

# European pulse

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Foreword: **Listing**

Vladan Žugić

The 9 December decision of the heads of states and governments of EU members to approve a conditional opening of accession talks with Montenegro remained in the shadow of the leaked listings of the alleged phone conversations between the Prime Minister **Igor Lušić**, Minister of Foreign Affairs **Milan Ročen** and fugitive narco-boss **Darko Šarić**. The Police and the Prosecution quickly established that the listings were fake, while they take months, or years, to take any notice of the smuggling on the border with Kosovo, allegations of money-laundering against DPS, corruption linked to the sale of Telecom etc.

Lukšić said he doubts the Police will find out who was behind the “listing affair”. This is effectively to say that he doesn’t trust the institutions he is leading. Then how could the citizens trust them? The second possibility, not very probable, is that he did talk to Šarić and is trying to keep it secret. The third option is that the Prime Minister suspects that the affair is backed by the criminal network consisting of some Government representatives and some members of the intelligence services, and that a politicised Police and prosecution could not possibly unravel this nest.

If one of the latter options is the case, there is no better opportunity for the Police and the Prosecution to regain the trust and demonstrate that they are independent and capable of seeking out truth. The EU member states will be judging the case from the viewpoint of administrative capacities of the Montenegrin police and prosecution. To date, there was only one thing they could have concluded from the whole affair: by appointing DPS MPs **Božidar Vuksanović** and **Mevludin Nuhodžić** instead of **Veselin Veljović** and **Vladan Joković** to head the Police and the ANS, Montenegro did absolutely nothing to professionalise and depoliticise its police, the ANS, or administration in general.

**Calendar**

09. December **Conditional date for accession talks** / At the summit in Brussels, the leaders of EU member states decided to approve the opening of accession talks with Montenegro in June 2012, provided that the country continues to show results in fighting corruption and organised crime. Active rapprochement with EU will begin in June, if the European Commission finds that the country is ready to begin negotiations. Based on EC’s extraordinary report, expected in May 2012, the EU leaders or ministers would approve the immediate beginning of negotiations.
13. December **Commission watching for arrests and convictions** / After a meeting with the Prime Minister **Igor Lukšić**, director of the EC enlargement agency **Stefano Sanino** suggested that further arrests and binding verdicts in corruption and crime cases would be among the conditions for the opening of accession talks with EU in June 2012.
20. December **66% of citizens in favour of EU** / According to the poll by Centre for Democracy and Human rights (CEDEM), Montenegro’s membership in EU is supported by 66% of its citizens, which is 4% more than in October.
25. December **Tannock: Postponing accession talks would be unreasonable** / European Parliament’s rapporteur for Montenegro, **Charles Tannock**, submitted a draft of a Resolution on Montenegro, emphasising the need to send a positive signal to Montenegro and other countries in the region that have been working hard on fulfilling the EU accession criteria. He urged all EU members not to postpone the beginning of accession talks unnecessarily and unreasonably, since Montenegro achieved substantial progress on these conditions.
29. December **Pejović the main negotiator** / The Government appointed the Ambassador of Montenegro to European Union **Aleksandar Pejović** as the head of Montenegrin team that will conduct negotiations with EU. Earlier, Pejović worked as director of the EU Directorate in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integrations. He has a Master degree from the University of Athens in the area of international relations, and had previously served as Ambassador to Macedonia and Slovenia.

# Enlargement: two steps back



Rosa Balfour



Corina Stratulat

While Croatia reached the finish line, Serbia and Montenegro were sent to the penalty box until 2012. This decision will reverberate negatively in the Balkans. Against the backdrop of the economic crisis, which is infecting the region too, the European Council's conclusions fuel suspicions that the EU could close the door after Croatia's (and Iceland's) accession. The EU's tough approach towards the Balkans evolved with the realisation that Bulgaria and Romania's entry in 2007 was not preceded by adequate preparation. This perception, combined with anxieties related to security and unresolved statehood issues in the Balkans but also to the post-Lisbon development of the EU in an increasingly difficult economic climate, has encouraged a stronger EU focus on a more exacting method of applying membership conditions (such as by defining benchmarks for progress). Brussels appears to be caught in a dilemma: how to strike the right balance between offering incentives to anchor the Balkans in Europe, while at the same time ensuring that their reform is substantive and sustainable. What is beyond doubt is that Serbia must reconcile itself with the need to find a solution to Kosovo's independence. But 'good faith' cannot be measured through technical benchmarks, and the Belgrade-Prishtina dialogue and its implementation would probably benefit more from the EU offering step-by-step prizes: candidate status for Serbia, with the date conditional upon progress, and the long-overdue opening of a visa dialogue with Kosovo, which otherwise threatens to remain a "black hole" in the Balkans. With reference to Montenegro, the European Council signalled that the country will receive the green light to open accession talks with the EU in June if it manages to produce results in the fight it has been carrying out against organised crime and corruption. None of the EU hopefuls in the region can expect to move ahead without satisfying 'good governance' criteria – maintaining the rule of law, an independent judiciary, adequate administrative capacity and an efficient anti-corruption strategy. This includes Croatia – even though the country already has one foot in the EU's door – which will be monitored until its entry by the Commission (with input from member states and international and civil society actors), particularly regarding

