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MONTENEGRO

Foreword:



Vladan Žugić

Friends

While we are waiting for the heads of the EU states and governments to approve negotiations with Montenegro on the 9 December summit, we can quite clearly see that on our way to Europe we have two influential friends - European Commission and Germany. While the Dutch Parliament, for instance, considers the European Commission report on Montenegro to be "overly positive", Enlargement Commissioner Stefan Füle announced that he had sent a separate letter to the ministries of foreign affairs of EU members, urging them to approve EC's recommendation at the Summit. Füle seems to be lobbying for Montenegro, among other because a negative decision of the Council of EU would undermine the Commission, and question its judgement. Simply put, some member states - especially France - believe that Montenegro has not done enough to fight corruption and organised crime and that the Commission is turning a blind eye on the faults of its little student. The confusing bit is that Germany has suddenly warmed up to Montenegro, so much that it is urging France to approve the beginning of negotiations. Insider experts on enlargement policy had already told the Government in Podgorica years ago to find a member state that will lobby for its interests. They say German diplomacy is basically German economy. I don't know if Germany has any economic or strategic interest in Montenegro, but it's the best partner I could think of. Things will get better in Montenegro only if we exchange the Balkan, the Mediterranean or the Russian cultural mores for the German ones. This is also a way for the EU to have one day, in the guise of Montenegrins, prudent and hard-working Mediterraneans, whose reputation at the moment has been further undermined by the crises in Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal.

Calendar

- 06. November Together for a solution on displaced persons and refugees / Ministers of foreign affairs of Serbia, BiH, Croatia and Montenegro Vuk Jeremić, Sven Alkalaj, Goran Jandroković and Milan Roćen signed a declaration confirming their commitment to a common solution for the remaining displaced persons and refugees of which there are some 200 000 left in the region. European Enlargement Commissioner Stefan Füle said this document was an important contribution to regional cooperation, especially in the context of integration into European Union.
- 09. November Poland lobbies for Montenegro / Polish diplomat Artur Harazim said there are still ongoing discussions about the possibility of granting Montenegro the date for the beginning of membership negotiations at the upcoming EU summit, and added that Poland is trying to convince other members to let Montenegro through. Harazim, whose country is presiding over the EU until the end of the year did not hide that "some countries want to postpone this issue" - above all France, Germany and Netherlands.
- 22. November Bundestag committee approves negotiations / Working group for European Affairs in German Bundestag gave a positive opinion on the beginning of EU membership negotiations with Montenegro. Senior foreign policy advisor Hans-Joachim Falenski said that some of the MPs were very critical during discussion, but that Peter Beyer, rapporteur for the ruling Christian-Democratic Union (CDU) of the chancellor Angela Merkel, laid out a convincing account of Montenegro's progress and the reasons it should begin negotiations already in the course of next year.
- 24. November France believes it is too early for negotiations / French Minister of Foreign Affairs Alain Jupe said that the Government in Paris thought that "opening negotiations with Montenegro in December would be too early, and that this issue should be reconsidered again in mid-2012". These reservations are based on the effectiveness of the reforms to data, including the rule of law", Jupe explained.
- The Dutch say "yes" / The Dutch Parliament decided to give Montenegro the green light to begin 30. November negotiations, which is surprising given the earlier insistence of the parliamentary committee that it was still too early.
- 30. November Füle lobbies for Montenegro / European Enlargement Commissioner Stefan Füle said he sent a letter to the ministers of foreign affairs of EU member states urging them to grant Montenegro the date for the beginning of negotiations at the upcoming 9 December summit. According to him, Montenegro continued with good performance even after the EC found that it had fulfilled the seven conditions and recommended to start negotiations.

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Clemens Wergin

The Germans are slowly becoming the favourite scapegoat for the euro crisis. Damned if they do, damned if they don't. For years, editorials in Germany and around the world called for Germany to step up and take a leadership role in the currency crisis. Now that Chancellor Angela Merkel has done just that, it turns out that's not right either. In the United Kingdom, some commentators wax delirious about the "Fourth Reich" that Berlin has supposedly established in Europe. The basic gist of this argument is that what the Germans didn't achieve in two world wars they are now achieving with the help of the euro crisis: dominance at the heart of Europe. The Junkers and Barrosos of the world are ticked off because Merkel isn't up for paying all of the euro zone's unpaid bills, and has also voiced a certain amount of skepticism about European institutions that failed to prevent the crisis and are not proving to be particularly creative in solving it. Germanophobia is also spreading in France due to the supposed dim-witted Germans' insistence on sticking to a couple of principles about the stability of the currency. If the situation weren't so deadly serious, this might cause a wry smile or two about the irony of history. The irony is that the Germans, who have been fairly obvious about their anti-Americanism over the last decade or so, are now finding out what it feels like to be the lead and unloved - player. In Europe, Germany is in the process of becoming what the United States is to the world: the leading power whose every move is examined microscopically. And it serves the Germans right. Because looking into the mirror of Europe they find themselves confronted by their own ambivalent expectations of the United States. The patterns are exactly the same. For decades, the Germans have been skateboarding around on the safety net that the United States spread across Europe and the world. Like many other Europeans, for decades they have not been contributing their fair share to the maintenance of that net. And yet Germany wants to be a part of the conversation, play an influential role -- and then whatever the Americans finally do isn't exactly what they had in mind. Which doesn't stop them from grandly overlooking their own failures: the training of po-



Indispensable and resented nation

lice officers in Afghanistan springs to mind. In security matters, the Europeans are like cranky old critics from the Muppets. They sit on the sidelines and provide commentary about what's going on, while the Americans and their hard power are out there doing, with more or less success. This pathological relationship to the West's leading nation is now being stood on its head. Suddenly it's the Germans everybody wants a solution from. And when Germany does offer up ideas, they are criticized as inadequate. What European countries would like best, regardless of whether or not they are in the euro zone, is for Germany to cough up the cash but without the right to establish any conditions, which would be seen as Germany bullying the rest of Europe. Europe is currently developing a lovehate relationship with Germany that is very similar to the one Germans feel for the United States. Germany is the "indispensable nation" at the heart of the euro zone, the one without which nothing works. Without Germany, there's no way to even contemplate a euro zone rescue. It's in realizing this that the rest of Europe reacts with denial and rejection. Even if the Germans should succeed in stemming the crisis, the rest of Europe won't forgive them because that would mean recognizing just how dependent they are on Germany. So let's not expect any thanks. All the more reason to make sure that the interests of the German taxpayer don't get subsumed by all the crisis management

The author is a contributor to several German and European media. Source: www.worldcrunch.com



