the courage and personal integrity of the judge. To improve the protection of the judges, we should encourage greater organisation and association of the representatives of the profession to articulate all problems encountered by individual judges. The existing Association of Judges, as the most important assembly of professionals after the Judiciary Council is not active enough. There are pressures on individual judges, which is why I never argued that the appointment of judges should be entirely separated from the Government and the Parliament, Jasavić said.

during the process of integrations in order to ensure a formula of judiciary independence that would satisfy Brussels. In their search, the Bulgarians went from one extreme to another – from having the politicians basically appoint the judges to the judiciary having complete control over its domain. This also turned out to be a fiasco as the judges, unconcerned about checks from the other two branches of government, indulged in corruption.

The latest example of a country having to change its Constitution because the Commission found that judiciary independence wasn't adequately guaranteed is Croatia. Its newest model received a green light from Brussels and, according to the non-governmental organisations Forum 2010 and Association of Lawyers, it could to a large extent be copied in Montenegro.

One thing is for sure – European Commission will not dictate a model to be transposed into the new regulations by the Montenegrin constitution-writers and legislators. This is something that the domestic politicians and experts will have to do on their own, with or without help of the colleagues from abroad. During the adoption of the Constitution in 2007 it was decided that the choice of judges and pro-



Azra Jasavić

bers. President of the Judiciary Council is the president of the Supreme Court, and the members are the Minister of Justice, 4 judges appointed and dismissed by the Conference of Judges, 2 MPs appointed and dismissed by the Parliament and two "renowned lawyers", appointed and dismissed by the President of Montenegro.

This mechanism drew two major objections – there are too few representatives of the judiciary profession compared to others, and the notion of

appointed by the Parliament by qualified majority from the ranks of judges, lawyers, university professors etc. According to their proposal, as many as 7 members would be judges – 2 from the Supreme, and 1 each from the Appeal, Administrative, higher, basic and economic courts. Other members would be appointed by the Parliament upon proposal by the President of the country. President of the Council would be chosen by the members of the Council in a secret ballot.

Another problematic issue in the current constitution, from the standpoint of politicisation of the judiciary, is the clause which stipulates that the president of the Supreme Court should be elected and appointed by the Parliament, upon proposal by the presidents of the country, Parliament and Government.

Accusations about politicisation grow heavier if there is no cohabitation, i.e. if all three presidents come from the ruling parties, which is the reality in Montenegro.

The proposal of Forum 2010, which received backing from the Association of Lawyers of Montenegro, is that the president of the Supreme Court should still be appointed and dismissed by the Parliament, by absolute or two-third majority, upon proposal by the President of the country after consultations with the General Assembly of the Supreme Court and the relevant parliamentary committee. This model excludes the Prime Minister and head of the Parliament from the process, and its advantage compared to the current one is obvious – consultations with the General Assembly of the Supreme Court means taking into consideration experts' assessment of the moral and competence of the person in question, while, perhaps even more importantly, qualified majority in the Parliament precludes rule by majority and forces the parties to compromise.

These proposals by Montenegrin lawyers come as no surprise, as similar solutions have been incorporated into the Constitution of Croatia on 16 June 2010 and were approved by Brussels.

According to the latest constitutional amendments in Croatia, the president of the Supreme Court is appointed and dismissed by the Croatian Parliament, Sabor, upon proposal by the president of the state, with prior consultations with the General Assembly of the Supreme Court and the relevant committee of the Sabor. The State Judiciary Council has 11 members: 7 judges, 2 university professors of law and 2 MPs out of which one has to come from the opposition. Presidents of the courts cannot be appointed members to the Council

ecutors, to ensure the system of checks and balances, should not be entrusted to the profession, but should be shared with the representatives of the legislative and executive powers.

The Constitution of Montenegro prescribes that the judges and prosecutors should choose the Judiciary and Prosecutors' councils. The Judiciary Council has a president and 9 mem-

"renowned lawyer" is too vague and can be easily misinterpreted and misused.

Forum 2010 recommends instead a composition of the council where the representatives of the profession would outweigh politicians and individuals potentially implicated in politics.

This NGO suggests that a Judiciary Council of 11 members would be

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According to **Azra Jasavić**, a lawyer from Forum 2010, adoption of their model would ensure that Brussels takes off one of the conditions from the list.

"President of the Supreme Court would be appointed by a two-third majority in the Parliament, not by the will of the largest party, and would thus have genuine support of the citizens and be very conscious to preserve independence in his or her work", Jasavić said.

She adds that the members of the Council would be mainly representatives of courts.

"The judges who are nominated by a majority consisting of their colleagues and approved by a two-third majority in the Parliament would be sure to preserve independence in their work", said Jasavić for the *European Pulse*.

Minister Radović said that the

MORE CHANGES OF THE CONSTITUTION



Branislav Radulović

Branislav Radulović from the Association of Lawyers points out that the changes to the Croatian Constitution have especially strengthened independence of the judiciary and ensured independent appointment of judges, but warns that our neighbour also had to change other things in its founding act in order to get closer to EU.

"Amendments to the Constitution were necessary to ensure full independence of the Croatian National Bank and State Audit Office. Also, it was stipulated that criminal acts of war profiteering and privatisation crimes cannot expire", said Radulović for *European Pulse*.

strengthening of judiciary independence is one of the goals of the Action plan for the fulfilment of European Commission's recommendations for Montenegro.

"The Action Plan puts a special emphasis on greater transparency of procedures in appointments, promotions and accountability of representatives of the legal profession, and on the need to ensure they are appointed exclusively based on professional merit. Independent judiciary is considered the final and most important guarantee of democratic functioning of institutions on the national, European and international levels, and the

Government of Montenegro considers it to be of strategic importance for the further process of European and Euro-Atlantic integrations", said Radović for *European Pulse*.

Except for the appointment and dismissal procedures, the material state of the judges and prosecutors and financial independence of the two branches are among the most important preconditions for quality and integrity of these institutions.

Salaries of the judges have been increased but are, according to some, still below the level that would correspond to the weight and responsibility of these jobs.

Financing for the courts and prosecution is defined under special headings in the public Budget, recommended to the Government by the Judiciary and Prosecutors' councils and presidents of these councils have the right to participate in the Parliament sessions discussing the Budget.

Allocation of funds within the judiciary still depends to a large extent on the executive. All payment orders signed by the presidents of courts are then forwarded to the Government which executes the payments.

Forum 2010 believes that the authority to allocate the money should be transferred to the Judiciary Council which would distribute the money to the courts.



CAN MILO ĐUKANOVIĆ'S WITHDRAWAL FROM OFFICE SPEED UP MONTENEGRO'S PROGRESS TOWARDS EU

Open season for the big fish



The decision of the European Council to grant Montenegro the status of a candidate for EU membership isn't only



by Neđeljko Rudović

important from the standpoint of keeping up the pace in the marathon of our potential entry into the club of well-run European states, but even more so as a possible overture for the change in approach of the Montenegrin authorities to their stately duties.

Immediately after the announced conclusions of the heads of states of European Union members the long-term Montenegrin prime minister **Milo Đukanović** resigned, making space for a new Government with new faces, led by a new prime minister **Igor Lukšić**. It is now up to them to show what they can do, and Đukanović's resignation suggests that Montenegro could finally start to take seriously the criteria coming from Brussels. This holds most of all for the fight against organised crime and corruption. As it stands, without remarkably explicit messages from Washington and EU that they had had enough of simulated reforms and empty words about the rule of law, Montenegro would not have gotten the new Government or the new prime minister, who has every reason to try to prove himself.

Đukanović, the unchallenged Montenegrin leader of the last 20 years, leaves in the moment when the EU is asking of Montenegro tangible and measurable results in fighting crime and corruption, with the USA chiming in. A possible conclusion is that Đukanović does not wish to be the prime minister while the people who might be his close acquaintances are being arrested. It is no secret that Đukanović knows well some people who are known in the wider public as either controversial or confirmed members of the underground, and

that he is on friendly terms with some of them.

At least some of them will now be coming under Police's scrutiny, together with some prominent public officials. They have been appointed to these functions thanks to Đukanović, and if he remains in office he might be tempted to protect them, as he is known as a man for whom the laws of friendship are above the law.