None of the EU hopefuls in the region can expect to move ahead without satisfying 'good governance' criteria – maintaining the rule of law, an independent judiciary, adequate administrative capacity and an efficient anti-corruption strategy

commitments undertaken regarding the judiciary and fundamental rights. Should persistent deficiencies be identified during the monitoring process, the Council, acting by qualified majority on a proposal from the Commission, may decide to take 'appropriate measures' that could delay Croatia's accession date. The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYR Macedonia), which has been unable to open accession negotiations since receiving candidate status in 2005 due to Greece's veto, has recently experienced a re-emergence of inter-ethnic tensions and a marked relapse in media freedom. What is certain is that the country's relations with the EU are in dire need of resuscitation in order to prevent its domestic situation from deteriorating further. Likewise, Albania and Bosnia-Herzegovina, whose progress on the path towards EU membership has effectively come to a standstill in the past couple of years, have been drifting without robust EU intervention into severe domestic political gridlock. The key to dissolving the spectre of conflict and making it an event of the past is to help the Balkans consolidate their democracies irreversibly. Additional conditions regarding the rule of law, the early opening of the relevant chapters to ensure the fight against corruption, the effective functioning of institutions and the delivery of democratic goods by the institutions can represent win-win situations for the EU and its future members. If the EU does not manage to punctuate the process by finding a (more) generous balance between incentives and conditions, and if the pace of opening accession negotiations slows down after Croatia's entry, it might lose the Balkans once again. Is this the wisest use of EU's most precious 'carrot' – membership?

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EU urges Montenegrin authorities to confiscate illegally acquired property

## Dirty money – a test for independence of institutions



Tina Radulović

Although Croatia will become an EU member in June 2012, when Montenegro might just begin negotiations, this country has no record of court rulings to confiscate illegally acquired property. Besides, the legal clauses referring to illegally acquired property have been adopted at the same time in both countries and are rather similar, both to each other and to those already in force in Italy, Austria, Netherlands, and a few other EU members. Then why are the European Commission and the EU so adamant about this issue in Montenegro?

The answer is perhaps that in Croatia the institutions were powerful enough and the political will sufficient to at least freeze the property of the former Prime Minister **Ivo Sanader**. His property, together with the money on his bank accounts, is estimated at four million euros. The procedure was also initiated against several of his close collaborators from the party, while in Montenegro there are no indications that the police and the prosecution might look into the property of any influential current or former functionaries or their friends, even when there are serious suspicions that they acquired enormous wealth through illegal activities.

According to the opposition, the lack of political will and political influence on the police and the prosecution are precisely the reasons the EU has been so insistent in this matter, but the ruling coalition disagrees. “The number of cases where the court ordered the property to be frozen or confiscated is minimal. The relevant closes from the Law on Criminal Proceedings and the Criminal Code have never been applied. There is no progress in the work of the state Agency responsible for confiscation of illegally acquired property. It will take further efforts to strengthen its institutional and administrative capacities. The prosecution and the police should be granted more extensive competencies to conduct financial inves-

### Five thousand euros in two years

In response to the question of the MP of Social-Democratic Party (SDP) Raško Konjević, deputy president of the Government and Minister of Justice Duško Marković cited the exceedingly modest record of Montenegro to date when it comes to court verdicts as basis for property confiscation.

“So far we closed 10 cases concerning organised crime and another 41 cases concerning corruption, resulting in confiscation of 4 000 euros in corruption cases and 1.200 euros in organised crime cases”, Marković said.



tigations, identify illegally acquired property and present evidence in court”, observes the EC in the 2011 Progress Report on Montenegro. As often reiterated by the EU officials, Montenegro is expected to show measurable achievements in fighting organised crime and corruption, and property indeed appears to be suitably measurable. In 2010, both Croatia and Montenegro introduced the institution of the so-called “expanded confiscation”, which allows courts to confiscate property acquired through criminal activities in a much simpler and faster procedure. After the final verdict, such prop-

erty will pass into state ownership. The novelty is that the prosecution can submit a request to confiscate such property before, during or after the criminal proceedings.



Unlike Montenegrin legislation, the Croatian law also provides for the continuation of the confiscation process after the criminal proceedings have been interrupted due to the death of the accused, if his heirs or third persons continue to enjoy property in question. The Croatian law obliges the banks to submit information on the financial situation of the accused, and to block the current and savings accounts of the accused until the final verdict. This caused a veritable upheaval in Croatia because it turned out that the spouse of Ivo Sanader, a university professor, could not access her salaries for months. In Croatia, confiscated property is managed by the Central Office for the Management of State Property which has the right to sell temporarily requisitioned movable property even without public auction, while the real estate can be rented out. An MP in the Croatian Parliament **Ingrid Antičević Marinović** says that there are still no final verdicts based on which the property could be irrevocably confiscated.

