

European pulse

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Foreword: Charm and ploughing

Vladan Žugić



Prime Minister **Igor Lukšić** complained that the Government was forced to cancel the tender for Valdano because of the negative campaign of the civil sector. And why was the negative campaign not enough to force Lukšić to find a mechanism to dismiss the director of the Agency for Telecommunications **Zorana Sekulića**, who was unanimously found guilty by the civil sector, and fined by the court with 550 EUR for showering the journalist of “Vijesti” **Miodragu Baboviću** with offensive language for no apparent reason and in breach of the Law on public law and order? Thanks to Baboviću, for instance, the public found out that Sekulića had spent 5 500 000 to build a control tower for radio-frequencies on Dajbabska Gora, instead of the originally planned 300 000. Sekulić’s dismissal could signal that Lukšić is indeed trying to improve the media freedom, fight against apparent corruption or, at least, motivate the heads of the agencies and directorates to plan their budgets more carefully, if it turns out that the current director built his tower strictly by the book. And the fight against corruption and media freedom are two out of seven conditions set by EC in order to grant Montenegro the date for negotiations. In an audio address sent to the media, Lukšić recently told the members of his cabinet that even “ploughing the roads” won’t help us to open negotiations if we don’t manage to “charm” all 27 EU members. Hats off to the new prime minister for PR. But to “charm” all EU members, we’ll first have to do some serious ploughing.

Calendar

- 2 February **Lukšić: EU and better life together** / “It is not our goal to fulfil the European aims obediently and on the other hand have dissatisfied citizens. These two processes must go hand in hand, we need to create a balance that will contribute to improving the lives of our citizens” said prime minister Igor Lukšić during his talk with ambassadors to Montenegro
- 10 February **Negotiations should begin by the end of the year** / Montenegro should begin negotiations on EU membership by the end of this year, provided that the government in Podgorica makes greater efforts to combat corruption and organised crime and removes the obstacles to the freedom of the media, according to a proposal for a resolution on Montenegro’s integration into EU adopted by the Foreign Relations Committee of the European Parliament.
- 17 February **The Government adopts the plan for the fulfilment of EC’s conditions** / The Government has adopted the action plan for the fulfilment of EC’s recommendations that should be implemented before the opening of pre-accession negotiations. The Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integrations **Milan Roćen** said that in both Podgorica and Brussels “everybody knows” that it is impossible to fulfil all the conditions by the end of 2011, when the EU is expected to decide on the opening of negotiations. According to him, a consistent, effective implementation of the action plan will demonstrate that Montenegro knows how to solve its problems and that it is determined to do so.
- 19 February **Medojević: Roćen spreads defeatism** / There are corrupt elements in the Government of Montenegro which do not want us to fulfil EC’s demands, said the president of the National Council for European Integrations (NCEI) **Nebojša Medojević**. He warned that Milan Roćen’s statements that Montenegro cannot fulfil Brussels’ demands are casting doubt over Government’s determination to do so.
- 24 February **Visa liberalisation remains unsuspended** / The overall process of visa liberalisation in the Western Balkans is positive, although there were some cases of abuse, said the European Home Affairs Commissioner **Cecilia Malström**. After the meeting of the home affairs ministers of EU, she said that the proposal by France and the Netherlands to temporarily suspend visa liberalisation was rather general, and not aimed specifically at any country or region. The rumours about the possible re-introduction of visas began late last year, because of the high numbers of fake asylum seekers from Serbia and Macedonia. Montenegro was never mentioned in this context.

Do we and EU need this kind of European assistance

Officially, the EU continuously declares its support to the region and provides extensive assistance. In practice, it is hard to say to what extent the EU instruments really help the Western Balkan countries to progress. This especially refers to the outcomes of pre-accession assistance programmes and regional economic cooperation.



Dr Silvana Mojskovska

The Western Balkan's accession has been mostly driven by the EU, while countries' role in defining their own path to the Union was rather limited. Besides Copenhagen and Madrid criteria that serve as a regular channel for accession to the EU, additional instruments were set for these countries such as benchmarks for progress in chosen areas and initiatives for strengthening of the regional integration in the Balkans. In order to get into the EU, the Western Balkan's governments have already shown high degree of commitment to undertake the demanding reforms and willingness to establish deeper regional cooperation. What were the results achieved? With exception of Croatia that has started the negotiation talks in October 2005 and it is paving its road to the EU, the other countries are running to the EU very slowly. The annual EC Reports, which provide assessment of each country's progress towards the EU, regularly indicate areas for further reforms in the Western Balkans. The common problems include an inefficient judiciary system, corruption proneness, an insufficient capacity of the public administration, low competitiveness of the economy etc. Besides, the EU has introduced specific benchmarks for most of the countries, such as fulfilment of the Ohrid framework agreement in Macedonia, settlement of the Croatian-Slovenian border dispute; Serbia's response to the Haag Tribunal requirements... In the meantime, there was a blooming debate on the enlargement fatigue within EU, which only added to the sense of frustration of Balkan countries. Officially, the EU continuously declares its support to the region and provides extensive assistance. In practice, it is hard to say to what extent the EU instruments really help the Western Balkan countries to progress. This especially refers to the outcomes of pre-accession assistance programmes and regional economic cooperation. In the period 2000-2006 the EU has provided financial support of over €5 billion to the Western Balkan countries, and another €4 billion within the frame of the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA) for the period 2007-2013.

However, the outcomes were mixed, in particular with regards to the institutional capacity building, as well as amount of financial assistance used. The EC's country reports continue to emphasise the problem of substandard efficiency of public administration in all Western Balkan countries, despite considerable assistance provided. Also, the statistics indicate insufficient level of use of the IPA in most of the countries. In this context, the EU bureaucratic burden related to use of the assistance has been perceived as a tremendous impediment by the recipient countries, but so far this has not led to more comprehensive assessments of effectiveness and sustainability of these programmes. The assessment has been focused only on the progress of the receiving parties, without a discussion of the EU policies in this respect. The other instrument – regional economic cooperation – has been a milestone of the EU enlargement policy towards the Western Balkans for a while now, but CEFTA 2006 has had no substantial impact on the changes in export and investment patterns in the region, which is partly a consequence of the fact that the Balkan countries view regional cooperation as a tool for faster economic growth, but only as a prerequisite for their accession to the EU. This indicates that the two suggests that both instruments only partially provide the necessary support to the West Balkan countries, and that in both cases the focus is on fulfilling the formal requirements such as elaboration and adoption of legislation, while implementation has been frequently neglected. On the other hand, the EU accession bears high costs, whether producing formal or genuine outcomes. In this respect, there is an argument for re-tailoring of the EU instruments in order to enable them to reach beyond the formal requirements which could contribute to faster reforms and rekindle the Western Balkans' faith in European integrations.

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Source: www.europesworld.org*

Can Montenegro get the opening date for negotiations with EU based on the action plan for the fulfilment of EC's conditions

Political will against unrealistic deadlines



Ana Manojlović

Montenegro could get the starting date for negotiations with EU if the Government fulfils the tasks it set to itself in the Action Plan for monitoring the fulfilment of recommendations from European Commission's Opinion in the next few months, or if it demonstrates the political will and dedication to do so.

Representatives of the civil sector who participated in the public debate on the draft AP believe that, in spite of the remaining shortcomings, the final document gives reasonable grounds for optimism that the opening date for negotiations will be soon decided. According to the civil sector, the major shortcomings are unrealistic deadlines set by AP, and that some of the goals could be realistically completed by October, instead of by September, as envisaged by the executive, but they also think that the EU might turn a blind eye on the difficulties with deadlines if the authorities demonstrate enough political will to bring the reforms to a conclusion. The AP was adopted by the Gov-

tion, media, civil society, human rights and a sustainable solution of the status of internally displaced persons residing in the camps Konik I and II. Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integrations (MFAEI) will prepare the first assessment report by early May, to be approved by the Government and subsequently submitted to EC. The second, final report is to be submitted by MFAEI by 1 September 2011.