On the other hand, he also knows that he cannot keep evading the demands of Brussels and Washington. In other words, we can see this as a typically pragmatic move – had he remained the prime minister, he would not be able to fulfil the Western demands entirely, among other things, for fear of clashing with the disobedient figures who, in an attempt to save themselves, could bring him down with them. Of course, this is still a possible anger, but there is a long-term pay-off: the new government will have a higher chance of fulfilling the seven preconditions set by



Đukanović and Lukšić

proven by Macedonia, which has been waiting for it for five years. Based on the experiences from the region, the negotiating stage should take around six years, and according to the Brussels' diplomats, Montenegro could begin negotiations in

Đukanović's decision to withdraw is a typically pragmatic move – had he remained the prime minister, he would not be able to entirely fulfil the demands from Brussels and Washington, among other things, for fear of clashing with the disobedient figures who, in an attempt to save themselves, could bring him down with them. Of course, this is still a possible danger, but there is a long-term pay-off: the new government will have a higher chance of fulfilling the seven preconditions set by Brussels for the opening of accession negotiations, and the DPS remains firmly in power. And as long as DPS is in power, Đukanović can be at ease

Brussels for the opening of accession negotiations, and the DPS remains firmly in power. And as long as DPS is in power, Đukanović can be sure that nobody in the Police or the prosecution will become interested in his affairs. Besides, this also secures governmental support for his private businesses.

The main task of Lukšić's government will be to ensure that Montenegro does not remain for years in the antechamber for negotiations on EU membership. In spite of the candidate status, only the beginning of accession negotiations will mark the real next step towards EU. There is no time limit for the beginning of the negotiations, as

autumn 2012. Until then, its Holy Scripture are the EU's seven conditions – harmonisation of the electoral law with the Constitution, strengthening administrative capacities an independence of judiciary, fight against corruption and organised crime, greater freedom for the media and cooperation with the civil sector, measures against discrimination and a sustainable solution for the closing down of Konik camps.

Perhaps the closure of the refugee camp will come with certain symbolism. Perhaps it will mark the passage from the zone of chaos and uncertainty into a peaceful harbour where, for starters, at least everybody gets the same opportunities.

PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF CEMI AND MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE FIGHT AGAINST ORGANISED CRIME AND CORRUPTION ZLATKO VUJOVIĆ

Montenegro needs an independent anti-corruption agency

President of the board of directors of CEMI Zlatko Vujović said that Montenegro needs an independent anti-corruption agency which will not be under control of the executive.

Vujović, who is also a member of the and member of the National Commission for the fight against organised crime and corruption (NC) said that this body should be abolished because it has been entirely ineffective and that its failure alone proves that the existing system of anti-corruption institutions in Montenegro is ineffective and unsustainable.

"NC is a good place to exchange views between the representatives of public institutions and non-governmental organisations, but on the other hand it is utterly unable to respond to its main task – coordinate and monitor implementation of measures against corruption and organised crime.

NC is a completely ineffective body, whose failure to date has been the best



appointed by an independent board of managers. The current system of oversight of the implementation of anti-corruption measures from the Strategy and

National Commission, with some of its competencies being transferred to the Board of Managers of the new Agency" Vujović explained.

The National Commission for the fight against corruption and organised crime is a completely ineffective body, whose failure to date has been the best illustration of how ineffective and unsustainable is the existing system of anti-corruption institutions

illustration of how ineffective and unsustainable is the existing system of anti-corruption institutions. Unfortunately, a system like this with too many institutions with weak competencies and even weaker resources and with a lack of leadership and cadre eager to demonstrate their integrity and the power of the laws signals that Montenegro is not entirely ready to fight corruption.

We are well behind other countries in the region with regard to the reform of anti-corruption institutions. Montenegro needs an independent anti-corruption agency, with comprehensive powers, which will not be under the control of the executive, and whose leaders will be

Action plan is badly designed, because the bodies whose work is to be monitored are sometimes the same as the

Cooperation of the public institutions with the non-governmental organisations primarily depends on the personal attitudes of individuals in charge of particular institutions, not on any definite governmental policy

bodies in charge of monitoring, which means that they cannot provide an objective report on achievements. CEMI has developed and proposed a detailed new system of anti-corruption institutions, which gives the Anti-corruption agency the role of the main pillar of the system, and eliminates the existing

One of the European Commission's preconditions for opening accession negotiations with Montenegro is that the Government should strengthen cooperation with the civil society. How do you see the current state of cooperation between public institutions and the civil sector?

Cooperation of the public institutions with the non-governmental organi-

sations primarily depends on the personal attitudes of individuals in charge of particular institutions, not on any definite governmental policy.

Unfortunately, although one could have expected the cooperation to improve, this is not really happening, in spite of the sporadic involvement of non-

governmental organisations in the drafting of a number of legal acts.

There is also a tendency of some institutions trying to establish "phantom NGOs" as legitimate partners and thus simulate cooperation with non-governmental organisations. A special form of this approach is the process of allocation of funds from the lottery games to non-governmental organisations. This process is all but transparent, and often illegal, and in spite of all reactions from the

There is also a tendency of some institutions trying to establish "phantom NGOs" as legitimate partners and thus simulate cooperation with non-governmental organisations

NGO sector, the president of the this commission Drobnjak still has full backing, although most of the renowned NGOs have been calling for his dismissal, because the Commission under his leadership has repeatedly made decisions contrary to the regulations. Instead of quality projects, the Commission finances private or projects by phantom organisations, and fuels suspicions that these are in fact party projects of private projects of persons from or related to the Commission.

Financing of phantom organisations, instead of support to the legitimate civil society organisations is the best illustration of the Government's attitude towards cooperation with NGOs. The Government refuses to co-finance NGO projects which received support from IPA and other EU funds (10–15%), although it does provide co-financing for public institutions or local governments. In this way, in an environment in which most donors have withdrawn, with the exception of EU, the NGO sector is driven into exhaustion.

The state demonstrates a clear refusal to finance projects in the area of the rule of law, good governance, fight against corruption, and it solely focuses on services or educational/promotional campaigns. This is a rather disheartening message, not only to the NGO sector, but also the our EU partners – we don't want NGOs to meddle in these issues!

What are the ways to strengthen cooperation between the civil sector and public institutions?

The newly established Council for Cooperation between the Government and NGOs could be an step towards change, but we should not work up our

expectations too high, because the experience teaches us that the NGO sector is not welcome in the decision-making process.

Do you believe that the Government and the opposition will manage to agree on a new electoral law in the next few months, which is one of the EC's main requirements to open negotiations with Montenegro?

It will be very hard to reach a compromise, but this time I am a greater

optimist than I was in the past. I believe that it is harder to take the blame for the potential delays in the beginning of accession negotiations because of a failure to agree on the new law than to make an effort and reach a compromise. The stakes are a bit too high this time to

CEMI proposes introducing a mixed system of proportional members instead of the current system of party lists. This means that the voters can vote separately for the party and the preferred candidate

be gambled away in a rough game.

Although I believe that some compromise will be reached, I am not too sure this will mean a high-quality document. I'm afraid that some of the elements of the Report of the Venetian Commission might be ignored, or that creative interpretations might result in a legal act far from something that Montenegro actually needs. The two existing proposals are full of shortcomings and are primarily attempts to protect narrow party interests.

What, according to you, are the main OSCE recommendations that ought to find a way into the new electoral law, and what improvements do you suggest?

CEMI believes that the current problems require comprehensive reforms and adoption of a new law on the appointment of MPs, while there should be a separate act governing appointments of committee members.

CEMI proposes introducing a mixed system of proportional members instead of the current system of party lists. This means that the voters can vote separately for the party and the preferred candidate. This system would combine majority with proportional representation, while keeping the corrective effect of the

proportional method, similar to the German model, and in order to preserve the high degree of proportionality currently found in Montenegro.

The territory of Montenegro should be considered a single electoral unit. A single electoral unit can then be divided into single-seat electoral units according to the following principles: keeping the current municipal borders, voting on at least one candidate from the list of candidates in every municipality, depending on the number of voters, setting the number of single-seat units within the municipality and thus the number of seats for each municipality, with every unit having approximately the same number of voters.

The average number of voters in an electoral unit should be set by the State Electoral Commission by dividing the total number of voters by the number of seats to be distributed.

The total number of MPs would be

81. This number could be corrected based on the additional member system, if a party wins more direct seats in single-seat constituencies than it should receive based on its share of the total vote. The ratio of mandates to be distributed by majority vs. proportional system would be 55:45. According to this model, 45 parliamentary seats would be distributed according to the results in single-seat constituencies in a single round elections decided by relative majority, or simply the candidate who wins the most votes in a single-seat constituency will be considered elected. The remaining 36 seats will be distributed according to the results of each party throughout the country, in order to correct the disproportions arising from the majority method.

The title of individual constituency would be granted to a community with more than 0.5 and less than 3% of total population. Within this constituency, the candidate would be directly elected on the principle of relative majority. The remaining communities would be represented through multi-national single seat constituencies and one country-level multi-national constituency.

V. ŽUGIĆ

THE ROAD TO UNIFICATION AND CHALLENGES FOR THE FUTURE

From the Iron Curtain to economic crisis

The First, and especially the Second World War put an end to Europe's dominance in the world. Its cities



Prepared by Miloš Vukanović

and industries were in ruins while the soldiers of the United States of America and the Soviet Union took up their positions. Centuries of European dominance perished in the war that sparked among the European powers for a piece of that same dominance. Nevertheless, the development of USA and USSR between the two wars already suggested that, compared to them, the tiny European states have little claim to power on the world stage.