Tina Radulović

Judges without immunity, Criminals without property Reducing political influence on the election of judges and prosecutors, and amending the Constitution so as to deprive them of legal immunity in the future are only some of the possible tasks that will be set before Montenegro in the near future as part of the notorious Chapters 23 (Judi-

Brussels' first tasks for Montenegro once the negotiations begin

ciary and Fundamental Rights) and 24 (Justice, Freedom and Security). There are also cutbacks on the number of courts, judges, prosecutors, activities of the Agency for confiscation of illegally acquired property, a crackdown on drug dealers, better cooperation between police and prosecution... All this will end up on the table regardless of whether the heads of EU states and governments decide to open negotiations with Montenegro or rather opt for asking the European Commission to formulate an action plan that the

Constitutional amendments to eliminate immunity for judges and prosecutors, reduction in the number of courts, judges and prosecutors, improvements in the performance of the Agency for confiscation of illegally acquired property, a crackdown on drug dealers, better cooperation between the police and the prosecution, better control of the border with Kosovo... These are only some of the possible tasks from the notorious Chapters 23 and 24 that Montenegro will have to fulfil in the near future.

Montenegrin government will have to fulfil before it formally begins negotiations. It is certain that the EU will ask Montenegro to demonstrate further progress in the areas already identified as problematic in the 2011 European Commission Progress Report, whether as part of negotiations or in the preliminary action plan. Among the EC's objections is the fact that the Regulations on assignment of cases to judges do not yet guarantee random distribution of cases, and that there are "remaining concerns about reliability and quality of judiciary statistics". The EC further insists that there should be additional efforts to rationalise the network of courts because "Monte-

Rationalisation of the network of courts requires reorganisation. We are thinking, among other, of centralising the responsibility for prosecution and process for the cases concerning organised crime, corruption, terrorism and war crimes, and of establishing a special court, as well as dedicated prosecutor's office, which would be based in Podgorica, said a representative of the Ministry of Justice.

negro is still one of the countries with the highest number of basic courts, judges, prosecutors and administrative staff in Europe". Based on the Progress Report, it would appear that the first request from Brussels will be for amendments to the Montenegrin Constitution to abolish immunity for prosecutors and judges because "such



broad protection from criminal prosecution constitutes a cause for concern". Reminding that a special anti-corruption team has been established, consisting of representatives of the Police Directorate, Directorate for the prevention of money laundering and financing of terrorism, Tax Administration and Customs Administration, responsible to the Special Prosecutor for Organised Crime, the Report further observes that "cooperation between different departments is still insufficient", and in several places points at coordination failures between the police and the prosecutor. The EU will probably also insist on a greater number of financial investigations that could result in confiscation of property, because "there are still very few cases where the court requested confiscation". Another target group of the negotiations over Chapters 23 and 24 or of the preliminary action plan will be the drug dealers. In the 2011 Progress Report the European Commission



finds that "drug trafficking remains the main cause for concern, as Montenegro is one of the main links in the Balkan drug trafficking route from and to EU. The amount of seized narcotics is still very small". Nikola Šaranović, head of the cabinet of the deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Justice Duško Marković, whose enormous achievements in the previous period are probably the reason the EC recommended opening of negotiations in the first place, says that the Government is ready to continue at the same pace strengthening the rule of law and fight against corruption and organised crime, regardless of the start of negotiations. He claims the Government had already set the priorities for the further reforms of the Montenegrin society. "In short, we will focus on five priority areas: strengthening independence of the judiciary, rationalisation of the network of courts, capacity building in judiciary and the police for the fight against corruption and organised crime, education of the members of the

Corruption and capacities

Asked whether Montenegrin authorities and institutions could have done more to fight corruption and crime, as these are the key areas where insufficient progress threatens to delay negotiations with EU, Saranović said: "The Government and its institutions went beyond the recommendations of our European partners, and in some areas exceeded their own expectations. Of course, there are areas where we failed to achieve the expected results, because of the lack of administrative capacities. Still, we invested all of our efforts, knowledge and energy, which does not mean that we won't do even more in the future".

judiciary and reform of the system of penal institutions", said Šaranović in the interview for European Pulse. He maintains that regardless of the results of the initiative to amend the Constitution, the Ministry will work to strengthen independence of the judiciary by focusing on "the individual as a carrier of a judicial function, who is in the final instance responsible for the transformation of the Montenegrin judiciary into a modern, European system of justice". "Rationalisation of the network of courts requires reorganisation. We are thinking, among other, of centralising the responsibility for prosecution and process for the cases concerning organised crime, corruption, terrorism and war crimes, and of establishing a special court, as well as dedicated prosecutor's office, which would be based in Podgorica, Šaranović said. He added that Montenegro will have to face "the task of building up capacities of judiciary and law enforcement bodies to effectively conduct financial investigations, and improve the system of management of confiscated property." "We will pay special attention to anti-corruption mechanisms, whose implementation to date was less than effective. Reform of the prison system also includes improvements in the system of alternative sanctions as well as of detention capacities. We also submitted a project related to this for cofinancing from the IPA funds." President of the Board of Managers of the Monitoring Centre

(CEMI) Zlatko Vujović warns that the commitment to independence of judiciary and prosecution must continue in the future, alongside additional improvements to judiciary procedures. "This is one of the main conditions set by EU to the candidate countries, and a consistent point of criticism with regard to Montenegro. Naturally, there are also the tasks of eradication of political and economic corruption and organised crime, greater independence and capabilities of institutions which deal with these issues, improvement of the legal framework in many areas – financing of political parties, conflict of interests, public fi-



nances, as well as improvement of coordination between institutions and their activities", Vujović said. The EU also criticised the new regulations on the financing of political parties and electoral campaigns, which are yet to be implemented, because "there are still concerns about insufficiently preventive and undifferentiated system of sanctions, the system and limits on membership fees, and the capabilities of the State Electoral Commission to ensure fully independent effective monitoring". According to the EC Report, the most important recommendations of the Venetian Commission and OSCE refer to the breakup of coalitions and their financial commitments, as well as to the extension of the SEC mandate to the municipal elections. There are also concerns about the unresolved question of the right to vote in general elections and insufficient guarantees

More boasting than work

Vujović says that 2011 was a good year to "take some decisive steps to fight corruption and organised crime". "Amendments to the existing laws which regulate this area, adoption of new ones, and strategies to alter the institutional framework created enough space to build an effective, efficient system for the fight against corruption and organised crime. Unfortunately, lack of political will and of a vision of the final result of the reforms, and sometimes also the lack of expertise on the part of decision-makers in this area resulted in the laws which are not entirely adequate, nor do they guarantee better results in the future. More energy was spent on advertising results to the international community than on real reforms of the anticorruption system", Vujović said.

for gender equality in political life, because the current electoral law, although it sets a 20% quota for women on the party lists, does not require these candidates to be ranked high enough to have a genuine chance to win a seat. In spite of positive assessment of the new Law on the prevention of the conflict of interests, the EC is worried about the capacities of the Commission, and is in fact asking for unified reports on politicians' income and property. It could also be expected that during negotiations on chapters 23 and 24 the EU will ask Montenegro to amend its visa policy, because it still needs to harmonise its legislation with the EU positive and negative lists. The Report also warns that the security should be stepped up significantly on the border with Kosovo, and given the developments in this country it is to be expected that the EU will continue to insist on this issue. EC once more reminded the Government of the need to adopt a new Law on interior affairs, as well as amendments to the procedures of internal organisation and systematisation of the Police Directorate. It remains to be seen which of these issues will turn up at the very beginning of the negotiations process or as requirements for the beginning of the process. In any case, the list of the tasks required by Brussels in the near future is a long and serious one.