The plan envisages numerous activities, including adoption of new or amendments to existing laws, new plans and regulations elaborating on legal requirements and their implementation. As for the rule of law, the Government is planning amendments to the Constitution that would ensure that a majority of members of the Judiciary Council is elected from the ranks of judges. There are also plans for changing the criteria for the appointment and promotion of judges, as well as for the reduction of powers of the president of the Supreme Court and of the Judiciary Council. Similar changes are also in store for the prosecution.

NO MORE COSMETICS

The best thing about the AP, according to Zlatko Vujović, is that it gives a fairly realistic picture of the current state of our country. "This is the first AP which has not tried to shy away from problems or hide them in order to improve the image of the country. We all realise that the EU is quite well informed, and that running away from problems won't bring us closer to EU membership", Vujović said

ernment on 17 February, and it consists of 9 areas: strengthening the legislative and oversight role of the Parliament, reform of public administration, strengthening of the rule of law, fight against organised crime, fight against corrup-

In order to improve the freedom of speech, the Government is planning full de-criminalisation of libel and adoption of the case law of the European Court of Human Rights regarding the amount of compensation for non-material damages to honour and reputation. With regard to the reform of public administration, the Government plans to change the Law on State Audit Office in order to ensure independence of this institution. There are also plans to change the Codex on general administrative procedures and the Law on Public Officials and Employees in order to make the employment procedures and the functioning of public administration more transparent. As for the fight against corruption, the Action Plan envisages changes to the Law on the Prevention of the Conflict of Interests, with broader sanctions

and prohibition of membership in managing and supervisory boards for directly elected officials. Also in store is a new law on NGOs, which will specify the conditions for the establishment of NGOs, record-keeping procedures (membership, projects, financial reports etc), the conditions for removal of NGOs from the Registry and their participation in the adoption of legal acts and development of public policies. Senior research associate in Institute Alternative, **Jovana Marović**, says that Montenegro could maybe get the opening date for negotia-

PLAN WITHOUT CENSUS

One of the issues which might influence the EU's decision to set the date for negotiations in autumn, and which is beyond the influence of the Government's plan is the adoption of the new electoral law, harmonised with the Constitution and recommendations of the Venetian Commission and OSCE. This law requires a two-third majority in the Parliament, and the Government and the opposition have been struggling for three years to find a compromise. Right now the two blocks are waiting for the results of the population census which will influence their positions in the next round of negotiations.

tions this autumn, as the EC also approved of the current Action Plan. With the exception of some over-ambitious deadlines, the Institute Alternative believes the AP is feasible, given sufficient political will and engagement of all available capacities of state structures. "For the implementation of AP it is necessary to involve all interested parties in the process of defining public policies, ensuring transparency of the whole process, and effective monitoring of the activities envisaged in this plan. If all these preconditions are fulfilled, there is reason to be optimistic not only about getting the date for the beginning of negotiations, but also about the whole process of negotiations", Marović said. According to the director of Centre for Devel-



Jovana Marović

opment of Non-Governmental Organisations (CDNGO) **Ana Novaković**, the AP is a good basis for the beginning of negotiations. "The visit of high EU representatives to Montenegro and the discussion with them confirmed that they do not expect the AP to make revolutionary changes in the society, but to demonstrate readiness and create preconditions and mechanisms for solving important social problems. This is why I believe the EC will approve Montenegro's advance into the most difficult phase of EU accession, which is the stage of negotiations. Only then is the Montenegrin government expected to undertake more serious, concrete and radical actions", Novaković said. She adds that AP is much better than its draft ver-



Ana Novaković

sion, but that there are still many shortcomings. “By this I mean primarily the fact that certain areas are ridden by too many activities which are not essential or urgent, and broken down into too many steps. Concretely, I think that it is physically impossible to implement so many trainings for public officials in the given period. Besides, there is no way to make transparent overnight the institutions that have not been transparent for decades. This is a process that

PARLIAMENT FORGOTTEN

There are a few things that could be improved in the AP, according to Jovana Marović, primarily in relation to the strengthening of the legislative and oversight role of the Parliament. “There was no mention of this in the public discussion, nor was it possible to comment on this part of the document. There is, however, a lot of space for improvement of AP in this area, in order to bring it into line with EC’s recommendations. The Action Plan of the Parliament failed to define some important issues concerning the strengthening of the oversight role of this body towards the Government, the functioning of the National Council for European Integrations and the Committee for European Integrations and Foreign Relations, and the document itself does not contain well defined indicators which could be used to measure the progress in the strengthening of the capacities of the main legislative institution”, Marović said.

will take much longer than a few months. It is impossible to reform the entire public administration in a few months with a few trainings. The strengthening of administrative capacities is also a much more demanding goal. As for the major areas, I believe the activities set in the field of human rights are the list feasible”. CDNGO also agrees that one positive aspect of AP lies in Government’s cooperation with the civil sector. Almost all comments on the first

version of the plan with regard to cooperation with the civil sector, submitted by CDNGO, have been incorporated in the final version. “If you take a look at this area, it is clear that by the end of the year there needs to be a comprehensive analysis of the financing of NGO project from public funds, a new law on non-governmental organisations and an act regulating the participation of NGOs in the development and implementation of public policies. I believe all these activities constitute a solid basis for the functioning of NGOs in the Montenegrin society, to be further developed in the future. The life in Montenegro will not stop with the implementation of the AP, and I think that there should be a much broader, more sustainable approach to the reform of the Montenegrin society”, Novaković said. Human Rights Action also participated in the public debate, and the Government accepted around 60% of their recommendations. They are very satisfied with the Government’s plan to ask the president of the Supreme Court, Supreme State Prosecutor and director of the Police Directorate to produce a Report on investigations in cases of violence against journalists. “As for the rights of LGBT population, the Law against discrimination was an important, but insufficient step. Discrimination with regard to the rights of homosexual partners compared to unmarried heterosexual couples is unjustifiable, and this issue must be regulated in line with European standards”, says the executive director of Human Rights Action **Tea Gorjanc Prelević**.

According to the president of the Board of Managers of Centre for Monitoring Zlatko Vujović, the date of negotiations will depend on the implementation of the goals the executive has set for itself. “I believe that the EU, in analysing the extent of implementation, will be looking for a confirmation of Montenegro’s dedication to the fulfilment of its commitments. In other words, the EU wants to be reassured that the Government and other public bodies are doing everything possible to fulfil its demands”, Vujović said.