The world history saw the rise of global powers. European states with their former colonial powers quickly turned from the major players into pawns. Europe will soon become just one of the battlefields of the Cold War. USA and Western Europe (UK, France, Italy, Netherlands, West Germany etc) founded the NATO pact to protect themselves from a hypothetical Soviet invasion. Later, USSR and Eastern Europe (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland and Romania) established the Warsaw Pact as a counterpart to NATO. With time, NATO will also come to include Spain (after Franco's death), Portugal, Greece, and another handful of countries, where accession to the Pact will be accompanied by development of liberal democracy and capitalist economic system. In spite of the Soviet threat, however, in many western countries the communist movement had plenty of supporters and some countries had a hard time preventing them from taking over power. In the countries of the Warsaw block communism ruled both the politics and the economic system. However, the number of supporters of communism was

rather low in Eastern Europe before 1945 and its spread in so many countries was rather a consequence of Stalin's policies and the Russian arms than of the will of the people. Everything pointed at an artificial, forcefully imposed division of the European continent.

While the Iron Curtain stood firmly in place, Western Europe slowly began with a process of political and economic integration, with a goal of uniting Europe and preventing another war. This process resulted in the creation of organisations such as the European Union and the Council of Europe.

At the same time, the East of the continent suffered economic crises, violations of human rights and bloody putting out of rebellions against Moscow's absolute control, which eventually lead to the weakening of communism. In Poland in the 1980s Solidarity undermined the communist government, while **Mikhail Gorbachev's** Perestroika dampened the

influence of USSR on Eastern Europe. During the 1990s governments that were held in power by USSR began to crumble. So did the Berlin Wall (a mini-version of the Iron Curtain) bringing German re-unification, as well as Czechoslovakia and USSR, to be succeeded by the Russian Federation. The most violent break-up took place in Yugoslavia. Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina declared independence in throes of a civil war. In May 2006 Montenegro declared independence, with the dissolution of Yugoslavia now complete, barring the unresolved status of Serbia's southern province, Kosovo. In the aftermath of the Cold War, NATO and European Union gradually accepted most of the former members of the Warsaw Pact.

After the end of the Cold War, European Economic Community initiated a process for deeper integration, cooperation in foreign and home affairs, as well as enlarging its membership by the former

EU's desire to create a common foreign policy was seriously frustrated by EU's inability to act effectively during the war in Yugoslavia and by internal disagreements regarding support for USA's war efforts in Iraq



neutral and communist countries.

In 1993, the Treaty of Maastricht established European Union as a successor of the European Economic Community. The neutral states – Austria, Finland and Sweden – joined the EU market through the European Economic Area. The same countries also joined the Schengen Agreement eliminating border controls between member states. Another major innovation of the Treaty of Maastricht was the creation of a common currency for most EU members. The Euro was born in 1999, replacing most of the

former national EU currencies by 2002.

However, the desire to create a common foreign policy was seriously frustrated by EU's inability to act effectively during the war in Yugoslavia and by internal disagreements regarding support for USA's war efforts in Iraq. European NATO members are often criticised by USA for spending too little on the military and not contributing an adequate number of troops in Afghanistan.

In the meantime, Europe decided to use the windfall of peace during the Cold War and support development of interna-

tional law, e.g. through the International Court of Justice. During 2004 EU announced accession of 10 new member states: 8 from the former communist block (3 were even part of USSR), Malta and Cyprus. They will be soon followed by another two former socialist countries in 2007. In spite of Russia's protests, NATO also incorporated these countries.

The accession of new members in 2004 and the announcement of Turkish candidacy for membership stirred anti-enlargement sentiments in parts of the EU public. This manifested in the failure of the European Constitution during referendums in France and the Netherlands, and the rejection of its successor, the Lisbon Treaty, by the Irish voters, who then changed their minds in 2009. This led to a growing Euro-scepticism in some countries, although the Lisbon Treaty strengthened the capacities of European Union for joint action in foreign policy.

Opposition to Turkish accession to EU developed parallel to the dissatisfaction with Europe's dealing with Islam. Attacks in London and Madrid, together with the perception that a majority of European Muslims never fully integrated deepened the tensions in some countries. Belgium banned wearing of burqas, while France, as well as Switzerland which is not an EU member forbade construction of minarets. The scandal with the Danish caricatures of Mohammed only worsened the relations between the EU and European Muslims, as well as with the rest of the Muslim world.

During 2008 the Eurozone entered its first recession, leading to a debate about how EU should react to economic collapse of one of its members. The Eurozone agreed to adopt support mechanisms and formulate proposals for deeper fiscal integration within EU. Lately, it has become obvious that some members (most of all Greece, as well as Spain, Italy, Portugal and Ireland) are over-indebted and since EU, unlike the American FED, does not have the competences of a centralised banking system, it cannot directly lend money to Greece. On 3 May 2010, the German parliament agreed to lend 22.4 billion euros to Greece over a three-year period. It remains an open question, however, how the EU will deal with this, to date most challenging crisis.

The author is a programme associate in Centre for Civic Education

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EUROPE HAS NO BORDERS

Europe in 2010 rests on the cultural, ideological and economic principles that had shaped this continent for the last thousand and a half years.

Adopting the best heritage of Ancient Greece and Rome, primitive medieval states of the European west developed a new culture, merging it with elements of their barbaric traditions.

On the east of the continent, Byzantium rose as a bridge between the old and the new, not allowing the continent to plunge entirely into darkness. Christianity will first be a spark of progress, but will later turn into an obstacle for the continent to reach its full potential. The Crusaders will be the first to cross the seas and bring back new knowledge. The Renaissance will bring a rebirth, setting this tiny continent onto a path to becoming the dominant centre of human civilisation.

States will merge and grow, becoming ever stronger and more advanced and using their powers to conquer new continents. Enlightenment will mark the second intellectual rise of Europe. For the first time, the centre of universe will be the man, not imagination.

The French Revolution will give birth to the rights of that man. Technological and economic spurt of the industrial revolution will give Europe the power to conquer the world and transfer that knowledge that will shake other continents out of stupor and lead them into a new age. But its unresolved conflicts will lead to manslaughter that will eventually deprive this continent of its primacy in the world.

In 2010, Europe rests, most of all, on the legacies of anti-fascism, struggle for freedom and equality, and the principles of 1789 are still firmly knit into the very tissue of every constitution of every European state. Although Christianity played a major role in the shaping of European thought and culture, only with secularism was the European man finally free in every sense of the world.

Europe in 2010 isn't a continent delimited by the Urals, the straits and Gibraltar – Europe reaches as far as its principles have spread.

Spring clean

by Brano Mandić

Ever since the first European official set foot in the Balkans, the Brussels nerds are being reproached for wrapping up everything in cotton, embracing euphemisms and earning their travel allowances without making enemies. This was especially the case in Montenegro where the government is full of vices, but also of bureaucratic capacity which Brussels ought to value as a treasure in such a small country.

It seems that the boring Brussels officials have done their demagogic duty and are slowly being replaced by slightly sharper communiques, which raise communication with the Balkan colonies to the level of a political thriller. It couldn't be simpler: a summary worthy of the great magicians of management and narration – European Commission is simply asking us to catch some big fish.

So, they took a pen and drew a clear target we should aim at if we wish to shoot the bull. It all started, of course, in Croatia, which is a horse's length ahead of everyone. Not more, not less, the former prime minister **Ivo Sanader**, once the idol of majority in Croatia and the Party Leader no. 1. The same Sanader who suddenly dropped the rudder and ran for his life. I remember the day when Sanader announced retirement – I was in Kosovo with the chief journalists of the leading Croatian media. The people had no idea what was happening when the SMSs began to arrive from homeland. One journalist of the Croatian Radio-Television (HRT) even thought that her colleagues are making a prank, jealous of her travels while they're earning their bread in the sweat of their brow. But when the same SMS reached one famous colleague from the Novi List in Rijeka, everybody turned serious and asked themselves, what kind



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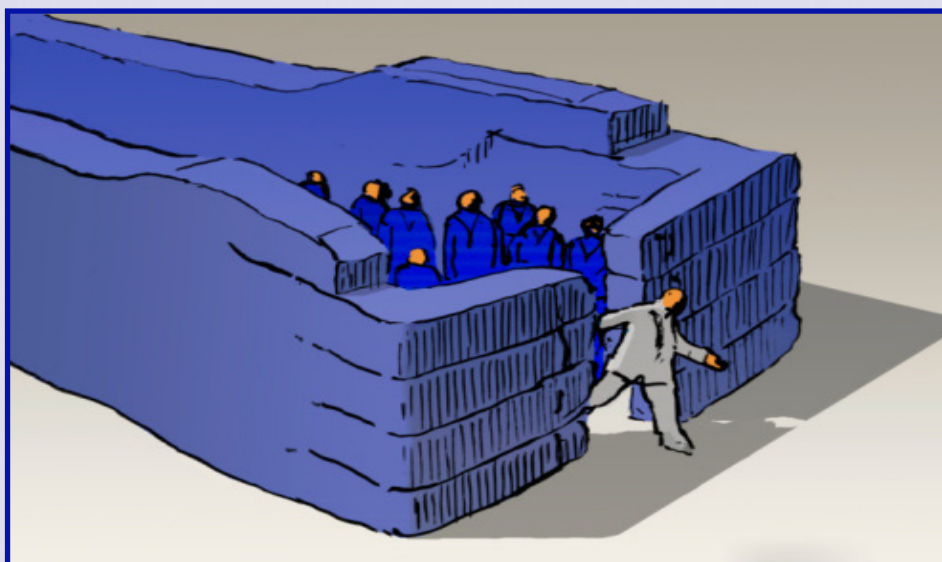
of journalists are they if such an important piece of news had fallen from the sky without any introduction, signal or insinuation.