Neđeljko Rudović

Will the leading members of the European Union have the nerve and the foresight to continue dealing with the Balkans while they desperately try to find a way to save the Eurozone and prevent disintegration of the Union? This question will become increasingly pertinent and will also decide the future of Montenegro. Without special commitment to the Balkans, where only Montenegro is now capable of carrying the torch that will take us out of the dark tunnel, Europe is risking a new era of instabilities, which will almost certainly come on the heels of economic crisis and lack of perspective. It would mean strengthening of the nationalist rhetoric as the only way to conquer or keep the reins of power. It would also mean conflict instead of cooperation, which has been the byword of the last decade and in which the EU already invested hundreds of millions in various projects to bring the Balkan states together. The EU could lose the fruits of all its efforts to date and find itself facing the same dilemma - how to contain the Balkan powder keg and eliminate its threat to the security of EU itself? At the same time, the decision of EU leaders to grant Montenegro the date for the beginning of accession negotiations would save Montenegro from reactionary forces which would happily seize the moment to support their argument that Montenegro should look for success somewhere else. These forces, camouflaged by already wary pro-European rhetoric, have a single chance to escape justice by evading the Western value system, which requires the rule of law and rejects partnership with corrupt rulers in transition countries. The example of the former Croatian Prime Minister Ivo Sanader is a straightforward illustration. This is why it is important for Montenegro to continue the process of European integration. Progressive forces in the country, including the civil sector and independent media, would lose all allies and would be left to the mercy of a monster which is an amalgamation of public institutions and the mafia. The EU leaders who are to meet in Brussels on 9 December know the Montenegrin situation very well. The question is only whether they will have enough patience to

Will the crisis in the Eurozone leave any time to the leading EU members to

deal with Montenegro at their December summit

In Euro's shadow



deal with it as they have to face a much larger crisis - saving the EU from complete collapse. According to the German chancellor Angela Merkel and the French president Nicolas Sarkozy, the plan is to amend the Lisbon Treaty in order to create a fiscal union, in order to overcome the debt crisis. This requires fiscal discipline, confronting Europeans with a difficult financial marathon. In order to stimulate economic growth in Europe, they need an iron model of federal control over state budgets and economic reforms. "Fiscal union requires discipline, which in turn requires amendments to the founding treaties. We want to avoid creating a gap between the countries with the euro and those without it", said Merkel. And while the run-up to the summit is marked by hysteria in the European media and fears from its epilogue, it is difficult to expect that much attention will be paid to Montenegro. Formally, only the French are opposing a positive decision because of weak results in the fight against corruption and organised crime, but in fact Sarkozy does not want to undermine his chances in the upcoming presidential elections, where further EU enlargement long ceased to be a winning card. If they delay Montenegro's progress for a longer period, they would send the same message to the rest of the Balkans - Europe is not waiting for you. And that could be fatal.

If they delay Montenegro's progress for a longer period, the French would send the same message to the rest of the Balkans – Europe is not waiting for you. And that could be fatal.

Ambassador of the Republic of Croatia to Montenegro Petar Turčinović When we are a member of EU, Zagreb will support Podgorica

Once an EU member, Croatia will in no way slow down or block Montenegro's integration into EU like Slovenia did with Croatia, and every request of Montenegro for Croatia's support can count on a positive reaction, said the ambassador of the Republic of Croatia in Podgorica **Petar Turčinović** in the interview for *European Pulse*.

Croatia left the chapter on judiciary and fundamental rights for the very end, and it turned out to be very difficult, perhaps even a little dramatic. This is why Montenegro will now start with chapters 23 and 24, to have enough time to make the necessary progress in regard to the core EU requirements which constitute the basic values of this community.

On 9 December Croatia will sign an accession agreement with EU, which should then be ratified by the parliaments of 27 member states. Together with a membership referendum in Croatia itself, these are the remaining requirements to make this country the 28th member of EU next year, which, together with others, will decide on the further progress of Montenegro.

Turčinović said that the EU evolved from one crisis to another, learning from past mistakes and continuously building up the community. "The EU also learned from the conflict between Croatia and Slovenia, but Croatia and Slovenia learned the most. If we apply this experience to the relationship between Croatia and Montenegro, it is in Croatia's best economic interest to move the Schengen border, together with its costs, to Montenegro as soon as possible. Croatia has an interest in a safe, stable and ever richer Montenegro, as a potential partner in the competition of world tourist markets. Both the government and the opposition in Croatia agree that Croatia cannot prosper unless its neighbours progress too, and at the moment Montenegro holds the most promise in this respect. This is why I ex-



Evidently, EC also realised that Montenegro's main problems are the rule of law, corruption and organised crime, and 1 also think these constitute 70% of all problems and obstacles to Montenegro's development

pect that there might be technical negotiations, but no interruptions that would block or slow down Montenegro's progress towards EU. Just the opposite, I am convinced that every request for support on Montenegro's part will receive a positive reaction in Crotia", Turčinović said.

» How much did Croatian society changed since the beginning of accession negotiations with EU?

Perhaps the best answer to this question came from Štefan Füle, European Enlargement Commissioner, who said that Croatia now is not the country which began negotiations. Croatia emerged from a war and 20 years later it becomes an EU member, a country with access to a market of 500 million inhabitants. Our gains are not only economic and social, but we also entered the European family, and embraced the European values and lifestyle.

» What are the biggest changes?

Between 2003 when we submitted the membership application and today, Croatia went through a lot of changes and challenges with regard to the competition, especially in the shipbuilding sector. Nevertheless, the "chapter of chapters" is the one on judiciary and fundamental rights, including the rights of minorities – it is indeed the "core of EU values".