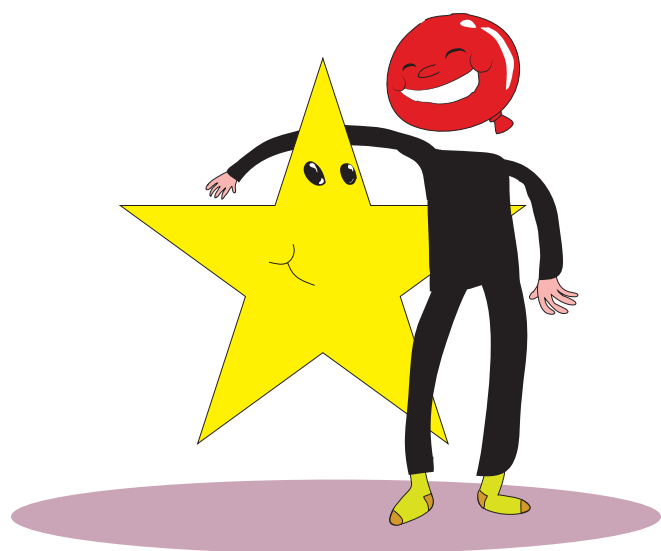
How well founded and sincere is the government's optimism regarding Montenegro's chances to get the starting date for negotiations this autumn

Lack of coordination or somebody doesn't feel like joining EU



Nedeljko Rudović

There's no dearth of optimism in the Montenegrin government that they'll manage to convince the European Commission (EC) to give Montenegro a recommendation for the opening of membership negotiations already this autumn. But the question is to what extent this optimism is founded, if the authorities cannot even agree on how they plan to achieve the strategic goal that will determine the pace of democratisation in Montenegro and genuine establishment of the rule of law. It is clear that by July, when the EC begins to write its progress report, Montenegro will not be able to (or want to) arrest all those who head the corruption chains from the political power centres and that in order to get a passing grade it will be necessary to convince Brussels that there is political will to see the process through and that the charges will be crowned by verdicts. However, it is unclear whether the authorities will have the will and skill to show the EU that they want and can finally liberate the judiciary from political interference and turn it into a fully independent third branch of the government. For the time being the Government is saying one thing, while the Parliament prefers a completely different approach, unwilling to change the Constitution. The argument is that this might lead to a new standstill, like it happened with the electoral law, because for three years the government and the opposition could not agree on a two-third majority. Thus the deputy prime minister **Duško Marković** announced amendments to the Constitution in order to change the way in which the president of the Supreme court is appointed and limit the powers of this office, but was contradicted the day after by the president of the Parliament and leader of the Social-Democratic Party **Ranko Krivokapić**, who said that it is possible to ensure judiciary's independence via a special law, without changing the constitution. Regardless of which one of them is right, the lack of coordination at the peak with regard to one of the most important tasks inspires doubts as to the seriousness and dedication to the mission of dragging Montenegro out of the Balkan bog. According to the draft version of the amendments on the laws on courts and the Judiciary Council, drafted by the Ministry of Justice, unsatisfactory performance will be introduced as



a cause for dismissal not only of judges but also of the presidents of courts. This also entails a two-year prohibition on appointments to higher courts. The new regulations of the promotion of judges introduce the conditions required by EC – measurable achievements of previous work. Moreover, the new definition of powers of the Judiciary Council, whose main responsibility will be to appoint judges, and whose current president is the president of the Supreme Court **Vesna Medenica**, envisages that most of the members of the Council will be judges, combined with a number of experts, but excluding politicians. In order to remove Medenica from the chairmanship of the Judiciary Council, however, it is necessary to change the Constitution, which defines this office as the prerogative of the president of the Supreme Court. Since the Government is planning to change the appointment procedure for this post, so that the president of the Supreme Court is from now on appointed by the President of the country, instead of by the presidents of the Government, Parliament and the State, reducing the accumulated powers of this post further will also require constitutional changes. This is something the EU has asked for, and if the Montenegrin government fails to offer a satisfactory answer it will only confirm the suspicion of being too wary of the European road, which is a danger for its survival, eradicating monopolies and undermining its position of power.

Social entrepreneur of 2010 in central and eastern europe
at the world economic forum in davos Zoran Puljić

EU is often indifferent to social entrepreneurship

Zoran Puljić, director of the Sarajevo organisation “Mozaik”, who was named Social entrepreneur of the year 2010 in Central and Eastern Europe at the World Economic Forum in Davos, says that European Union and European Commission “often don’t have an eye” for the needs of the states and citizens of the Western Balkans when it comes to distributing European funds.

“They have good mechanisms, they are the biggest donors and support many projects. It is our fault that we don’t always use that in the best way, but on the other hand I do think it is time for them to show a little more courage and sensitivity, especially when it comes to social entrepreneurship” said Puljić in the interview for *European Pulse*.

» *To what extent is social entrepreneurship recognised within the EU itself?*

It is not sufficiently recognised even within the EU. A colleague of mine recently attended a programme for organic production and social business in Belgium where she had a chance to see neglected farms, even if they looked great on their website.

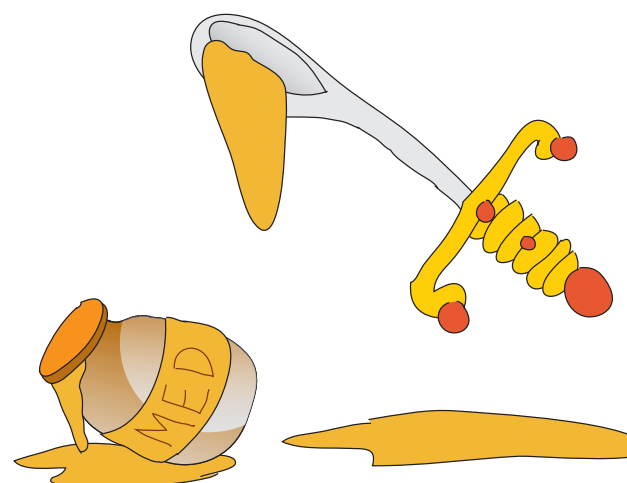
» *For the first time, recently, the World Economic Forum in Davos gave out the award for the social entrepreneur of the year in Central*

and Eastern Europe, and you were among the 20-30 people from other regions of the world who donate and support social business. What earned you this prestigious award?

The way in which we keep the balance between the social and economic goals of our foundation.

We do not speak about democracy, civil society... but we do many concrete things that incorporate democracy, civil society, mobilisation of local resources, media... everything comes together, and produces something tangible.

For instance, our youth bank programme resulted in around 170 projects last year – put-



HONEY FOR DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMIC PROSPERITY

» *There was a lot of mention of your company “Ekomozaik” in Bosnia as an example of social entrepreneurship. What exactly does it do?*

Ekomozaik is a company headquartered in Eastern Bosnia, in [ekovići (Republic of Srpska), and makes organic honey. Currently we have some 15 employees, and this year we will employ 100 women to maintain agricultural land. These women come from three municipalities – two in the Republic of Srpska and one in the Federation – and this process of reconciliation, this mingling of the Bosniaks and Serbs is an added value of this project. In the region of [ekovići the unemployment is the highest in all Republic of Srpska, around 68%. When I said that we don’t talk about civil society, democracy, reconciliation... that’s exactly what I meant – when these women come to us, they will learn to do something new, they will sit together, be more integrated, they will have income of their own... The land is in an almost concealed area, 8 kilometres to the nearest dirt road. All studies indicate that our region has the natural disposition to produce honey of higher quality than in Germany, Italy, Austria... the goal of this project isn’t just to make honey, but to make it better and conquer international markets.

ting in order parks, football and basketball pitches, schoolrooms, repairing bridges, organising concerts, whatever the young people need. Foundation “Mozaik” finances 75% of these projects, and the rest is funded by the local authorities, individuals, firms. We go up to them and tell them that we have some money and ask what it takes for them to work with us. These activities involve thousands of volunteers.

» *That's the non-profit aspect of “Mozaik”.*

What is the for-profit part?

These are two companies we founded.

One is a small firm – “Imagination” – which promotes corporate social responsibility in BiH, i.e. philanthropy, environmental responsibility, responsibility towards employees, towards persons with special needs...

One day, when the foreign donors disappear, the private sector in our countries will be one of the pillars of sustainability for vulnerable groups. We believe that we should already start promoting this issue, pointing out the companies which are good and supporting them to become even more socially responsible and thus create some kind of small competition among them.

The second company is “Ekomozaik”, which is based in Eastern Bosnia, [ekovići, Republic of Srpska.

» *Talking about profit, are there cases of abusing NGO status in BiH to make profit? I am asking because here some entities are registered as NGOs but their activities are mainly for profit.*

There are laws in BiH which allow you to profit from economic activities up to some extent, i.e. if you employ a disabled person in a bar.



Zoran Puljić

That was not our purpose. Foundation “Mozaik” established two limited companies acting according to the laws which regulate such entities: we pay all taxes like any other company.