I mentioned Kosovo for a reason, for the prime minister there is also in huge trouble. The Council of Europe started to mull over a resolution in which **Hashim Thaci**, aka The Snake, is suspected of overseeing and organising extraction and sale of inner organs of the Serbian prisoners of the Kosovo Liberation Army. Can it get any more grim?

Imagine now a Belgian taxpayer who hears in the news that the prime minister of one of the Balkan states "with a European perspective" is in fact a contemporary Dr **Mengele** with a merchant's instinct. It is not hard to guess to reaction of an average inhabitant of European Union who is anyway prone to all sorts of generalisations with respect to Balkans, and who now sees the executives not only stealing and murdering, but also trading in kidneys of the neighbours from the other end of the gun and

the street. Thaci's case is so horrible that it can hardly remain just a suspicion. Because, if one reputable European institution comes out with such horrifying suspicions, there is no way back. If they cannot prove these accusations, it will be very hard to trust them on some more benign matters. I would say there is much interest out there in getting to the bottom of things and that Thaci, the USA's favourite, is in huge trouble. Perhaps his arrest will be the new step in the big spring clean of the Balkans, which seems to have begun.

As for Serbia, the person who has to fear for his future could again be one former prime minister. Speculation and accusations against **Vojislav Koštunica**, charges and evidence that he was a direct political supporter of the murder of prime minister **Đinđić** have been going on for too long. Moreover, Koštunica is not doing too well mathematically on the great electoral board of Serbia and has no political power to back him. This makes him the ideal tar-



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get to take aside and set up as the terrible example for the rest. Few would take pity on him, and fewer still would risk anything to save his hide. This, however, is entirely a wild speculation – it is hard to guess the secret lottery that decides on the destiny of Balkan pawns.

The five-year plan for Montenegro is perhaps the most difficult to guess.

It has been said before that any "operation Sabre" in Montenegro would be tantamount to hara-kiri, because the system is too small, and the players too tightly connected to allow for removal of the malign tissue without destroying the body.

And yet, we will certainly also see some arrests, especially in the moment when the big boss comes off the throne and open up the space for action for his successors. It has been said that prime minister Đukanović is leaving so he won't have to arrest his buddies who have sank too low. In any case, we can expect paranoia to slowly reach the court abandoned by the sovereign.

Đukanović, if he is smart, will not get too involved with the cleaning, without which there is no way forward. One supposes that he made himself a safe

way out, and as the old partner of the West bought his freedom and retirement, as a personality which, obediently but creatively carried out a couple of big projects.

I can't wait to see which one of the suite of beefed-up parvenus will be called up and brought to justice, from which end will it start? Nonetheless, the essence of the centralised reality of Montenegro is that all roads of big money must be approved at the top,

It has been said before that any "operation Sabre" in Montenegro would be tantamount to hara-kiri, because the system is too small, and the players too tightly connected to allow for removal of the malign tissue without destroying the body. And yet, we will certainly also see some arrests, especially in the moment when the big boss comes off the throne and open up the space for action for his successors. In any case, we can expect paranoia to slowly reach the court abandoned by the sovereign

and investigating Đukanović's role in all that would be the greatest imaginable catharsis of this tribal society. That, however, remains in the domain of science fiction, among other because both Brussels and Montenegrin voters have forgiven the prime minister his wealth countless time, wealth he had earned, in

tears and sweat, from his modest public official's salary.

Either way, bookmakers of which we have plenty could already start thinking of a new business model: betting on ministers and officials. Set up a quota for every member of the Government and party leader and have a nation-wide bet on who will be the first one to fall and be built in, as a thief, into the foundations of European Montenegro. This is hardly a matter of cosmic justice – rather, it is a technicality we have to go through, an unpleasant duty to legally condemn robbery as something undesirable in European Union, to which we keep striving.

Great processes against organised crime have been set in motion in the region and indirectly touched on Montenegro as a part of their network. The next step is to demystify crime as a business which fed the public budget and was run by the state. This is the definition of organised crime, the core of the process of dirty transition where the caught gentlemen are dealing with the street heroes. Of that, at least, we have seen enough. There was hardly a big business in Montenegro that was not accompanied by a scandal, accusations and suspicions which should now be lustrated. We ought to come up with sacrificial goats, draft a sufficiently convincing version of the events and let the media take the bait. The pattern is old, the message from Brussels clear, and the report of the European Commission says that we need "strong political will to sig-

nificantly improve the results in fighting corruption". It will be interesting to follow the process, if possible with a little less fervour and hope that the goddess of justice will be completely blind.

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

BUDGET MANAGEMENT

Lacking procedural accountability

Regular, effective and adequate management of public funds and property is a duty of all public bodies, officials and civil servants who at the same time bear the responsibility for all violations and abuses in this regard. Among the possible forms of accountability, in addition to disciplinary and criminal, is procedural accountability in matters of management of public finances, which in Montenegro is neither properly regulated nor implemented in practice. Beneficiaries of the public funds often misuse the money for different purposes, but such abuses are not adequately addressed. Also, it has become a practice that Montenegrin ministries do not report millions of euros received on account of privatisation transactions or as donations.

Regular, effective and adequate management of public funds and property is a duty of all public



by Milica Popović

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State Audit Institution (DRI) is an independent, supreme authority for state audit controlling the use of public

The laws on the budgetary system of all countries in the region list activities they consider to be procedural infringements, together with adequate fines for the responsible subjects

lic funds and management of public property in Montenegro. In most of the subject of its audit, DRI found irregularities with regard to the planning of the budget, bookkeeping and use of cash, as well as misplaced use of funds. Also, most of the budgetary beneficiaries committed irregularities such as failing to record additional income, expenses, deposits, donations, keeping money with commercial banks without

recording it in the main Treasury Record, multiple irregularities with regard to public procurement etc. Such findings regularly reappear in the DRI's reports – just as an example, they can be found in the 2009 audit reports for the National Tourism Organisation, Montenegrin National Theatre, Prison Institution, public enterprise "Montenegrin Airports", Bureau for Refugees etc. It was registered that the National Tourist Organisation did not report additional income or expenditures in its reports on monetary transactions, and the Prison Institute did not transfer revenues to the main Treasury Record. Irregularities with regard to budgetary planning were found with the Prison Institute, Montenegrin National Theatre

Neither the Basic Law on Budget of the Republic of Montenegro, nor the annual Laws on Budget and the Law on Procedural Infringements of Montenegro do not envisage procedural responsibility of the budgetary beneficiaries, i.e. persons responsible for the use of public funds

etc. With some of the institution DRI found irregularities with regard to the employees' wages, use of fuel, costs of mobile phone services. Also, there were unreported expenses for business trips within the country and abroad, as well as failure to submit full documents

tation for refund. It was found that a number of institutions keep accounts with commercial banks without having secured the necessary approvals. DRI also identified missing workplaces in the organisational structure of some institutions, causing a mismatch between the reported lists of movable property and that found in practice.

In almost all public bodies to date DRI found irregularities with regard to

public procurement procedures, which, according to DRI, is the most widespread form of abuse. It often happens that public institutions do not adopt a procurement plan or the plan contains unrealistic estimates, that they buy goods and services bypassing the procedures prescribed by law, that there is no official in charge of public procurement etc. An analysis of public procurement of information technology equipment and services also demonstrated numerous irregularities.

Such findings are repeated in most of DRI's reports. Irregularities and numerous and worrying. They indicate that the taxpayers' money is being misused. What are the sanctions, who is responsible for such actions? Are all

these "irregularities" registered as procedural infringements, if there are no grounds for criminal responsibility? The answer is that these actions are not defined as procedural infringements. Neither the Basic Law on Budget of the Republic of Montenegro, nor the annual Laws on Budget and the Law on Procedural Infringements of Montenegro do not envisage procedural responsibility of the budgetary beneficiaries, i.e. persons responsible for the use of public funds.