» What do you think of the European Commission's decision to begin negotiations with Montenegro precisely with the Chapters 23 and 24?

EU is learning from its past experience. From the experience of Bulgaria and Romania it learned that it is not enough for the parliament of the candidate country to adopt laws which never get implemented. The consequence was an attempt to influence these countries by cutting down on the EU funds once they were already members, but the EU learned that for the next candidates it is also necessary to monitor the process of implementation. The next candidate country was Croatia, which had to conform to a few hundred conditions to open or close individual chapters. Croatia left the chapter on judiciary and fundamental rights for the very end, and it turned out to be very difficult, perhaps even a little dramatic. This is why Montenegro will now start with these two chapters, to have enough time to make the necessary progress in regard to the core EU requirements which concern the basic values of this community.

» According to opinion polls, most of the Montenegrin citizens are hoping for EU membership because they believe it will improve their living standards. Does Croatia's experience confirm these hopes?

EU's history is a story of over 60 years of stability, development and prosperity of its

» Read Monnet

Media loves bombastic phrases such as "Sanaderization" of Crotia or "Merkozyzation" of the EU, but when it comes to the processes against citizens, and especially public functionaries, it is a fundamental value of the Union that all its citizens are equal before the law. I believe that the EU is best described in the words of its founding father, Jean Monnet: "I never thought we could change the human nature. But by changing the context in which humans live, giving them all the same rules and the same democratic institutions, we can change their behaviour". It follows that every country, including Montenegro, should be opening processes against whoever violates its lows, but allow them defence and just trial. State officials should be no exception.

members, a period when not a single member left because they wouldn't have been better off on their own. All studies on the quality of life show that the EU countries, especially those in the north of the continent, are among the best off in the world. In 2010, among the top ten countries according to the quality of life the first five were Finland, Sweden, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway and Denmark. A study by the Economist shows that direct gain from entry into the European Union is about 1% of GDP, but the indirect benefits are much harder to calculate.

As for Croatia, since it will formally become a member only in 2013, it is too early to say. Nevertheless, access to a full range of EU funds will definitely refresh the Croatian budget, and we will be feeling the indirect benefits decades from now. Still, most of the citizens of Croatia know that our quality of life will depend primarily on our own efforts. According to Economist Intelligence, in 2004 Croatian GDP was only 40% of the average of the "core" EU 15, and they expect it to rise to 54% by 2025.

Annual financial reports of civil society organisations in Montenegro Growing transparency of NGOs



In 2010 213 civil society organisations received almost 4 million euros of support from foreign donors, and another 1.4 million from domestic sources

Financial support from foreign donors to nongovernmental organisations in Montenegro was around four million euros in 2011, somewhat below that of last year and with a tendency of falling further.

In 2011 most of the money from the foreign funds went to the projects concerning the protection of human rights, while the least amount was allocated to the prevention of drug addiction. As for the national funds, in total 1.4 million euro, most of them went to the programmes of organisations dedicated to persons with disabilities, and the least to the projects dealing with citizens' participation in decisionmaking and care for elderly.

These are some of the findings of the "Annual Financial Report of Civil Society Organisations in Montenegro", compiled by the Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations (CDNGO) based on questionnaires submitted by 213 organisations for the purposes of the TACSO programme.

The questionnaire inquired into the organisations' sources of income – from foreign donors, national funds, income from membership fees, economic activities, as well as information on non-monetary contributions.

Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) whose financial data is available made altogether an income of 5 413 403.98 euro in 2010. Out of this, foreign donations accounted for 3 952 345.76 euro. The financial reports showed that 64 foreign donors invested in NGO projects in Montenegro, but only 8 of them gave more than 100 000 euros, accounting for more than 2.5 million euros of foreign donations. The average amount of foreign donations was around 10 00 euros.

The remaining funding, 1 432 862.94 euro comes from 41 domestic donors (legal persons), which, according to the report, clearly shows that although this support is important, it is often insufficient to implement the projects in their entirety. Among the national sources of financing most of the money comes from the Commission for the allocation of profits from lottery games. According to the data available to CDNGO, the NGOs got another 60 349 euros from membership fees, and 61 323 from economic activities. Of the 213 organisations, 149 had income below 10 000 euros, while 18 of them received more than 100 000 euros.

According to CDNGO, this means that these 213 NGOs have transparent finances. Publication of financial reports and the willingness of more than 200 organisations to participate in a common publication indicate a very positive trend among NGOs which tends towards self-regulation, the only real way for the sector to become more mature. This is why it is not enough for the organisations to only publish the reports on their websites, but they should participate in similar initiatives which contribute to the development and image of the entire sector, said CDNGO.

All findings of the report are available on CDNGO's website www.crnvo.me and on the website of the TACSO programme www.tacso. org



In the tracks of revolution



Brano Mandić

A few months ago Ukraine finally stopped the hair-splitting and, in the local jargon of our witty media, "lifted the ramp" barring Montenegro's accession to the World Trade Organisation (WTO). Yet there's another bar awaiting both Podgorica and Kiev, two otherwise very different cities. Ukraine, a country of 50 million people, is a major headache for EU which is all too easily letting it slide into Russian hands. To illustrate the extent of the failure of the West: at the anniversary of the "orange revolution" a few days ago there was a gathering of a handful of Ukrainian citizens, a few hundred veterans whose leaders are either behind the bars or we can't remember their names. On the other

If a country cannot achieve the catharsis of a democratic change of government after 20 years, 1 don't think it is capable of doing something a lot more sophisticated – to set off the positive energy of the street among its inhabitants, to decentralise the power and talent across the boulevards and squares, to throw a few good parties and chase the thieves out of office. On the contrary, our experience with protests is revolting

side, Viktor Janukovich is a dumb one, according to the enemies, but powerful like the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS), supported by the eastern wing of the voting apparatus and by Moscow, which has managed to startle Ukrainians so many times in their history. Ukraine is an excellent example of a country which had a chance, and missed it. I wouldn't know the exact reasons, but I'd say it is too big for rapid reforms. I saw people there coming to the polls on horses, abandoned cultural centres heated with old kitchen stoves, bars without toilets, sparsely clad grandmas whose grandchildren are racing second generation Golfs through the narrow streets blasting away Russian techno... all that a few hours from Kiev, the golden capital which a few years ago donned orange scarves and plunged into a better future. And found - nothing. These days we're hearing of revolutions, uprisings and protests in Montenegro. One trade union representative called for a people's rebellion against the mafia. Of course, nothing happened, only the Prime Minister said he doesn't like this style of