Whatever we earn there is transferred to the foundation which then finances other projects, such as the youth bank.

We spent almost a year with international financial institutions and consultants in Sarajevo and Belgrade to analyse the laws on limited liability companies in BiH Federation and Republic of Srpska in order to coordinate all regulations and avoid problems. V. ŽUGIĆ

FEARS FOR THE ECONOMIC FUTURE OF BALKANS AND EU

» *What were your impressions from Davos?*

When I came back to BiH, the journalists asked whether Bosnia was the topic of the World Economic Forum. Not only Bosnia was not mentioned, there was no talk at all about our region, about Eastern Europe, and the EU was only sporadically mentioned. The main topics were India, China, America, Indonesia. It kind of scared me a little. We have been so preoccupied with our troubles that we can't see where the world is going and I'm afraid that our children will be paying the price.

A study by European Movement in Montenegro “Gender inequality in personal income and wages” shows

Lower wages and status “reserved” for women



Prepared by:
Aleksandra Vuksanović

Gender inequality in Montenegro is still very high, creating barriers to social and political development, and limiting economic potential of half a society. The causes of economic inequality of women are deeply ingrained gender-based segregation in the work process. Women constantly find themselves in lower positions, worse paid jobs with little chance of promotion and are overrepresented among part-time workers and workers in the so-called “grey economy”. This economic imbalance is reflected in gender inequalities in personal income and wages, which increases women’s vulnerability, especially in families with single mothers.

Around 30% of the population and close to ¼ of employers has noted cases of harassment at work, and agrees that women are more often harassed than men“

These are the results of a study conducted in the framework of the project “Gender inequality in personal income and wages in Montenegro” by the European Movement in Montenegro (EMiM), with support of the EU Delegation to Montenegro. The research itself was conducted by IPSOS Strategic marketing.

With regard to the women’s position in the labour market, it is evident that the women are recognised as a vulnerable group by the general population, only second to persons with disabilities and illnesses. On the other hand, fewer employers spontaneously list women a discriminated group. “Around 30% of the population and close to ¼ of employers has noted cases of harassment at work, and agrees that women are more often harassed than men”, concludes the study.

Moreover, the citizens and employers consider it justified for the employer to ask about the family situation and future plans of a candidate at a job interview, which has more negative repercussions for women than for men. The study also shows that men are privileged at work: they are paid overtime work and sent on business trips more often than women.

According to the study, the glass ceiling is the most common form of discrimination of women in work rights: the leading positions



are mostly given to men, even in professions which are predominantly occupied by women. The consequence is that one half of the population, i.e. half of the country's human resources, experiences systematic, institutionalised (structural) or personal discrimination which often remains invisible or "tucked into" the traditional division of gender roles, while the state and the society remain in the zone of tolerated discrimination, further limiting women's full development, and consequently the development and prosperity of the society.

With regard to the traditional roles, the study found that women marry younger than men are have children earlier, which is a turning point in a woman's career since in these situations she takes over the traditional role of a mother and

The average gross wage of a male Montenegrin was 740 euros in March 2010, compared to 637 euros for women. The analyses show that gender, in addition to education, is one of the strongest predictors of wage differences.

puts her career on hold, while the private property is most commonly owned by men.

The study confirms that there occupations are divided into "male" and "female": among the male jobs are that of directors, MPs in the Parliament and judges. The problem is all the more serious when considering the professions that women yet have to conquer: this is best illustrated by the fact that there is not a single woman among surgeons in Montenegro. This division of labour is also formative for future generations, which do not have a role model of the same gender.

Moreover, 25% of the population believes that women are better educated than men, but the data also show that illiteracy rate is practically nil among men in Montenegro, whereas there is still around 4% of illiterate women. On the other hand, in the recent years more women enrol for and graduate from higher education.

Wage differences between men and women exist, with women's wages around 86% compared to those of men. The average gross wage of a male Montenegrin was 740 euros in March 2010, compared to 637 euros for women. The analyses show that gender, in addition to education, is one of the strongest predictors of wage differences. This is a consequence of a series of factors linked to sex and gender, such as: the glass ceiling, traditional roles, prejudices and discrimination of women in the workplace. The estimated wage gap shows that the differences are not a consequence of different characteristics of men and women, but of different assessment of the same characteristics.

EMiM believes that the Montenegrin society ought to approach the problem of gender equality with more care, especially with respect to its aspirations towards EU membership. This analysis is therefore meant to bring gender equality into the centre of economic strategies and policies, in order to set the guidelines for the removal of obstacles to economic empowerment of women.

The conviction that the men perform better in all categories considered in the study is a direct consequence of gender stereotypes present in our community. The recommendations based on the study are: to introduce gender sensitive statistics, gender analysis of public policies, to create new public policy or affirmative action measures, and conduct trainings and campaigns directed towards eradication of gender stereotypes.

Private talks with the prime minister



Brano Mandić

Prime Minister **Igor Lukšić** could be the one who will one day lead Montenegro into European Union. On a side note, the man addressed the populace via Facebook, spoke to the youth, which is the first such attempt by a Montenegrin politician in the history of the universe. Because truly did say the real-political bible: the world belongs to the young (voters). Many have already written about the new prime minister, some doubted his strength and courage, some already wrought him a laurel wreath, just to stay in brown-nosing form which they developed into a cult during **Đukanović's** rule. My thesis is that I have no clue about Lukšić's limits. But even a formal removal of **Đukanović** and his replacement by Lukšić means a cultural leap for Montenegro. Seen that **Đukanović** himself chose Lukšić, we can count it among his better moves, without any evidence, without even waiting for the first 100 days of the Government to pass. It's enough to know who else among the many aces of the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) could have, heaven's forbid, ended up on the throne.

Chemistry

There's some interesting chemistry between the new and the old prime ministers. One a model student with a PhD, the other famous for his

mythical 6.25 grade average. Milo a brash, unscrupulous interlocutor, Lukšić coldish and wary, an author of a fucking book of poetry and lyrical prose! But let's go easy on the contrast... I am sure that basketball is not the only thing these two have in common. Under the surface, I can vouchsafe for it, there is a lot of ego, there is something in Lukšić we should watch out with as citizens to avoid getting ourselves into the same trouble as with his predecessor. In that name I am writing this little article, not to disclose major secrets from the private life of Igor Lukšić, but to speak up, leisurely and without tensions, about the guy who is leading my country. Not, like with **Đukanović**, to look up to him as an icon made to cut ribbons, arch eyebrows and declare wars. This one, I hope, we'll also get to see on the bicycle, in the shop, or, why not, on the market, there need not be an upheaval around his every step or special security units measuring every alley he steps into. As for the facade, Lukšić is the new generation of leaders. I believe he has read more than the all of DPS MPs put together. But that is not enough. What I expect from him as a citizen is to protect the poor and not to have a brother opening a bank. A biographic approach seems justified in this regard. What was the new young prime minister like in his early youth?