The next logical question is whether such regulations exist in other countries of the region. It is worrying that our Basic law on Budget is an exception compared to other countries in the region, all of which have a systemic law on budget which lists activities to be considered procedural infringements and envisages fines for the responsible subjects or persons.

Law on Accounts of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) sets fines between 511 to 2556 euros for the responsible persons in a budgetary beneficiary institution, extra-budgetary fund, carriers of executive powers of the cantons, cities or municipalities who fail to observe the legal procedures when: applying for public finances; drafting and adopting the budget; accounting; failing to submit regular quarterly reports. Also, the law prescribes fines for the same persons if they fail to observe the law with regard to: managing expenditures; failing to allow the officials for internal audit to conduct audit in accordance with the law; managing cash flows and debts.

The Law on the Budgetary System of Macedonia prescribes procedural responsibility in this area in greater detail than BiH. It stipulates that violations of this law will lead to respective disciplinary and procedural responsibility of public servants. A fine (of 246,57? 821,92 euros) will be imposed on the responsible person in a budgetary



the relevant subjects and introduces a great number of offences in this area. Also, the Croatian Law on Public Accounts envisages precise fines for several categories of budgetary beneficiaries: legal entities, responsible budgetary officials and budgetary ben-

pritate manner.

Regardless of the fact that public procurement is regulated by a separate law, a number of offences from the Law on Public Accounts of Croatia also refer to irregularities in the domain of public procurement. Fines are prescribed for the public beneficiaries failing to conclude procurement contracts for goods, services and public works that correspond to the expenditures for these items and are in line with the annual procurement plan, the laws regulating this area and guidelines issued by the minister of finance.

In its reports Institute Alternative tried to emphasise the lack of regulation for procedural infringements in the Basic Law on Budget, as well as the impotence of the procedural infringement system in the area of public procurement, which accounts for substantial public expenditures. Although the Law on Public Procurement contains such clauses, their implementation has been impeded so far by a number of formal and legal obstacles and creative interpretations of the law by the responsible institutions. Also, we pointed at the illogical re-direction of such infringement clauses towards legal entities or public institutions, instead of individual officials or employees.

Bearing in mind positive experiences of the region with regard to regulation of procedural infringements in budget management, such clauses ought to be included in the Basic Laws on Budget of the Republic of Montenegro. Accordingly, we have submitted the initiative to the responsible institutions – the Committee for Economy, Finance and Budget and the Ministry of Finance to amend the Basic Law on Budget in this area.

Based on the above, it is especially important that the new Law on Public Procurement, which is about to be adopted, should target individuals, i.e. concrete officials and public employees in order to make the sanctions effective.

The author is a programme associate in NGO Institute Alternative

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institution of the Republic, local government unit and funds if they: fail to adequately record the revenues and transfer them to the budget of the Republic; violate their duties with regard to transfer of public revenues or conducting audit of individual units; use their office to their own advantage and do not distribute the funds or defer payments; make payments from the public funds in violation of the law; does not inform the Ministry of Finance about revenues and expenditures; violate deadlines for the preparation, proposal and adoption of the budget; do not submit plans of activities for the next fiscal year, open accounts before they receive an approval from the ministry of finance etc.

Based on its scope and detail, the Law on Public Accounts of Croatia is well ahead in regulating the matters of procedural responsibility. It details all

efficiaries, responsible persons outside of budgetary beneficiaries, persons in charge of budgetary oversight, financial auditors of the budgetary beneficiaries, persons in charge of accounts of the budgetary beneficiaries. It also details a great number of procedural infringements: there are forty offences set for the legal entities, seventy six for the responsible budgetary officials and budgetary beneficiaries, four for the responsible persons outside of budgetary beneficiaries, one for the persons in charge of budgetary oversight, one for the financial auditors of budgetary beneficiaries, and two for persons in charge of accounts of the budgetary beneficiaries. Some of these infringements are also stipulated in the laws on budget of BiH and Macedonia, and refer to inadequate usage of public funds by the state bodies and failure to conduct financial affairs in an appro-

WHY DO I WANT TO BE A CITIZEN OF EUROPEAN UNION

We are also responsible

European Union today is undoubtedly taking on the traits of a transnational global actor, which is different from others in the number of



by Ivana Drakić

competencies that have been transferred to its bodies from the domain of decision-making of the member states. This organisation is making a huge contribution to democratisation of East European countries which, after the Cold War, have been going through, or are still going through the process of transition. If we look at the experiences of other countries, we will see that the processes of transition and EU integration are related and often intertwined.

The question of integration of Montenegro into EU is one of the few points of agreement between the government and the opposition. Let's say I also agree with them, because I believe that the process of EU accession can serve the citizens of Montenegro well, both in the short and long term. I want to be a citizen of EU first of all because I want to see my country and its citizens in the company of those whose living standards are better, horizons broader and opportunities more numerous.

From the standpoint of someone who travelled and studied abroad for a while I must emphasise the importance of travelling and living in other environments for the development of young people in Montenegro. For the sake of maturing and understanding how different and exciting the world is, and how boring some topics that we are so passionate about. If you ask me, I would rather talk to the foreigners about the wealth of wonderful lakes on Durmitor than explain why and how most of the people in the Balkans understand each other perfectly but still make it so complicated when they have to name the languages.

My head is only my own, and I will not let anybody tell me what feelings I ought to have towards the inhabitants of a certain country or region. Unfortunately,

some things are slow to change, even among those of my generation. That is why I want more people in Montenegro to be able to further the knowledge they have acquired here abroad. That is why I want us to be integrated, connected, to use the available funds and broaden our horizons.

Everybody who knows me also knows that I adore children. It is healthy to spend time with the kids, because some traits which are naturally expressed by children, such as curiosity and disobedience, are also the ones that distinguish a good citizen. I would also add to this development of the critical thought, which is to a large extent connected to the previous two qualities, and which I find is insufficiently present in the Montenegrin society. Critical thinking is a precondition for a healthy civil society, citizens who have an opinion on different matters and are thus more active and able

a citizen of EU because at some point I would like to have around me in Montenegro young people who are aware of their power and despise consequences, and I believe this moment approaches as we approach EU.

Everything said so far about the change of minds in Montenegro also holds for the process we will be going through in the next couple of years – the process of EU accession. Let us not forget the words of professor **Milan Popović**, who explains that he is a Europhile with regard to the goals of EU integration, and a Eurosceptic with regard to the means. Scepticism, doubt, curiosity, questioning the means that take us to a certain goal are the best ways to contribute to a better, more fundamental achievement of the goal. This is true both of European integrations and of other things in our lives.

A change in awareness and ways of thinking cannot be achieved overnight, and there are no effective shortcuts. The process will last long and require certain changes on several levels, in a number of spheres

to make valuable contributions to the overall life of their communities.

A change in awareness and ways of thinking cannot be achieved overnight, and there are no effective shortcuts. The process will last long and require certain changes on several levels, in a number of spheres. As a recent graduate, I would especially emphasise introduction of these themes into our educational system. The young people should learn to think during their education, to formulate their own opinions and not only reproduce the task at hand. "Youth scorns consequences, this is its power", wrote German author **Kessel**. I want to be



Finally, I believe that the concept of integration into the European community is a positive one, because in countries such as Montenegro it becomes a sort of "leading idea", a goal for which we are ready to change and move forward. This can be a very good thing if the changes we are ready to implement are profound and genuine, but it can be dangerous if it leads us to believe that simply by joining EU we will solve all our problems, and that all we need to do is voice our support for this goal. We will see what choices Montenegrin citizens will make on this road, but my duty is to give my best to this cause, and I hope the others will do the same. It is perhaps appropriate to end with a few words by the king of pop music: "I'm starting with the man in the mirror, I'm asking him to change his ways, and no message could have been any clearer. If you wanna make the world a better place, take a look at yourself and then make a change".

The author is programme coordinator in Centre for Democratic Transition. She attended X generation of European Integrations School

Best bargains in Luxembourg

The highest gross domestic product (GDP) per capita in EU, expressed in purchasing power parities in 2009, is found in Luxembourg, and the lowest in Bulgaria.

After Luxembourg, whose per capita GDP is two and a half times higher than EU average, comes Netherlands, whose GDP per capita exceeds the European average by more than 30%. Ireland, Austria and Denmark also rank among the countries with per capita GDP 20–30% above EU average.

Countries whose per capita GDP is around the average of the 27-member block are Italy, France and Spain. It is only slightly lower in Cyprus, while Greece stands 9% below the EU average.

Per capita GDP between 10 and 30% below the average is found in

Slovenia (88%), Czech Republic (82%), Portugal (80%), Malta (79%) and Slovakia (73%). Estonian GDP is around 64% of EU average, Polish 61%... with Romania (46%) and Bulgaria (44%) at the very bottom of the list.



No bank secrets for criminals

As of the beginning of 2011 the bank secret will no longer be a valid reason to withhold information from investigations on cross-border tax avoidance, agreed EU members earlier this month.