communication and that barricades are inappropriate in a country that strives towards Europe. I must admit that I agree and that I don't even dare think of all the muck that would float to the top in a single night of upheavals in the capital of Montenegro. I've been watching primitives around me ever since I was born, I studied their animal tensions when they smell the money or a female, I've watched them bond and mourn, throw up at family saint days and other parties, set up tents and curse at their neighbours - all the uncultured, miserable crowds dragging this country to the cultural level of a tipsy horse thief in D&G sweatpants. I look at them and I don't believe in the notions of civil disobedience that do not degenerate into a patriotic trance or into well-calculated robberies. If a country cannot achieve the catharsis of a democratic change of government after 20 years, I don't think it is capable of doing something a lot more sophisticated - to set off the positive energy of the street among its inhabitants, to decentralise the power and talents across the boulevards and squares, to make a few good parties and chase the thieves out of office. On the contrary, our experience with protests is so revolting that probably no one wants to go unarmed to a collective gathering of any sort, where they'll be awaited, in the best case, by a bunch of bullies and illiterates. It's true that a while ago 4 000 students started a new action - they walked the streets peacefully, managed to show sense of humour and attract interests and yet as soon as the leaders snatched the megaphone,



it turned into hysteria. I had to turn down the volume on one student-martyr with swollen throat arteries and, calm as Dr House, I watched, not believing one word of what he was saying. The young man got a threatening message and immediately ran to shout to the Universe that he's not afraid. First of all that's a lie, you have to get a little scared, I know it from experience. Besides, if you entered a political fight with injustice, you don't need to immortalise yourself at the very first step and end up in a historical black-and-white shot like you already died and the future generations are now watching your brave appearance, the swan's song of a fighter for freedom. If you decided to change something, tone down the emotions, look at how they do it in New York - slowly, for the long run, with a broad strategy nobody quite understands to the end. This way, before they even asked for anything, you can already see two currents among the students - a quasi-militant one based in Nikšić, and another made up of SDP youth, kids with a promise of very boring platforms, just like those of their party, entirely deprived of eroticism and subordinated to a coalition where they play the principled good guys. There is also the leader of the steel workers, a guy who, in my opinion, is setting up a back exit, calling for the 13 July and "death to fascism", to calmly give up on everything later. No offence, but I'd rather go and drink myself into oblivion than be lead into a better future by someone who spent his whole life in the steel plant Boris Kidrič in Nikšić. Because I remember very well how these steel workers sent their lunch money to the army plunThe moment their leader of the new party mentions "mafiocracy" and the "current regime", they'll end up in the basket which so far failed to produce anything tangible, interesting and fresh. They can't flunk that one

dering in Bosnia, how they sang under Milošević's and later **Đukanović's** photo, all that without a moment of reflection, theory or plan. So. I think I made it pretty clear why I don't want to go to the streets with Montenegrins, now let's see what is to be expected of the much-announced new political party. The new party will be a complete failure if it doesn't defeat DPS in the municipal elections. The enormous, free party network which the DPS commands like it owned it is a completely neglected aspect of their political power. Micro-level politics and fieldwork. That's what I expect from a newbie on the political stage. If they start with intellectual slogans and announcements to the public, they're done in. The problems is that DPS is using public resources to reward its local players: the family has its hand on a certain amount of goods and privileges which it can redistribute for every elections. With a well-measured slice of blackmail and fear, what better motivation do you need to motivate the people to support your cause? The new party must find the people who will do the same, but out of conviction, which is much more difficult, even impossible. What is worse, you must find an army of right people in every town, give them a clear set of guidelines and a timeframe and ask for results. They probably don't stand a chance in the next elections, but if they stick through and don't collapse like the Movement for Changes, one day very soon, in a few years, they could make a breakthrough. Until then, however, there are many challenges ahead, for instance, how to convince the voters that things are changing for the better. You can't do that without unusual young people, whose political language is different from their opponents. The moment their leader mentions "mafiocracy" and the "current regime", they'll end up in the basket which so far failed to produce anything tangible, interesting and fresh. They can't flunk that one, they must be cool on the outside, and on the inside all hard work, analysis and grassroots. This is a nastily general advice, but until I see them I can do no better. Good luck.



Charles Recknagel

What if the Eurozone collapses The end of Euro – the end of EU

At heart of the European crisis is the fear that, if urgent measures are not taken, the Eurozone could collapse. But what would that mean? The phrase being bandied about these days is: "The breakdown of Europe's single currency is possible - but not yet probable". Why is the breakdown possible? Because it's getting increasingly costly for the governments of weaker euro-member countries, like Italy and Greece, to borrow the money they need to pay their operating costs and their debts. And why is the breakdown not yet probable? Because even as these governments' borrowing costs rise to rates generally seen as unsustainable, the EU and international financial organizations say they remain committed to keeping the Eurozone together. But no one is certain whether the richer countries - which so far have bailed out only the relatively small economies of Portugal, Ireland, and Greece - could afford to bail out a much bigger economy like Italy's. And that makes the question of whether the Eurozone could break apart very real. Many experts believe that if the Eurozone were to break apart it would be because richer members leave it rather than continue to try to bail out poorer ones. In fact, there are already some signs that the richer countries - the so-called "core" or northern countries of the zone - are already considering that option. "They've discussed having a treaty amongst a smaller number of countries that would have a lot more fiscal coordination and a centralized treasury even, perhaps a Eurobond at the end of it all, and I think that's the direction in which they are going to move. It will probably include Germany, France, the Netherlands, perhaps Finland and a few others, but it would be those countries - it would not include the 'periphery," says Peter Boone, a senior visiting fellow at the London School of Economics. But if the Eurozone breaks up, none of its member states can hope to escape the massive economic turmoil that would result. Nor could any country elsewhere in the world that is linked to the Eurozone by banking or trade ties. The well-known commercial bank UBS recently estimated that the costs of leaving the Eurozone for a weak country would be equivalent to 9 500 to 11 500 euros per person in the first year. That equates to a range of

The well-known commercial bank UBS recently estimated that the costs of leaving the Eurozone for a weak country would be equivalent to 9 500 to 11 500 euros per person in the first year. That equates to a range of 40-50% of its GDP. For a country like Germany to leave the euro, the cost would be equivalent to 6 000 to 8 000 euros per person in the first year, up to 25% of the country's GDP.