Early sorrows

He was a quiet youth, hair longer and lighter than now, in a heavy-metal trip. You know, in every generation there's a few star students warming up to heavy metal, which is probably a kind of defiance and a signal that he's more than just a nerd. Yet I never understood these intellectual metal fans, it had a whiff of oxymoron and prevented me from thinking



about them more seriously. Lukšo, as I used to address him in the rare moments of small talk, was very cultured, but an introvert sort, without a sparkle in his eye when a fancy car or a neighbour in a mini-skirt would pass by. I remember him quite well from these years, because he was withdrawn. And what did it mean at the time, to be withdrawn? He made no ruckus, and making ruckus was the only way to succeed at your job, with the girls, in the line for flour, and in all other areas. If you were reserved, like Lukšo, it meant you were withdrawn, i.e. irrelevant from the point of view of city gossip and rumours. The toughs would usually give you a derisive nickname of a "scientist" or "talent" and leave you alone. But like in a fairy tale, like in Superman, it was the quiet studious man from the mathematical branch of the middle school, Lukšo, who wasn't into gym, football, going out, smoking up, Sutomore, schnapps, Serbdom... the anti-hero of Bar's promenades, who took the helm of the country. As a younger colleague, I talked to Lukšo a few times in front of the sports hall of the primary school "Yugoslavia", while we waited for the training. I remember well, I was about to start the middle school, and I asked

him what was the secret of being a successful student. "You just need to keep studying regularly" was the damn boring and damn accurate reply of the future prime minister. Not a single breach of the rules at school, not a single public embarrassment or excess! There's none of that in Lukšić, and I'm an old gossip and I stupidly remember every idiocy from my childhood when we used to hang out in our neighbourhood, each in front of our own building. Night shifts of the teams from "zlatibor", "kongrap", "lamella" corners, you know all these touching gimcracks, it's the same in every small town. Lukšo used to live in the "spu" building but never belonged to the group that gathered in front. If I think about it, I'd say that group of buildings never had a really homogenous gang, because they're in the second row and on the benches in front of Lukšić's building there was always more grandmas than youths. And that's about it. A quiet guy from the neighbourhood, he got far. I'm glad that my prime minister is somebody who remembers reserve soldiers showing off in Bar and the criminals getting the best girls from our classes.

A doting father

Perhaps for the first time in its entire political history, Montenegro is now lead by a guy who is not a robustly macho type. Unless we count prime minister [turanović, but there is really no reason to count him. Nevertheless, a politically more relevant fact is that our likeable prime minister has full support of the life-long leader who is taking a break from the limelight. And how will Lukšić survive this "support" is the question that won't be answered on Facebook. Or, for that matter, on twitter.

Eurostat data on the quality of life and social development in candidate and potential candidate countries

Approaching EU only in the number of cars and mobile phones

According to the latest data published by the European statistical office EUROSTAT on the quality of life and social development in candidate and potential candidates for EU membership, on most indicators only Croatia and Iceland come close to the European average, while the other countries have a lot to catch up with. This is especially the case with regard to unemployment: in Montenegro the unemployment rate in 2009 was around 20%, which is twice the European average. The situation is even worse in the neighbouring Kosovo (45%) and Macedonia (32%) and slightly better in Serbia and Albania (around 15%). Also, with the exception of Croatia and Iceland, the average life expectancy in the candidate and potential candidate countries is some 10 years shorter than the European average (83 years) – at 75 years, except in Kosovo where the average is below 70 years of age. On the other hand, population trends in most candidate and potential candidate countries are relatively similar to the European ones: aging population and negative

population growth. In 2009 in EU the number of children per woman was 1.6, while in the countries outside EU the number was between 1.2 in BiH and 1.85 in Montenegro, but in any case below the 2.1 mark which is considered the measure of stable population. The only exceptions are Turkey, where the number of children per woman is around 2.2 and Kosovo, where it was as high as 3.2 in 2003, but the later data is not available. The situation with regard to the age distribution is similar: in Croatia and Serbia the share of the population below 15 years of age is very low and approximately equal to the European average of 15%, which is below the share of the population older than 65 (17% and above). The situation is slightly more favourable in Montenegro, BiH and Macedonia where the number of children is higher than the number of the elderly (18-19% for the population below 15 and 12-14% of those older than 65), while in Albania, Turkey and Kosovo more than ¼ of the population is below 15 years of age, while the elderly represent less than 10% of the population. Among the economic indicators, BDP sums up the best the distance each of these countries still needs to cross to reach the European average. In spite of the recent crisis which dealt a heavy blow to Iceland's economy, economic development won't be an obstacle for this small island state – per capita GDP of Iceland was already at 27 000 euros per year in 2009, or 4

Although Montenegro is around the average of the countries candidates for EU membership with regard to economic development and living standards on all available indicators, it is far ahead of its neighbours when it comes to the external, material markers of personal wealth.



000 more than the European average. Among the other candidate and potential candidate countries the best ranked are Croatia, with 10 246 euros per year per inhabitant, and Turkey, with 6 142 euros. Montenegro comes fourth with 4 720 euros of GDP per capita, which is almost five times less than the European average, and the worst are Albania and Kosovo where per capita GDP was nine to thirteen times below European average. Relative economic backwardness of the future members is confirmed by the distribution of household spending, where most of the money goes for the basic needs. In Albania more than half of the household budget is spent on food (54%), in Macedonia 43%, in Montenegro 38% and in Croatia and Serbia around 26%, while the EU average is 13%. On the other hand, the citizens of candidate and potential candidate countries are shoulder-by-shoulder with EU when it comes to vices – except for Croatia, whose households spend “only” 2.8% of total income on tobacco and alcohol, in almost all candidate and potential candidate countries this number is equal or higher than the European average (3.4%) – from 3.5% in Montenegro to 4.4% in Macedonia and 4.8 in Serbia. On the other

One of the examples is the number of cars per inhabitant – although far behind the European average of more than 470 cars per 1000 inhabitants, with more than 380 cars Montenegro is only slightly behind Croatia (420) and well ahead of Serbia (220), Bosnia and Herzegovina (180) and Albania (90). Even more remarkable is the number of mobile phones: with 1 600 mobile phones per 1000 inhabitants, Montenegro is the absolute European champion, ahead of Croatia and Serbia (around 1 400), while the EU is seriously lagging behind with “only” 1250 phones per 1000 inhabitants.

hand, much less is spent on cultural and recreational activities: against the European average of almost 10%, households in the Balkans and Turkey could only spend 2 to 5% of their incomes on such activities, although the percentage varies from 5.8% in Serbia and 4.8% in Croatia to a little under 3.8% in Montenegro and the least in Albania and Kosovo (1 to 2%).

V.Š.

	Unemployment rate	GDP per capita (in EUR)	Percentage of the household income spent on food	Percentage of the household income spent on cultural and recreational activities	Number of cars per 1000 inhabitants	Number of mobile phones per 1000 inhabitants
EU27	9.0	23 600	13.1	9.1	460	1250
Albania	13.8	2 661	53.7	1.2	90	600
BiH	24.1	3 192	31.8	4.6	180	800
Montenegro	19.1	4 720	37.6	3.7	280	1 600
Croatia	9.1	10 246	25.7	4.8	330	1 410
Iceland	7.4	27 200	14.8	9.6	640	1 100
Kosovo	45.4	1 790	36	2	70	400
Macedonia	32.2	3 283	43.5	3.1	120	1 050
Serbia	16.1	4 546	26.6	5.8	210	1400
Turkey	14	6 241	23	2.6	100	850

The road to true values



Nikola Turčinović

The author works for the Trade Union Confederation of Montenegro. He attended X Generation of European Integrations School

European Union as a “gentlemen’s club”(with elements of supra-nationality) is made up of members who fulfil certain economic, political, legal and administrative conditions, where the fulfilment of these conditions ought to be the only way in. The EU should not be a “safety belt” for the countries with weak economic systems, weak institutions, incomplete legislative frameworks, countries whose citizens disrespect the basic human and civic rights and European values.

The EU is a normative benchmark which is always and again being re-defined even for its members, but also for the candidate countries.

I remember the high-school days from the early 1990s, when me and my schoolmates live through and commented on the imposed everyday reality. In these days we had just replaced the EU’s fundamental motto “Unity in diversity”, which at least formally was also the foundation of SFRY with the sound of arms, which our peers in the EU only knew from the history textbooks.