According to the agreement, a member can ask for personal information from another member state, simply

by asking the full name of the person in question. On the other hand, the EU members agreed that the new rules will not be applied retroactively. Information to be shared includes wages, pensions, rental incomes, dividends and income from the rights to intellectual property.

18 months in prison for EU funds

Director of the UK company "Implant International Ltd" was sentenced to 18 months in prison after admitting to embezzlement of 284 000 euros from European funds, reported OLAF.

The director was also banned for 15 years from high offices in any shareholding company. This is already the second

such sentence in a few months, since the UK Department for Business and Innovation and Skills (BIS) raised charges in a case involving EU funding to a research project whose goal was to extend the period of use of orthopaedic devices.

EC paid an advance of 284 000 to "Implant International Ltd" in 2001, which should have been distributed to research institutions participating in the project. However, the director of the company used the money for other purposes. The Commission won the case before the EU Court in Luxembourg, but the director did not return the money, together with interest and court fees, as specified in the verdict. OLAF reopened investigation in 2007 and forwarded the information to the UK department which proceeded to make charges and win the case before the national court.



Coal mines in dire straits

European coal mines can count on state aid until 2018, instead of 2014, as originally proposed.

EC initially suggested abolishing state aid for coal mines from 2014 on, since their exploitation is unprofitable, and the EC believes money should be redirected to clean and renewable energy sources. However, under pressure from a number of countries where coal mines employ a significant number of people, EC extended the deadline. European coal mines employ around 100 000 people, and the production is diminishing from one year to the next. The biggest recipients of state aid are coal mines in Germany, Spain and Romania.

Internet in 70% of households

70% of households in EU countries had access to Internet in the first quarter of 2010, announced Eurostat.

The highest proportion of households with Internet access is in the Netherlands (91%), Sweden (88%) and Denmark (86%), and the lowest in Bulgaria (33%), Romania (42%) and Greece (46%).

In all countries the share of households with Internet access increased between 2006 and 2010, especially in Romania, where it grew threefold, while a twofold increase was recorded in Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Greece, Hungary and Slovakia.

"Poor" bankers

Committee of European Bank Supervisors (CEBS) confirmed strict limitations on bonuses which European banks are allowed to pay to their employees. The rules come into force on 1 June, reports BBC.

CEBS, which brings together bank regulators from 27 EU member states, adopted new guidelines for bank bonuses according to which only 20 to 30% of bonuses can be paid immediately and in cash. The limit applies to all employees or European banks. The rules are much stricter than those agreed by G20, fuelling fears that bankers could move to countries with more lenient regulation.

THE WAVE OF PENSION SYSTEM REFORMS THAT ROCKED EU REACHES MONTENEGRO

Long road to pension

EVROPSKI REPORTER

by Irena Rašović

Raising the retirement age as one of the elements of rigorous austerity packages to keep public finances in check has also reached Montenegro.

Although the suggested prolongation of the working years caused widespread discontent among the citizens, there are no indications of a larger protest. The Union and Confederation of trade unions are promising that they will not allow the controversial reform of the pension system to pass, but the citizens seem already resigned to the prospects – "when the French with all their protesting couldn't stop the Law, what can we do?"

But while the French reform which drew millions to the streets throughout the country envisages the postponement

of the minimum retirement age from 60 to 62 years, amendments to the Law on pensions and social security proposed by the Government on Montenegro propose raising the bar to 67 years for both men and women. The minimum years of service required for pension will also be raised from 15 to 25 years.

Improving the financial stability of the pension system and keeping the citizens longer in the labour market are the main reasons for the amendments, explained the Ministry of Finance. A sustainable pension system needs the employee to pensioner ratio to be at least 3:1, and the current ratio of 1.7:1 in Montenegro is considered alarming. At the same time, they explain, the proposal corresponds to the reform of the pension systems in all many European Union countries which recently set the pattern for raising the retirement age.

To solve one problem, the Government is snatching the lid off a host of others, agree the representatives of the employees, trade unions and employers, who warned that the reform is unacceptable and untimely. Representatives of the pensioners are also unhappy with the current proposal of indexing pensions to inflation.

The rise in retirement age has been compared by **Božena Jelušić**, a professor of literature, with a primitive custom which existed in some parts to kill the older members of the tribe, who could no more contribute with their labour, with a mallet over a loaf of bread.

"Civilisation often means that we dress up our egoistic instincts into agreeable robes. The public debate on pensions and the rise in retirement age around the world has, at the first sight, nothing with the simple economic calculation: die faster to keep the system sustainable. If you don't want to, then we'll raise the retirement age, to give pensions only to survivors", she said.

She added that a rise in retirement age in Montenegro would be justified if our society indeed enjoyed those achievements which had elsewhere led to greater longevity.

Rigorous austerity measures and the possible ways to cut public expenditures have lately been at the very top of agendas of most European countries. Raising the retirement age is only one of the accompanying solutions. The French case was, however, the most alarming one. In spite of the mass protests throughout the country, the French Senate adopted the Law on Pension Reform. The minimum age an employee has to attain before qualifying for retirement has been moved from 60 to 62, while the full pension is granted only at 67, instead of 65.

The law has been approved by 177 senators, with 153 voting against it.

EXAMPLES FROM EU

Already in late 2006 Germany adopted a reform gradually extending the retirement age from 65 to 67 years between 2012 and 2019.

The Netherlands is planning to raise the retirement age by 2025, also by two years, to 65.

Spain and Sweden also announced this year raising the retirement age from 65 to 67 years.

The Austrian government is planning to raise the retirement age for women in the 2024–2033 period to make it equal to that of men (women can now retire at 60, while the age limit for men is 65). The same evening of age limits will happen in UK by 2020. In February 2010 Greece also announced plans for a pension reform. Its harsh austerity package stipulates raising the age limit by at least two years, up to 62 years for women and 67 for men.

Indexing of pensions to inflation is used in ten countries: Italy, Belgium, France, Greece, Spain, Ireland, Luxembourg, Poland, Portugal and Romania. From among the EU countries the Swiss formula is used in Bulgaria, Estonia and Latvia.

RETIRED FOR ONLY 3.5 YEARS

Although the United Nations claim that the average life expectancy of the generation born today in the world will be 74 years and that the share of those above 60 will rise from 11 to 22%, this is not equally true of all countries and living conditions.

In Montenegro, the average life expectancy is actually decreasing. Between 1991 and 2007 the average life expectancy of men shrank by 1.7 years and of women by 3.6 years. According to the 2009 UNDP human development report for Montenegro the average age of men in Montenegro was 70.5 years, 74.8 for women. That means that with the new pension law the men would spend on average 3.5 years in retirement, while women will enjoy their hard-earned pensions for 7.8 years.

Once it passed the upper house of the French Parliament, it came into force after being signed by the parliamentary and constitutional councils.

Discontent at austerity measures is spreading through Europe. UK and Romania have seen similarly major protests, and analysts warn that there might be trade union protests also in other countries which already staged a series of strikes in the summer, like Greece, Spain, Germany or Italy. Regardless of the intensity of the protests, the French reform has been among the mildest in Europe.

According to the Ministry, the proposed amendments to the Law on pensions and social security in Montenegro are in line with the reforms of other pension systems in EU.

"The new solutions shouldn't be seen as stricter conditions for retirement, but rather a recognition of positive tendencies: people live longer, they are capable of working longer and we should value each individual payment of contributions" said **Milorad Katnić**, deputy minister of finance and head of the working group in charge of drafting the amendments.

The Union of Free Trade Unions and Confederation of Independent Trade Unions consider the Ministry's demographic forecasts unrealistic and unfounded. "You can't apply the studies and forecasts done for EU directly on Montenegro, or compare the age and lifestyles". According to Milorad Katnić, changes are necessary also because of

the low activity rates on the labour market. "The activity rate of the population aged between 15 and 64 is 59.6% in Montenegro, compared to 70% in the EU. This shows that there is no desire and motivation in Montenegro to seek employment, and that instead the system and the legal setup provide incentives for the people to stay out of the labour market and encourages them to seek benefits and income through pensions, welfare, or other benefits which are the responsibility of the state", Katnić said.

Secretary General of the Union of Free Trade Unions **Srđa Keković** said that before it makes the conditions for retirement more strict, the Government should undertake some concrete measures to eliminate informal employment, conduct a transparent fiscal policy, collect social security contributions more efficiently, confiscate the property of criminals and implement a more successful job creation policy.

Professor of the Faculty of Law of the University of Montenegro **Vesna Simović** criticised the Government for

focusing too narrowly on economic parameters. "They have completely neglected the social factors. The pension system is one of the foundations of social security and a durable social peace, which is also one of the main principles of the International Labour Organisation, and their experts should have been involved in the process". She added that the current proposals could anyway not be implemented in Montenegro because they clash with other regulations.