40-50% of its GDP. Those high costs would come as the country leaving the Eurozone switched back to a national currency and printed money to pay its debts and public-sector wages. The new currency would be devalued in its purchasing power compared to the former euro because people would have little confidence in it and price inflation would almost certainly follow. Panos Tsakloglou, a political economist at Athens University of Economics and Business, says that initially the living standards of a country like Greece would decline dramatically. The only ray of hope would be that the devalued currency would make Greece's products cheaper for other countries to buy, boosting trade and eventually leading a recovery. "If we judge from the position of other countries that left monetary unions,



Would Germany be willing to provide even more money to these countries through a new Marshall Plan or the Common Agricultural Policy?

what we is that initially in a period of two or three years the economic situation deteriorates dramatically," Tsakloglou says, citing the case of Argentina after it left its currency peg with the U.S. dollar in 2002. After that, in spite of the pronounced decline in the living standard, the recovery would be much speedier recovery than if Greece stayed in the Eurozone and applied the austerity measures. "However, it starts from a substantially lower base", Tsakloglou warned. But the Eurozone's northern countries, too, could expect a period of difficult readjustment if the euro collapses, even if some of them band together to create a new currency of their own. A breakup of the Eurozone would leave the core northern countries with a heavy debt load as they had to find ways to bail out their banks devastated by the defaults on previous loans to the weaker euro countries. UBS estimates that for a country such as Germany to leave the euro, the cost would be equivalent to 6 000 to 8 000 euros per person in the first year, an amount equivalent to 20 to 25 percent of the country's GDP. Equally difficult could be the almost certain appreciation of the "new euro" as it was set free of the drag of weaker economies. That would mean exports from the core states would become more expensive than those from competing states like the United States and Japan, something that could slow the core countries' growth. Across Europe and the much larger financial world, the shock waves of any breakup of the Eurozone would be almost certain to bring a new global recession. Even banks that never loaned directly to those governments would be vulnerable, as the cost for buying insurance for loans would soar generally. All banks would have less money to lend, likely creating another worldwide credit crunch and slowing economies everywhere. It's a scenario that gives no joy to anyone. And it also is one that could change the face of Europe forever. Since the end of World War II, Europeans have become used to the idea of an increasingly united Europe - one where countries that so frequently warred in the past are bound by economic ties that make new conflicts between them virtually unthinkable. Many experts worry that a collapse of the Eurozone could also bring the collapse of the European Union itself. Tsakloglou fears that protectionist feelings would grow to such heights with the collapse of the euro that it's hard to imagine any of the revenue sharing that currently underpins the EU could continue. "We can have some sort of collapse of the Eurozone and continuation of the European Union. However, I have the feeling that the political pressures will be enormous. Let's say that some big countries, much bigger than Greece, are collapsing, and as a result of it we have the collapse of the banking system in some countries in the core and you are a voter in a country like this. Would you be willing to provide even more money to these countries through a new Marshall Plan or through structural funds or through the Common Agricultural Policy and so on? I have a feeling that there will be a huge political backlash asking for cutting any ties with these countries," warns Tsakloglou. No wonder, then, that the EU today remains committed to getting the Eurozone through its crisis intact. No wonder, too, that as the amounts of money needed keep growing, so do worries of what might happen if the efforts fail.

(Source: Radio Free Europe)



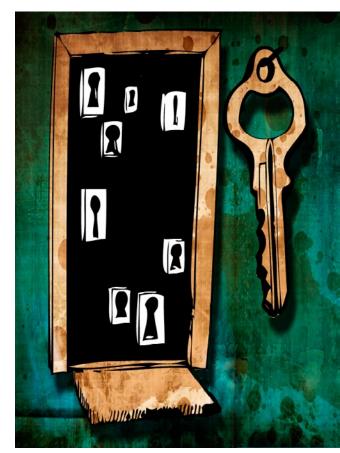
Valentina Ćetković

The author is a member of the CCE Youth Group and a student of international relations and diplomacy at the University Donja Gorica.

Waiting for the EU

European Union, i.e. EU membership became the main foreign policy goal of Montenegro in the last few years. On the way to this goal we made quite some progress - in the last two years we had the Stabilisation and Association Agreement, we received the status of membership candidate in October 2011, and the European Commission recommended the beginning of negotiations. However, the average citizen doesn't know what the EU really means. It is something we talk about every day, a contemporary slogan, a fashion we always religiously followed...We've been through all possible versions of mobile phones, furry boots, Justin Bieber, animal prints, Japanese animations, holidays in Greece, so we'll have this one too! And like with everything else, our attitude to EU is also thoroughly ambivalent, there's never a middle way, we're either for or against. But it's not a "for" or "against" like when you measure the good and the bad sides and then decide. These are dogmas, extreme attitudes, it's like that and no other way. Those who support EU see in it a saviour. The light at the end of the tunnel. For days we roamed the desert without a drop of water and then we found the oasis (European Union), which puts up the road sign for us "I'll love you, feed you, never leave you". Basically, we don't need to do anything, the EU will magic away our unemployment, corruption, poverty, low quality education, non-performing judiciary, health and everything else, and we'll live happily ever after ... until the end of EU? With such people, the EU is already bigger than Tito. You won't hear any more "If only Tito was alive ... " (a sigh followed by a teary nostalgic gaze), but rather "When we join the EU..." On the other hand, people who oppose it see in the EU the ultimate evil. All the recently adopted laws and social changes are its fault. Their universal answer is "Ha, you wanted the EU? Here it comes!", to the questions varying from: "Imagine, it's illegal to hit your own child?!", "What, we should organise a parade of fags here?", "What do you mean a dog should have rights like a person?!", "I can't smoke in a

pub???", to "Man, I can't believe it's been raining for days!" It seems nobody told us the truth is in the middle. The advantages of EU mustn't be neglected: the freedom of movement of workers, goods, capital and services is something nobody here would refuse. But wouldn't it be better to first turn to our own problems, to build a civil society, to do something to improve our economy, the state of human and minority rights, democracy and the rule of law? These are all values propagated by EU which should be our goal - not the membership as such. What if the EU does break down? Do we have a plan B? Or we'll look for another saviour? This is exactly our problem - always waiting for a better tomorrow instead of working on a better today. Have you ever read "Waiting for Godot"?





EU loosens the purse strings for Croatia

European Union will allocate almost 3.5 billion euro to Croatia in the first two years of membership, announced the Croatian media, citing the financial

proposal drafted by the European Commission. Most of the money will go to economic cohesion programmes, job creation and strengthening of Croatia's competitiveness. The other big recipient of the EU funds will be agriculture. It is expected that in turn Croatia will contribute 1.2 billion to the EU budget in the first two years of membership.



Cigarettes with fireproof ring

EU tobacco manufacturers will have to switch to a newer, safer type of cigarettes which are easier to put out, in order to avoid fire accidents. The new ciga-

rettes will have two rings of thicker paper, and if left alight, they will put themselves out automatically because the air cannot flow through the ring on its own. The old type of cigarettes will only be available until the stocks run out. Fire safety cigarettes are already present on the markets of come countries, such as the US, Canada or Australia, and in the EU they were so far only available in Finland. According to the data from the member states, forgotten cigarette butts caused more than 30 000 fire accidents per year between 2003 and 2008, leading to more than 1 000 dead and 4 000 wounded.