We knew then and believed that there will be a day when as citizens of a free, independent state of Montenegro we will be able to live normally from our own work, to live in a civic, democratic society, to have equal rights, respect the laws, travel and study in Europe which is where we have always belonged. Indeed, we had to make those wishes of ours quite literally come true and make them into reality also for the future generations in Montenegro. This is why I want to be a citizen of the family of European states, why I want the new generations to be free of the past, and turn to my European perspectives.

As the process of European integrations and enlargement has been going on for more than half a century Montenegro was not, nor could it afford to be, left outside of this process. After

the restoration of statehood on 21.05.2006, the process of adoption and implementation of EU standards picked up the pace. In fact, on the road to EU Montenegro is now going through the process of stabilisation and association, a process which lay bare and continues to do so all of our systemic shortcomings. I wouldn’t say that the problem is only in the necessity of harmonisation of our political, economic and legal system with EU standards, but there is also the need to change the mindset of the Montenegrin citizens. To change the mindset and the system of values of our society means: to build strong institutions, respect the laws, strengthen and expand the democratic capacities of the state, have a critical take on the reality, accept differences and respect human rights and freedoms.

These are the values which are fundamental to EU and they require every individual and every institution in Montenegro to contribute. This is why I would like to see Montenegrin citizens becoming equal to other citizens of EU in looking for a job, studying, in the free movement of people, services and capita... I would like to be able to show the natural beauties and virtues of Montenegro to Europe, but also to reveal our shortcomings and face up to them.

We should never forget that this is our country, that there is only one Montenegro and that whoever does not value him or herself and his or her country cannot be valued by others, or be ready to adopt civilisational achievements and values of EU.

Roaming still expensive

Almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of Europeans are worried about the price of using their mobile phones while travelling in another EU country, shows a study by the European Commission (EC). According to the study, 72% of travellers limit their use of phone services abroad because of the high costs of roaming, even if most of them recognise that the prices have decreased since 2006. The EU's goal is to eliminate the difference between the costs of phoning within the country and while abroad by 2015. The EC's study shows that the number of calls grew by 32% since 2006 when the new rules on roaming came into force.

European tree of the year contest

Between 6 February and 6 March the European citizens will be able to vote on the Internet for the European tree of the year. The contestants are five trees from five countries: Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania and Slovakia, and the winning tree will be announced at a ceremony in Brussels during the Green week. The selected trees have already won the national contests for the tree of 2010. The trees in question are two plane trees from Bulgaria and Hungary, oaks from Czech Republic and Slovakia and a linden tree from Romania. They are not only special because of their look and age, but also because of the stories and legends attached to them. "The contest could change the attitude of the people towards their environment and attract their attention to the local natural heritage" said the EC official **Ladislav Miko**, the former Czech minister of environment

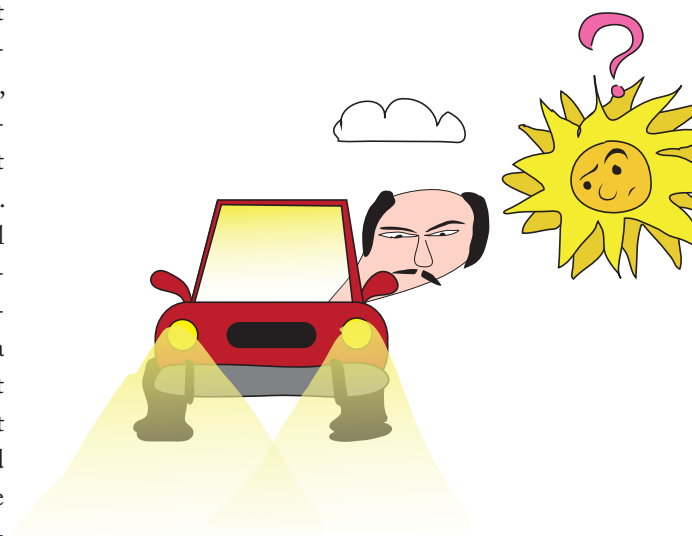
Fewer poor regions

The poorest European regions are catching up with the rest of Europe, in spite of the crisis, said the European commissioner for regional policy Johannes Hahn. He singled out Poland and Spain as countries that made effective use of regional funds. "In Portugal this process is more difficult, and Greece also has some diffi-

culties in preparing projects that qualify for EU assistance" said Hahn. Until 2014 the number of regions with GDP below 75% of the European average will decrease from the current 84 to 68. "That means that 35 million people will live better", Hahn added.

Fines for loud planes

European states have the right to punish air companies if their aircrafts make too noise over inhabited areas close to airports, said Pedro Cruz Villalon, advisor to ECJ. EAT, part of DHL group, asked the court to overrule the decision of the Belgian authorities to fine this company with 56 000 euros after one of its planes exceeded the maximum allowed noise over Brussels. ECJ's opinion is not binding, but its recommendations are followed in 80% of the cases.



Obligatory daylight

From 7 February onwards, all new cars and light commercial vehicles in EU will have to be equipped with daytime lights, and the regulation will also apply to trucks and buses from August 2012. These lights are turned on automatically when the engine starts. Daytime lights are supposed to increase the traffic safety as they significantly increase the visibility of the vehicle for other participants, EC said.

Unrests across Africa intensify European concerns with a possible flood of illegal immigrants It takes a Gaddafi to reform the EU asylum system

Over the last twelve months approximately 100 000 people have illegally entered EU, mostly through its southern borders

Wave of unrests all across Africa intensified concerns in the European Union about a possible flood of illegal immigrants seeking safety and social assistance in Europe. The governments of EU countries started a debate on how to handle this problem at a time of economic difficulties when the European voters are wary of foreigners. EU members will be discussing a set of short-term measures to stop the flood of immigrants in the upcoming weeks. In the long term, the worries over renewed migrations will force the EU to reconsider its plans for the reform of the unstable asylum system.



Thousands of immigrants have already left their countries, especially Tunis and Egypt, after the start of protests against the governments. More than 5 000 Tunisians and thousands of Egyptians reached Italy, the key

European landing place for the immigrants in the last few weeks. Thousands of them could also come to EU from Libya, depending on the fate of **Muammar al-Gaddafi** and the outcome of the dramatic events in this country. Libya has so far played the key role in preventing poor Africans from reaching Europe. According to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), around 1.5 million undocumented migrants live in Libya, having come there mostly from sub-Saharan Africa, Egypt and South Africa. IOM says that around 10% of them hope to migrate to Europe. Over the last twelve months approximately 100 000 people have illegally crossed the borders of EU, mostly through the southern border points. The most common way of illegal entry is via Turkey, across the border with Greece.

A boat trip to Europe is certainly the most dangerous way. According to aid organisations, since 1998 some 15 000 people lost their lives trying to reach Europe. Recently arrived immigrants from North Africa are only a fraction of those who seek refuge in Europe every year. At the same time, 250 000 people applied for asylum in European Union, a quarter of them coming from Afghanistan, Russia, Somalia and Iraq. The countries with the highest number of applications are France, Germany, Sweden, UK and Belgium. At the moment every tenth inhabitant of Europe is an immigrant, and Germany ranks third in the world by the number of immigrants, just after USA and Russia. Every EU country has its own immigration rules and standards. There are, however, some common rules and the European Commission, as the joint executive body, believes that there should be more agreement among the member states on matters of immigration. The commission wants to ensure that all EU countries follow the same standards in solving the problems of refugees such as housing, employment and detention rules. Besides, the Commission wants to change the rules governing the responsibil-

ity of countries for immigrants. According to the current laws, the immigrants ought to ask for asylum in the countries through which they first entered the EU. However, many are using the advantages of border-free travel in EU to apply for asylum in countries which are known to offer better conditions to asylum seekers. Many of them have been sent back to Italy or Greece to apply there. Human rights organisations have been warning that the conditions in Greece often do not comply with the inter-

Every EU country has its own immigration rules and standards. There are, however, some common rules and the European Commission, as the joint executive body, believes that there should be more agreement among the member states on matters of immigration. The commission wants to ensure that all EU countries follow the same standards in solving the problems of refugees such as housing, employment and detention rules

national practice of protection. Countries such as Greece and Italy, on the other hand, believe that other EU member states ought to accept more responsibility for migrants. Some of the countries are pushing for common efforts to secure EU borders. The analysts warn that the EU should expect a wave of illegal immigrants on the heels of the “Biblical exodus”, as the Italian authorities called the first large influx of illegal immigrants who left Tunis in the throes of unrests.