"This law would be applicable if the Labour Code provided some special protection to the older workers in case they are made redundant. Previous labour regulations, starting in the 1990s, eliminated that clause from the list of priorities, and the only remaining criteria for deciding on redundancies are contribution to the enterprise and quality of work. It is clear that the contribution of a 65-year old person cannot be compared to that of a 25–30 year old, and this is the age group that will be the first to suffer", Simović explains.

With the current job insecurity, layoffs of older workers, armies of unemployed youth who are waiting for the elderly colleagues to retire, putting together the minimum 25 years of service seems like a mission impossible, and these are only some of the problems caused by the current reform, warns the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions.

Among the proposed novelties is also a change in the indexing of pensions, also geared towards making it more sustainable, and deriving from the experience of EU countries. From 2014 onwards, the pensions would be indexed to inflation, and adjusted when the inflation rate exceeds 2%.

The transition period for the rise in retirement age to 67 will be 2017 for men and 2020 for women.

The Ministry of Finance warned that Montenegro won't experience immediate financial benefits of the reform, but that in the long term these will ensure the survival of the pension system.



NEWLY ESTABLISHED EU DIPLOMATIC SERVICE TARGET OF NUMEROUS CRITICISMS

When I want to talk to EU, who do I call?

In the last two months the European Union has been engrossed in the debt crisis and defence of the Euro, so it is perhaps small wonder that the establishment of the new EU diplomatic service on 1 December 2010 passed without much hubbub.

The foundation for the European External Action Service was laid down in the Lisbon Treaty, and the service is headed by the EU High Representative for Foreign Policy and Security **Catherine Ashton**.

But even before it came into being, the service attracted numerous criticisms and it will be hard pressed to prove its critics wrong.

In the heart of the European Quarter in Brussels lies the Schuman square, named after one of the founders of European Union.

One of the sides is occupied by the seat of the European Commission, to the left are offices of the European Council and to the right a building that will be the head-

Even before it came into being, the new European External Action Service attracted numerous criticisms. Even its building in Brussels is a cause of controversy, with the rent costing more than 10 million euros per year

quarters of the new European External Action Service.

Even the building is a source of controversy, as the rent will cost the European taxpayers a yearly 10 million EUR. Add the costs of offi-



cial vehicles and the renovation and refurbishing of offices around the world.

Nevertheless, the biggest complaint of the critics, such as **Anna Rosbach**, Danish MEP, is that the European External Action Service is an attempt to turn EU into a super-

show that you are big and important, with your 500 million people. We are on the road that leads to abolishment of the nation-states. On top of everything else, it will cost a lot of money, but who cares, that's just the money of taxpayers", Rosbach said.

There are, however, those who see the European diplomatic service from a very different angle.

Malta, with only 400 000 inhabitants, cannot afford embassies even in all European countries, let alone around the world.

Christine Pace, advisor in the Maltese mission to EU, thinks the European External Action Service is a great idea.

state and a major player on the international scene.

"They would like to live in the United States of Europe. And if you are one country, then you need embassies around the world, to



"For the smaller member states, like Malta, which have a limited number of embassies in the world, a European diplomatic service will open up opportunities for more extensive contacts with countries outside of EU. Becoming part of this process will enable the countries such as Malta to contribute to the formulation of European foreign policy, which is of great importance for us", says **Christine Pace**.

European diplomatic service will thus make sure that Malta's voice is also heard on the world stage. But for the countries like Germany, France and UK, whose extensive network of embassies comes with substantial power and influence, the benefits are not so obvious.

In addition to all the criticisms about the costs and benefits of EU's diplomatic service, some are also dissatisfied with the work of its leadership.

After the earthquake in Haiti the head of the European foreign policy service Catherine Ashton did not

rush to visit the stricken area and demonstrate EU's presence, although the Union tends to be one of the biggest donors in such situations.

Also, Ashton is reproached for being too low-profile and for missing out on some key meetings. But

European External Action Service is a great idea. For smaller, member states, such as Malta, which have a limited number of representations in the world, it will open up the possibilities for taking up contacts with countries outside EU, says Christine Pace, advisor to the Maltese mission to EU

at least she gets along well with the US Secretary of State **Hillary Clinton**, with whom she chats about children and shopping, as has been recorded by the journalists.

There is, however, one root cause of all criticisms directed at the European diplomatic service. Ministries of foreign affairs of the member states are trying to defend their own territory and influence. The same is happening in Berlin, says **Alexander Graf Lansdorf**, MEP from Germany.

"I just talked about this to some

former colleagues. I was also a diplomat once. There is a degree of uncertainty, nobody knows how to deals with European diplomacy. I'm afraid that at first there will also be a bit of jealousy, but I hope that eventually things will fall into place. But, to be frank, jealousy between ministries is not only typical of EU, you also find it in the national governments", he said.

That leads to the oldest and the most important question, which dominates the relations between Washington and Brussels since it was raised by **Henry Kissinger** in the 70s of the last century.

"When I want to talk to EU, who do I call"?

The question now has an answer: there is an EU representative in Washington. His name is **Joao Vale de Almeida**.

"We make it possible for USA to establish direct contact with all EU representatives in one place, in a single meeting. If they want it even easier, they can also call me. That's what we mean by complementarity – no European embassy so far had started to diminish the

scope of its activities. Just the opposite, they are all investing in bilateral relations with Washington, but now they know that there is also an EU delegation which can contribute", explains de Almeida.

So, until now Washington could call 27 people, and now there is also the 28th.

But the European diplomatic service is just at the beginning and its leadership certainly hopes that their phones will keep on ringing.

Jonny BLOOM, BBC Brisel

XVI generation of Democracy School receives diplomas

With an official graduation ceremony on 21 December 2010, in Podgorica, XVI generation completed the programme of Democracy School, organised by Centre for Civic Education (CCE) with support of Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES).

The participants received their diplomas from Prof Dr **Radovan Radonjić**, the leader of the School and **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE, who said we must always keep learning about democracy and that democracy and a democratic political culture are the only way to overcome numerous challenges to the Montenegrin society.

Over four months of active learning and work, 33 participants successfully completed the programme of the School.

The programme offers a broad spectrum of knowledge to help understand the idea of democracy and ways in which this idea is implemented in different societal spheres, but also to encourage the participants to engage in social activism. The programme is carried out through lectures by renowned professors and experts from various academic and other institutions from Montenegro and abroad.

In addition to new knowledge and experiences, the participants had a chance to develop friendships with their colleagues from different social spheres, which is an additional value of this programme.

The next generation of the school will start in February 2011.

Into the future with a clean past

Centre for Civic Education (CCE) on behalf of the Regional Coalition for Truth-seeking and Truth-telling about the war crimes and other violations of human rights in former Yugoslavia (RECOM) organised national consultations with young people and youth organisations on the Initiative for the establishment of RECOM on 15 December 2010, in Podgorica.

Students of Montenegrin universities, members of youth of political parties, as well as representatives of youth organisations expressed their full support for RECOM and emphasised that every effort to find out the facts about the victims of the wars on the territory of former Yugoslavia deserves full support, in order to free young people in the future from the burdens of the past.

The consultations were opened by **Mirela Rebronja**, PR and coordinator of the consultation process in Montenegro. Her introduction was followed by talks by **Darko Ivanović**, Montenegrin director and a journalist who spoke about the importance of the inclusion of young people in

the process of confronting the past, and **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE and member of the Coordination Council of the Coalition for RECOM. She presented a draft statute of RECOM, and emphasised the importance of this initiative, as a need of our societies to face the wars of the nineties from a different angle, relying exclusively on truth and facts.

In the second part of the consultations the participants had a chance to express their opinions and recommendations for the Initiative in general and specifically for the draft Statute. The discussion focused especially on the goals and tasks of the future Commission.

The participants showed a high degree of interest in the Initiative for RECOM, as well as readiness to contribute to the fulfilment of the goals set by the Coalition. The common message of the consultations was that the dialogue about the Initiative for RECOM with young people should be continued and intensified, because they will be the key actors in carrying out the RECOM's goals in the years to come.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPEAN UNION



Northern alliance for Sustainability – ANPED

The Northern Alliance for Sustainability (ANPED) links NGOs working to empower civil society in creating and protecting sustainable communities worldwide.

ANPED's main focus is on sustainable consumption and production, the use of goods and services responding to basic human needs and bringing a better quality of life, while minimizing the use of natural resources, toxic materials and emissions of waste and pollutants over the life cycle, so as not to jeopardize the needs of future generations.

ANPED believes that continued economic growth on a finite planet with an already overtaxed ecosystem accelerates environmental breakdown, intensifies the competition for resources between rich and poor, and deprives future generations of the necessary means to meet their basic needs. Sustainable patterns of consumption and production should therefore be at the heart of sustainable development of contemporary societies.