English dominates EU

According to the Eurostat, during 2009 82% of students in primary schools and 95% in general-track secondary schools in EU studied English as a for-



eign language. In primary schools, the second most popular language was French (16%), followed by Germany (9%) and Spanish (6%). In the secondary schools, German came the remote second (27%), followed by French (26%) and Spanish (19%). In several EU countries all primary school students are already learning a foreign language – German in Luxembourg and English in Malta and Norway. English is the most common, especially in Malta (100%), Spain and Italy (99%) and Austria (98%). French is the most common foreign language in Belgium, Ireland and UK, whereas German is the most popular one in Luxembourg.

Italians like tomatoes, the Dutch onions

According to the Eurostat report on agriculture and fisheries, Italy is the number one producer of tomatoes in EU. Poland is leading in the production



of carrots, whereas the Netherlands tops the tables in onion production. The most widespread fruits in EU are apples, oranges and peaches. In 2010, 136.4 million tons of cow milk was collected across the EU. Two thirds of milk cows are kept in specialised farms. The average annual yield per cow is between 8 000 tons in Denmark, Finland and Sweden to half as much in Bulgaria and Romania. The UK is the largest milk producer with 6.9 tons or 22% of total EU production. The second biggest is Germany, with 5.3 tons for human consumption, followed by France with 3.7 tons. Nearly half of all grain in EU comes from France, Germany and Poland.

Asteris Huliaras, professor of political philosophy, questions stereotypes about the former Yugoslav republics False myths about Balkans



Despite the mayhem of the early 1990s, Balkan states have experienced substantial democratisation and economic development, but widespread negative myths about Balkans still prevail, says professor of political philosophy Asteris Huliaras in a recent article published in European View. In the article titled "Failed States in the Balkans: Seven Myths" Huliaras disputes, among other, the proposition that "balkanization" is a bad thing, that people in the Balkans are particularly violent, that the prospect of EU membership is the only guarantee of peace and security, and that the Balkans are a homogenous region. The first myth, according to Huliaras, is that "Balkans was always Balkans" - that this geographical term "always had the negative connotation of violence, savagery, primitivism - without a parallel in history". The term "balkanization", usually taken to mean dissolution of larger political units into smaller mutually antagonistic states, acquired its negative connotation after World War I because of its alleged threat to the international order, stability and peace, says Huliaras. This professor of the University of Peloponnese says that the Balkan used to be described also as the

The prospect of joining EU irons out the differences in legislations, standards and currencies, and consequently the flow of ideas, goods and people across the Balkan borders takes place at an enormous speed, argues Huliaras, but warns that "European involvement isn't enough to maintain stability and encourage growth in the Western Balkans" and that such a feat would also require a permanent commitment of the US as well as Russia

"European powder-keg", and cites the former UK prime minister Winston Churchill, who said that "the Balkans produce more history than they can consume". In the early 1990s the term became even more negative, as many in the West believed that Yugoslavia fell apart because of the ancient hatreds, but the word "Balkans" is becoming less common and is more frequently replaced by "South-East Europe", or it appears in a toned-down version "Western Balkans"Criticising the myth of balkanization as a bad thing, Huliaras argues that "the Balkans are more fragmented than ever, but at the same time the Balkan states are more democratic than ever before". Although far from perfect democracies, their governments are normally elected in free and fair elections, the losers accept the defeat and the national minorities have their rights enshrined in the constitution or official agreements. "Balkanization and democratization seem to go hand in hand", argues Huliaras, adding that unlike in the past, contemporary balkanization does not seem to endanger the economy, and the borders in the region are more open than ever before "The prospect of joining EU irons out the differences in legislations, standards and currencies, and consequently the flow of ideas, goods and people across the Balkan borders takes place at an enormous speed. In some way, national



fragmentation is even additional motivation for more intensive political and economic integration. This is probably the first time since the early Ottoman period that the Balkan region is indeed becoming united", writes Huliaras. Another myth, according to him, is that after Kosovo there will be no more secessionist movements in the Balkans leading to the establishment of new states "There are still significant, powerful demands for changing borders", he argues, adding that the representatives of the Republic of Srpska are often talking about referendum and unification with Serbia, and similar demands are also popular with the Bosnian Croats. Such initiatives are also possible among the Albanians in Macedonia or Serbs in the north of Kosovo. "Nevertheless, most of the Balkans (including the Serbian government) and the international actors (including USA and EU) do not support further changes in borders it seems that the current balance of powers is likely to protect the status quo", writes Huliaras. The author also considers the argument that the "prospect of EU membership keeps the Balkans stable and peaceful" to be a myth, although many consider stabilisation in the Balkans to be above all the responsibility of European Union, whose presence in the region is stronger than anywhere else in the world. The prospect of EU membership has an important effect on political and economic reforms, he concedes, but adds that the EU does not have a single foreign policy and that there is are "evident" signs of enlargement fatigue in Brussels. Huliaras concludes that the "Eu-

As for the myth that the Balkans are a particularly violent region, professor of the University of Peloponnese says there is no data to show that the people in the Balkans would be more violent than others and points to a UN report from 2008 which indicates that the rate of crimes against persons and property – murders, robberies, rapes and other attacks – is lower in the Balkans than in Western Europe.

ropean involvement isn't enough to maintain stability and encourage growth in the Western Balkans" and that such a feat would also require a permanent commitment of the US as well as Russia. "Finally, it is easy to foresee that the local political actors will try to play on the West-Russia rivalry, like it happened several times in the past", says the Greek professor. As for the myth that the Balkans are a particularly violent region, he says there is no data to show that the people in the Balkans would be more violent than others and points to a UN report from 2008 which indicates that the rate of crimes against persons and property - murders, robberies, rapes and other attacks - is lower in the Balkans than in Western Europe. Huliaras also argues against the myths that the Balkans are a "homogenous region" or that "the Balkan countries are too small to ensure security and guarantee economic development".

The text above is a summary of the article in the November issue of the European View, published by the Centre for European Study, a think-tank of the European People's Party. Source: PCNen

In cooperation with LGBT Forum Progress CCE presents the video "We're part of the team!"

A kiss for all



Centre for Civic Education (CCE) in cooperation with LGBT Forum Progress and with support of the Canadian Embassy, in the framework of the project "It's OK to be different" presented on 23 November a short TV video "We're part of the team!" which is the most radical attempt to date to promote the rights of LGBT people in Montenegro, directly addressing the population which is most resistant to these rights.