On their way, the first station was the little Italian island of Lampedusa, which received in a single week some 5 000 immigrants from Tunis. Only on Sunday 1 400 of them arrived in overcrowded boats. The official Rome warned that the system is about to collapse and demanded urgent action from the Tunisian au-

thorities, while accusing Brussels for inadequate, bureaucratised and slow reaction to help Italy in this case. The European Commission rejects such accusations, and **Michele Cercone**, spokesperson for the Home Affairs Commissioner **Cecilia Malmström**, says that Brussels is ready to help, “within its abilities”:

“Although Italian governments have not asked for it, we have contacted Frontex and the European Asylum Office to let us know how the Commission can help Italy in this difficult situation. The EC is fully aware of the growing pressure on Italy, and we are ready to offer support to the Italian authorities and to demonstrate concrete European solidarity”. Frontex is a European agency in charge of overseeing the external borders of European Union, in accordance with the basic rights, international law and European regulations. While waiting for its opinion, Brussels has not specified whether the EU assistance in this case would also mean taking over a number of migrants from Lampedusa and distributing them to other EU countries. During her visit to Tunis, **Catherine Ashton**, the EU High Representative for foreign policy and security, said it was the task of the Home Affairs Directorate of the European Commission to find an adequate solution for the migrants in cooperation with Tunisian and Italian authorities. Italy has officially requested 100 million euros of assistance from the European Commission for taking care of the Tunisian migrants. One hundred million euros from the European refugee fund is probably a little excessive to ask for 5 000 refugees – it would mean that the country receives 25 000 euros per every refugee. In any case, it might force the EU members to think of a better and perhaps more integrated asylum system.

Source: *Radio Free Europe, Radio Deutsche Welle*

CEFTA 2007–2011: experiences, potential and perspectives

WB markets have nothing to offer to each other

CEFTA should not be expected to give a strong boost to the economies of the Western Balkans, especially not in comparison to the rapprochement with EU which is of crucial importance for these countries. However, in the middle to long term the benefits (lower prices, economies of scale, better quality of goods, savings from lower transportation costs) will be greater than costs. These are the findings of the study “CEFTA 2007–2011: experiences, potential and perspectives”, conducted by the Belgrade based Centre for New Policies as a contribution to the debate on the possibilities for deeper economic cooperation and raising the level of competitiveness of these economies. Balkan states, including Moldova, signed the Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA) on 19 December 2006, replacing the network of bilateral free trade treaties. After joining the EU, Romania and Bulgaria left CEFTA. Serbia, Albania, BiH, Macedonia, Croatia, Montenegro, Kosovo and Moldova retained the membership, resulting in a common market of around 27 million consumers. The authors of the study, Goran Nikolić, Nikola Jovanović and Vladimir Todorović, warn that the countries in the region have technologically backward industries, are competing against each other in exports to EU and have little to offer to one another. “The free trade zone will bring the highest benefits to the companies with relatively high-quality offers which will be able to attract new consumers in this way, while the biggest losers will be the companies which only survived because of the difficulties which their competitors from the region encountered in entering the national market. In any case, there is little sense in unifying these markets bearing in mind that they will anyway be

entering the EU relatively soon, and that they are each others’ main competitors for the EU markets, warns the study. It also notes that the biggest non-tariff barriers are the long, complicated and non-transparent customs procedures, expensive and extensive tests and controls and the lack of accredited laboratories for checking the goods that cross the borders. “Zdravković (2006, 2010) has shown that the countries of South-East Europe (CEFTA plus Bulgaria and Romania) are lagging by about a decade behind the Central European Countries (EU members since 2004) in the process of adjusting their production and export structures to the needs of the EU market, measured by the index of export similarity as well as the trade complementarity index. These countries’ primary trade orientation is towards EU (mostly Germany and Italy), and their export structures are very similar, so they have nothing to offer to each other. Results of the calculated indices of export similarity confirm the hypothesis that there are no products that the countries of the region can successfully sell to each other. The lowest degree of similarity is between Macedonia and BiH and Serbia and Albania”, argues the study. According to the authors, until 2020 there won’t be any major changes in export orientation. “The absolute growth of exports will come as a consequence of more intensive exchange between the countries where it is currently below the real trade potential (Serbia and Croatia, BiH and Serbia, Republic of Srpska and Croatia...) and of renewed production cooperation”. Among the West Balkan countries, the authors find that Croatia and Serbia have the highest economic potential, although the IMF forecast predicts a faster GDP growth for Serbia than for Croatia.

Foreign trade deficit a common trouble

West Balkan countries are quite similar to one another with regard to foreign trade, as with regard to many other economic parameters. The most important characteristics are low commodity exports and large foreign trade deficits. These countries accounted for about 0.16% of global exports in the period 2005–2010. As for the commodity exports to these 7 countries, the share of global imports is also low, but much higher than that of exports: slightly above 0.3% between 2005 and 2010.

BiH is the biggest importer of products from other CEFTA countries and has a large trade deficit with Croatia and Serbia (although these mostly concern the regional deficits of individual Croatian cantons, RS and district Brčko, known in the literature as “ethnic trade”). CEFTA accounts for the same share of total imports and exports of BiH as Germany, Italy and Slovenia put together. In 2010 BiH's exports to CEFTA countries were growing more quickly than imports, gradually eroding the trade imbalance.

The CEFTA region is also highly important for **Montenegro**, with 40% of total exports and 45% of imports in 2010. Partly due to its trade surplus in service exports Montenegro has a huge deficit in commodity trade. Serbia is the most important partner, and also near the top are BiH, Croatia and Slovenia.

Croatia is the second largest exporter in the CEFTA region, after Serbia, and the third largest importer (after BiH and Serbia). Plummeting imports to BiH in the wake of the crisis also eroded Croatia's trade surplus in 2009. Croatia is in surplus in its trade with all other CEFTA countries, except for Macedonia. CEFTA is three and a half times more important for Croatian exports (almost 19% of total exports in 2010) than for imports. Except for the marginal involvement of Moldavia, Albania is probably the least integrated CEFTA member, but as in the case of the other countries,

this region is more important for Albanian exports than for imports (14% in 2009). With regard to exports, Kosovo remains its most important partner. Exports to CEFTA countries have grown by 104% between 2005 and 2009, while imports from the CEFTA countries grew by 175%.

For **Macedonia**, exports to the CEFTA region grew by 48% between 2005 and 2009 (8.1% per year), while the imports increased by 49% (8.3% per year). The relative importance of CEFTA countries is about two times greater in exports than in imports. A large trade surplus in 2009 (272 million euros) can be entirely explained by its surplus with Kosovo 275 million euros).

Kosovo trades one third of its total foreign exchange with the CEFTA countries, indicating that Kosovo's imports are as badly covered by its exports in relation to CEFTA as in relation to the rest of the world. Kosovo is one of the rare territories where imports continued to grow in 2009, but it also recorded a strong export boost in the same period. Macedonia is the biggest exporter to Kosovo, but the share of Germany is also growing. Serbia, although its exports to Kosovo have been gradually increasing, is declining in importance as a trading partner for Kosovo.