We build capacity among civil society organizations through information, knowledge and skill-sharing, and enable their participation in local, national, regional and international decision-making processes on sustainable development. Whereas our network has a worldwide reach, our member organizations are mainly located in the Eastern Europe, Caucasus and Central Asia.

Membership of ANPED is open to any NGO working on issues related to sustainable development. ANPED members work on several thematic issues through the ANPED Working Groups, with each Working Group striving to change unsustainable consumption and production patterns from its own angle. Any organisation dealing with sustainable development and recognising its goals and values in those of ANPED can become its member by contacting the secretariat of ANPED, or by applying for membership with a form available on ANPED's website. At the moment, according to ANPED's official website, its only member in Montenegro is MOST. ANPED is active in all countries of the former Yugoslavia.

For more information please visit: www.anped.org

Prepared by: **Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ**

Second cycle of lectures on Jacques Lacan ends

In autumn 2010 Centre for Civic Education (CCE) organised the second cycle of lectures on **Jacques Lacan** as part of its educational programme "Contemporary tendencies of critical thought".

From 13 October to 29 December 2010 a group of curious enthusiasts interested in psycho-analytical theories of Jacques Lacan gathered every Wednesday at 19:30 in the offices of CCE to follow discussions led by the creator of the programme Dr **Filip Kovačević**, author of a book on psychoanalysis and critical theory "Liberating Oedipus?", as well as of the publication "Lacan in Podgorica", containing key ideas of thirteen lectures and discussions held by professor Kovačević during the first cycle of

lectures, between February and June 2010.

This very successful programme was carried out as a volunteer enterprise where professor Kovačević contributed his knowledge and expertise, CCE offered the space and organisational capacities and the participants their inquisitiveness and leisure time, because the issues we find important for our academic environment and the society as a whole need not always be in line with the priorities of our donors.

In the next cycle of lectures, starting in February 2011, professor Kovačević will be introducing interested participants to the ideas and oeuvre of another famous philosopher, sociologist and political theorist of the Frankfurt School, **Herbert Marcuse**.

Student activism: promise or danger?

On 28 December 2010 Centre for Civic Education (CCE) and Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES), in cooperation with RTV Atlas opened, as part of the programme Balkan Express, a discussion on student activism and its influence on the development of a sustainable democratic society. The programme, titled "Student Activism: Promise or Danger?" of the editor **Duška Pejović**, invited for discussion Dr **Mirjana Kuljak**, professor of the Department of Economics of the University of Montenegro and **Petar Golubović**, president of the Students'

Parliament of the University of Montenegro.

In the context of the same programme, RTV Atlas broadcasted a short documentary "Montenegro Beauty" by **Danilo Marunović**, which offers an insight into this phenomenon, insufficiently explored in the Montenegrin context. The film served as a background for the discussion in the studio and in the upcoming months the Montenegrin audience will have a chance to see it also in other media, and it will also be shown as part of CEE's educational programmes.

A systematic response to discrimination

On 14 December 2010 in CCE, in cooperation with Friedrich Ebert foundation, Centre for Civic Education organised a panel discussion entitled "On the road to European Union: education against discrimination of LGBT population".

The goal of the panel was to introduce European and regional standards and practices in education against discrimination of LGBT population in order to develop recommendations for the improvement of the Montenegrin educational framework in this area. In this context, the panel presented a study by **Aleksandar Saša Zeković**, researcher of human rights' violations, who analysed representation of the LGBT phenomenon in

the Montenegrin high-school textbooks. Other speakers at the panel were **Marijana Laković**, deputy Ombudsman, **Radovan Popović**, head of the quality-control unit in the department for teaching tools of the Montenegrin Educational Bureau and Dr **Jovan Kojičić**, professor at the Land University in Canada who participated over a video-link. The panel was moderated by **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE.

What is (anti)discrimination? How present is it in Montenegro and against whom? How can we build a culture of tolerance? What is the role of the educational system and institutions? How sensitive are Montenegrin textbooks to the LGBT phe-

Responsibility for access to public funds

Centre for Civic Education (CCE) in cooperation with Friedrich Ebert Foundation, organised, on 13 December 2010, at CEE, a panel discussion titled "Public funds and sustainability of the civil sector".

The panel was moderated by **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE, and the speakers were **Dragan Drobnjak**, president of the Commission for distribution of profits from lottery games, **Branislav Ivanović**, secretary of the Commission for distribution of profits from lottery games, **Snežana Kaluđerović**, legal advisor to CCE and **Goran Đurović**, president of the Board of Managers of the coalition "Cooperation for Success".

The goal of the panel was to open up the discussion on the ways of distributing and using public funds dedicated to the financing of NGO activities, and focusing on the funds managed by the Commission for distribution of revenues from lottery games, and to formulate recommendations that would contribute to a more effective and responsible usage of these funds.

In a very dynamic discussion the panellists and participating representatives of the NGO sector talked about the sources and purposes of public funds, responsibility for distribution of funds from revenues of lottery games to non-governmental organisations, the most frequent problems that occur in this process, results of the distribution so far, duties of the beneficiaries of these funds and their (lack of) compliance with these expectations, relations between these funds and the civil sector, as well as European practices in this field.

nomenon? What are the Montenegrin students (not) learning about the LGBT phenomenon in the framework of regular education? What are the European and international practices? What do we need to change in order so that our LGBT population grows up and lives in a society of equal chances? These and other questions were the focus of the discussion of the panellists and participants.

FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC POLICY OF THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY (CEU)

offers a one-year MA in Public Policy with an optional specialization in the field of media, information and communications policy. The stream provides students with a unique opportunity to specialize in a contemporary and dynamic field of public policy that equally exposes them to the widest possible range of key policy problems. Information is the currency of the 21st century (politically, commercially and as it relates to civil society) in as much as media and communications takes a wider societal dimension contributing to overall economic, political and social development. The specialisation offers sector-specific and inter-disciplinary public policy teaching and training relevant to individuals, the society at large and development.

Website of the Media, Information and Communications Policy Stream <https://publicpolicy.ceu.hu/studies/media-information-and-communications-policy-stream>

Deadline January 24, 2011 for applicants wishing to take any CEU-administered admissions examinations on March 12, 2011 and/or requesting exemption from the English language proficiency requirement: (<http://www.ceu.hu/admissions/requirements#language>).

The majority of CEU students receive internal or external financial aid. For more information on financial aid:

<http://publicpolicy.ceu.hu/financial-aid>

EIFFEL EXCELLENCE SCHOLARSHIPS, FRANCE

The French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs launched the Eiffel excellence scholarship programme in January 1999 to support French centres of higher education in their international outreach initiatives, in a context of mounting compe-

tition among developed countries, to attract elite overseas students on master's, engineering and PhD courses.

Master's degree is designed mostly for students in the field of Engineering, and students must be below 30 years old.

PhD degree for students in the field of Engineering and exact sciences: mathematics, physics, bio- and nanotechnologies, environmental studies, ICT, business administration and economy, law and political sciences). Students must be below 35 years old.

Enrolment fees at state-run higher education centres are waived for students on French government scholarship programmes such as this.

Master's courses: Eiffel scholarship-holders on Master's courses receive an allowance of €1,181. In addition, the programme meets various expenses including return trip, health insurance and cultural activities. Scholarship-holders might also be eligible for additional accommodation allowance.

PhD courses: Eiffel scholarship-holders on PhD courses receive an allowance of €1,400. In addition, the programme meets various expenses including return travel (single return trip for law and political science students on multiple stays), health insurance and cultural activities. Scholarship-holders might also be eligible for additional accommodation allowance.

Deadline for reception of applications is 7 January 2011.

More details on:

<http://http://www.egide.asso.fr/jahia/Jahia/lang/en/accueil/appels/eiffel>

MUSIC SCHOLARSHIPS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF KENT

Music Scholarships at the University of Kent, UK are awarded to around 35 students each year within two categories:

1. **University Music Scholarship** – worth up to 5,000 GBP per year. Open to all new undergraduate or postgraduate registrants.
2. **University Music Lesson Scholarship** –



worth up to 500 GBP of free vocal or instrumental tuition per year. The University awards a number of Music Lesson Scholarships to enable students to continue with their instrumental and vocal studies whilst at Kent. Lessons are arranged with experienced teachers throughout the South East. Open to all undergraduate or postgraduate registrants.

Application Procedure: First, you have to be accepted to the University of Kent. New students should apply once you have received an offer from the University of Kent. The application form is available at the university site and should be sent to the Director of Music: s.j.wanless@kent.ac.uk

There is no deadline prior to the start of the academic year, but early application for both scholarships is advisable. Applications will only be considered up to midday on Tuesday of Week 1, except in exceptional circumstances. It is vital that students who have submitted an application arrange an interview with the Director of Music as soon as they arrive at the University – these will be held in a number of Office Hours which will be published on-line prior to the start of term.

More information on:

<http://www.kent.ac.uk/music/scholarships.html>

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