The video shows a group of young men following excitedly a football game with beer in hand. In the moment their team scores, two of them kiss. All the regional media reported on this video, which sparked off numerous, contradictory public reactions in Montenegro but also in the neighbouring countries, as evidenced by ongoing debates in internet forums.

At the promotional event director of CCE **Daliborka Uljarević** said the culture of human rights is still far from widespread in Montenegro and that it is up to every individual to change this. "Some issues are just not popular. This is why it is the duty of us who do not feel like discriminated minorities to insist on these issues even when those who are directly affect-

ed cannot do it. Not only for them, but also for ourselves. You never know when you'll become a minority in need of support and encouragement", Uljarević said.

Executive director of LGBT Forum Progress Zdravko Cimbaljević said every activity which promotes same-sex love is a contribution to self-liberation, greater visibility and "coming out" of the members of this population. "It matters a lot, especially when the support comes from those who are not themselves members of the LGBT community", Cimbaljević said. He added that the message of the video is that LGBT persons are part of the society, patiently waiting to be accepted, and that they are "part of the team for which they cheer and which they love".

Deputy Ambassador of Canada Kenneth Sooley said efforts to protect the rights of every individual were a huge step for Montenegro on its path to Euro-Atlantic integrations. He expressed his hopes that the success of this project will contribute to building a society where every citizen can realise his or her potential.

Director of the video **Danilo Marunović** said the goal of the editorial team was to place the central cinematic focus on the homosexual kiss, but in a way that would not make it shocking, but normal. He explained that the video is a party of a typical beer commercial, appropriating characteristics of "radically male aesthetic" and male entertainment clichés. "Our intention was to introduce this taboo into such context, but in a way that would have a normalising effect, and I believe we managed to do it", Marunović said.

Actors **Todor Vujošević** and **Bojan Bulatović** said their motive was to help improve the status of a socially marginalised group.

Book launch: "Political Doctrines" by Prof Dr Radovan Radonjić

Centre for Civic Education (CCE), Political Science Department of the University of Montenegro, Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations (CDNGO) and publishing house "Obod" organised on 29 November 2011 a book launch for "Political Doctrines" written by Prof Dr Radovan Radonjić.

Speakers at the event were Prof Dr Saša Knežević, deputy dean of the Political Science Department in Podgorica, Prof Dr Čedomir Čupić from the Political Science Department of the University of Belgrade, his colleague Dr Vladimir Pavićević, Daliborka Uljarević, executive director of CCE and the author, Prof Dr Radovan Radonjić. "Political Doctrines" is a comprehensive study of state, politics, authority and governance. The participants emphasised that the study is not only a major contribution to the formal educational system in Montenegro, but also a precious guide through democratisation of a society, which helps us to understand social and political processes in a transition state. The event attracted a great number of admirers of Prof Radonjić's work, participants in various CCE programmes and the media.



RTCG to sponsor Human Rights Film Festival "Speed up"

CCE's executive director **Daliborka Uljarević** and the director of the Television Montenegro **Radojka Rutović** signed on 29 November 2011 the Agreement on media partnership in realisation of this year's Human Rights Film Festival "Speed up". The agreement took place in the presence of the president of the RTCG Council **Dušan Simonović**, representative of non-governmental organisations in RTCG Council **Goran Đurović** and editor of the Channel 1 of the Television of Montenegro **Marina Vuković**.

The agreement came about through mutual understanding of the two side that in order to strengthen the culture of human rights it is necessary to ensure intensive communication and cooperation between all interested parties, especially the media and non-governmental organisations, which, in addition to the public institutions, are in the best position to influence such developments. According to the agreement, RTCG will provide media time and attention to the Festival and ensure its visibility in its regular informative and entertainment programmes. It also obliges itself to produce dedicated shows during the Festival, to broadcast the advertisements for the Festival and participate in the Festival's council via its representative CCE will mention RTCG in all promotional materials prepared for the Festival, and grant RTCG exclusive rights to interview the guests of the Festival and TV rights for 6 screened films.

What do I have from EU, what does my town have?

In the course of November, Centre for Civic Education (CCE) in cooperation with the Monitoring Centre (CEMI) from Podgorica and Civic Initiative (CI) from Belgrade, with support of EU Delegation in Montenegro, organised a series of public debates in 9 Montenegrin municipalities as part of the project "Europe in my town". The debates focused on those topics which the citizens themselves singled out as the most interesting and expressed their wish to know more about them, and concerned mainly the harmonisation of regulations and policies and their implementation with EU standards. The first such debate took place in Kolašin on 23.11.2011, in the municipal cultural centre, starting at 18:00, and was titled: "Education and youth policies in EU". The participants in the discussion were: **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE, H.E. **Petar Turčinović**, Croatian ambassador to Montenegro, **Zoran Rakočević**, advisor for European integrations in the office of the main administrator of the municipality of Kolašin, **Milan Mikan Medenica**, executive director of NGO "Natura" from Kolašin and **Boris Marić**, senor legal advisor in CCE.



Belgrade International Model United Nations – BIMUN 2012

"Belgrade International Model UN – BIMUN 2012" (15 – 18 March 2012) is an international conference, the ninth in a row, simulating the work of UN bodies on the following topics:

> THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL: "The situation in Libya"

> THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL – Crisis Committee: "The situation in the Middle East: Israeli-Palestinian conflict"

> GENERAL ASSEMBLY – II Committee: "Sustainable Development – The Transition to a Green Economy"

- > HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL: "Human rights and corruption in Southeast Europe"
- > UNESCO World Heritage Committee: "World Heritage and identity of cultures"

> BIMUN Junior / GENERAL ASSEMBLY – I Committee: "Terrorism and International Security: The Situation in Afghanistan".

The main goal of the BIMUN Project is to have students practically get familiar with mechanisms of international cooperation and basic diplomatic approach, such as negotiations, peaceful conflict solutions, consensus building, as well as to understand the importance of the UN's role in the contemporary world. "BIMUN 2012" will be an opportunity for diplomatic debates, with respect to multiculturalism and democratic values, but also for connecting young leaders. The conference will have a rich social life and special events. In total, BIMUN will host approximately 300 participants from over 30 countries.

Criteria for selecting the participants: Students and postgraduates of social studies – up to 29 years old; Good knowledge of written and spoken English; Application form with a motivation letter of up to 250 words; Expressed interest in international issues; Participation fee.

The best delegates will receive a special certificate and monetary reward. They would be nominate to participate in the "Global Model UN". All "BIMUN 2012" participants will receive certificates for participating in BIMUN 2011.

You can apply by downloading the application form and sending it to bimun.unaserbia@gmail. com. Applications are open until 25th January 2012. More information on http://www.bimun-unaserbia.org/

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