V. Ž.

Estimated GDP per capita, in dollars

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Albania	3616	3730	3932	4165	4437	4764
BIH	4158	4275	4585	4929	5263	5623
Croatia	13528	13872	14572	15381	16238	17146
Kosovo	2604	2776	2925	3058	3151	3268
Macedonia	4635	4868	5204	5532	5885	6242
Montenegro	6117	6197	6530	6883	7163	7443
Serbia	5262	5574	6421	7007	7655	8257

The culture of human rights takes work



With the official ceremony of diploma award, the IX generation of Human Rights School completed the programme, organised by Centre for Civic Education (CCE), with support of the Commission for distribution of income from lottery games of the Government of Montenegro. During a four-month programme the participants had a chance to learn about the concept, culture and principles of human rights, analyse in detail international documents in the field of human rights, standards and recommendations of international organisations, hear about the mechanisms and instruments of human rights protection and gain insight into the situation with regard to human rights in Montenegro today. 29 citizens of Montenegro completed the fall

cycle of the Human Rights School. They were taught by professors from the University of Montenegro and other universities in the region, renowned lawyers, judges, researchers, MPs, representatives of political and non-governmental organisations, as well as of institutions in charge of protecting the human rights in Montenegro. The diplomas were awarded on 1 February 2011 by **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE..

Citizen's opinion on EU

Centre for Civic Education (CCE) and European Fund for the Balkans (EFB), in cooperation with Gallup, organised on 3 February 2011 a panel discussion titled "The end to depression – can the new Government use the moment of heightened enthusiasm among the citizens?" The cause for discussion was the presentation of the latest poll of Gallup Balkan Monitor for 2010, which offers an overview of the opinions and attitudes of the citizens of the Western Balkans on various issues, ranging from their satisfaction with the quality of life and economic situation, desire to emigrate or to continue living in their own countries, expectations from their respective governments and attitudes towards EU and NATO integrations. The results of the poll were presented by **Robert Manchin**, executive director of Gallup, and the discussants were **Slavica Milačić**, secretary for European integrations in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integrations, and **Stevo Muk**, president of the Board of Managers of Institute Alternative. At the very beginning of the discussion, the participants were also addressed by **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE and **Biljana Meshkovska**, programme manager in EFB.

European standards against discrimination

A consultative seminar titled "*Anti-discrimination: European standards and case law*" took place on 5 February in Podgorica, organised by the Council of Europe and Centre for Civic Education (CCE). The goal of the seminar was to open up a discussion on Article 14 of the European Convention on Human Rights and Freedoms which prohibits discrimination, and to present an overview of the standards in this area through the case law of the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg. The consultations were opened by **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE and **Gennadiy Kosyak**, representative of the Council of Europe. Individual aspects of discrimination were discussed in more detail by **Snežana Kaluđerović**, legal advisor to CCE, **Dovydas Vitkauskas**, a Council of Europe expert and **Monika Mijić**, representative of the Council of Ministers of BiH in the European Court of Human Rights. After a short introduction, 35 participants had a chance to take part in the discussion and express their opinions, dilemmas or questions, and talk to the CoE experts about the ways to improve anti-discrimination mechanism in Montenegro, forms of discrimination, and the obligation to observe the Article 14 of the ECHR.

A new cycle of lectures

As part of the educational programme *Contemporary tendencies of the critical thought*, on 24 February in CEE **Filip Kovačević** gave the first lecture of a cycle of lectures on Herbert Marcuse. Dr Kovačević, the creator and leader of the programme is also the author of a book on psychoanalysis and critical theory „Liberating Oedipus?“, and of the publication „Lacan in Podgorica“, which is the result of the first cycle of lectures on Jacques Lacan. The program is a result of a commitment on

the part of dr Kovačević, as well as of the leading people in CCE to respond to the identified educational needs of the society. The current cycle is a novelty for CCE, but also for Montenegro, and although it concerns a very specific set of issues and topics which could not guarantee mass interest on the part of future audience, there was a very high number of applicants to the programme. The programme is a wholly voluntary undertaking, where Professor Kovačević contributes his knowledge and expertise, CCE its premises and organisational capacities, and the participants their curiosity and leisure time, because what we identify as one of the needs of our academic environment and the society as a whole does not necessarily always coincide with the priorities of the donors. The lectures and discussions take place every Thursday at CCE, beginning at 19:30.

Knowledge for EU

On 31 January, with the official diploma award ceremony, X generation of European Integrations School completed the programme, organised by Centre for Civic Education (CCE), Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations (CDNGO) and European Movement in Montenegro (EMiM), with support by the Foundation Open Society Institute, Regional Office in Montenegro. The participants were awarded the diplomas by **Sanja Elezović**, executive director of FOSI ROM, **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE, **Ana Novaković**, executive director of CDNGO and **Momčilo Radulović**, secretary general of EMiM, who all emphasised that the process of European integrations is the goal of the entire society and that the School contributes in a high quality manner to the inclusion of all social structures into the process of European integrations. Over the four months of active work and study, the 30 participants have successfully completed the programme of the School, designed to offer a broad spectrum of theoretical and practical knowledge in the area of European integrations through lectures by renowned professors and experts from academic and other institutions and organisations, both in Montenegro and abroad, members of the diplomatic corps and other officials. The participants had a chance to learn about the historical background, development and functioning of the process of European integrations, the current status of EU institutions, the influence they have on our society, and one of the goals was also to motivate the participants to become engaged in promoting and grounding European standards in the contemporary Montenegrin society. The successful graduates of the landmark X generation of EIS are: Ana Bogavac, Ana Šanović, Asmir Pepić, Aleksandar Šečić, Blagota Marunović, Danilo Raičković, Esmer Ličina, Emir Kalač, Eleonora Albijanić, Hanja Mićović, Ivana Jovanović, Ivana Drakić, Jadranka Pavićević, Lidija Knežević, Ljubomir Sošić, Miloš Žarković, Mirko Bošković, Maja Vukčević, Miloš Žižić, Milica Dragojević, Nikolina Radojičić, Nikola Turčinović, Nedeljko Šušakčević, Svetlana Stojanović, Svetlana Bošković, Snežana Kaluđerović, Zlata Pelević i Žana Jovanović.



Training in public advocacy

In order to strengthen the capacities of the civil society to cooperate with the Parliament of Montenegro, Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations (CDNGO) organised a training "Public advocacy" for representatives of civil society organisations dealing with democratisation and the protection of human and minority rights. The training, which took place on 26 and 27 February in Podgorica, is part of the project "Strengthening cooperation between civil society organisations and the Parliament of Montenegro" co-financed by EU and managed by the EU Delegation in Montenegro. The goal of this project is to enhance participation of the civil society in development and implementation of public policies in the areas of democratisation and human rights, in line with the priorities and recommendations from EC's Opinion and the measures of the Government's Action Plan for the implementation of the recommendations from EC's Opinion. **Milica Milonjić**, CEE programme associate, participated in the training on behalf of CCE.

Annenberg-Oxford Media Policy Summer Institute

The Center for global communication studies at the Annenberg school for communication, University of Pennsylvania and the programme for Comparative media law and policy at the University of Oxford (PCMLP) are pleased to announce the 13th annual Annenberg-Oxford media policy summer institute, to be held from July 4 - 15, 2011 at the University of Oxford.

This year the Summer Institute will also focus on media governance and strategic communication in conflict and post-conflict environments, as well as media and economic/social development, freedom of information, internet regulation and convergence. Part of the course will be devoted to new developments in comparative approaches to regulation, looking at Ofcom in the UK and other agencies, including examples from the Middle East, Africa and Asia.

The seminar brings together a wide range of participants from around the globe and provides them with an environment in which significant policy issues are seriously discussed. The richness of the experience comes from exposure to a variety of speakers and from the discussions among participants themselves.

The application deadline is April 1, 2011. Please send by email to cgcs@asc.upenn.edu. For more information **visit this page >>>**

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