### Konjević: several new investigations under way

Vice president of SDP and member of the parliamentary committees for security and defence and for European integrations Ratko Konjević said several financial investigations are currently under way that will probably result in further confiscations. He said that confiscation of illegally acquired property is the most effective way to fight organised crime and corruption. "The insistence of our European partners on committed implementation of these mechanisms is understandable. It is also clear that the Montenegrin institutions are prepared for it, as we have seen on several occasions in 2011... We still ought to continue with implementation in the period to come, and these are exactly the measurable results that can demonstrate the effectiveness of the relevant institutions and give an impetus to the process of accession negotiations", Konjević said. He reminded that the institution of extended confiscation had been introduced into our legal system a little more than a year ago, and that it shifts the burden of proof to the individuals against whom the charges have been brought up: once the process is completed, all property for which they cannot provide a proof of legal origin will be confiscated.

"We currently have a lot of property frozen in the trials which are still ongoing. Although the property is frozen, if they pay the bailment, the accused can continue to live in the "frozen" property, which should be properly noted in the proceedings", says Antičević Marinović. She said that the court issues the order to freeze the property, which is then carried out by the relevant institutions. "In the case of money, the responsible institutions find out in which banks the accused have their accounts and block them, but only after a valid decision by the criminal court. At the end of the trial, if the accused cannot prove that the property was acquired by legal means, it becomes property of the state", explains Antičević Marinović.

A similar process is envisaged in Montenegro – after raising charges against the accused, the prosecution requests temporary requisitioning of property of persons suspected of acquiring it through illegal means. Once the request is



approved by court, it is the responsibility of the Property Directorate until the accused can prove that the property was acquired by legal means. The majority of EU members introduced the procedures for “extended confiscation” in the course of the 1990s. In 2003, the Council of Ministers adopted a Directive according to which a member state is obliged to freeze individual property when this is mandated by a process initiated in another member state. The value of property currently frozen in Montenegro, which is suspected to have been acquired through illegal activities, is estimated at 52 million euros, most of which is accounted for by cases of Šarić and Kalić.

The next few months will be a test for the prosecution, whose task is to collect strong evidence against the accused, and the judiciary, who are to decide whether this property will pass into ownership of the state. In case they are found guilty, it is still unclear what the state will do with all the hotels, gas stations, cars, equipment and employees who did ordinary jobs in the

### **Mandić: we could kick-start the economy with a billion euros taken from the criminals**

According to the president of the New Serbian Democracy (NOVA) and MP Anđrija Mandić, Montenegro could confiscate close to one billion euros of illegally acquired property, which could pay back most of the public debt, estimated at 1.4 billion, or at least recover the economy.

“Then we could tell Brussels: here, these are the criminals we brought to justice, this is the evidence our prosecution will use, and based on which our judges will make their decisions. According to our estimates, there is close to one billion euros in illegally acquired property in Montenegro at the moment, and if confiscated it could constitute a strong impetus for revival of the Montenegrin economy. We are in no position right now to take on more debt at low interest rates, and the right way to go about it as a serious state of law would be to confiscate the property of criminals. On the one hand, we could get a lot of money for it, and on the other, the more important one, we would send the message that the happiness of an individual and a family can’t be built on the misery of others”, Mandić said.

companies of the criminals to earn a living for themselves and their families. In the meantime, EU will continue to monitor the abilities of our institutions, and to wait for new cases against rich criminals, each of which brings Montenegro closer to the company of countries governed by the rule of law, where there are no special privileges and the justice is equal for all.



## The impact of the European Council decision on the Montenegrin political scene

# An encouragement to progressive forces



Neđeljko Rudović

Given the expectations, Montenegro did very well at the December summit of EU leaders. The tough French stance that it is too early to think of beginning of membership negotiations seemed to render futile all efforts on the part of the government, opposition and the civil society in Montenegro to keep the Europeanisation process moving. Finally, however, the decision was to approve the beginning of negotiations in June 2012, if the country can muster further achievements in the fight against corruption and organised crime. The progress will be assessed by the European Commission, which was entrusted with a special report on Montenegro to be delivered in May. If the report is positive, the Council of EU ministers will automatically, without further discussion, formally approve the beginning of negotiations, keeping the EU doors ajar for the Balkans. Thanks to the clear support of Germany, this decision of the European Council keeps the wind in Montenegro's sails, leading to a rapid pace of reforms towards a normal, modern European state governed by the rule of law and genuine market economy. The country is itself quite weak and thoroughly dominated by Đukanović's DPS which controls almost every segment of the society, and it needs a stable partnership with Brussels in order to go forward. At the moment, the opposition can do nothing to endanger the ruling party, and together with the civil society it needs the EU to be able to demand reforms. The past year has shown that EU's conditions to open negotiations with Montenegro were the most powerful push for changes. The Government, lead by the new Prime Minister **Igor Lukšić**, did everything it could to fulfil them, because its rating, and perhaps also its survival, depended on it. After troubling announcements that the next step might be postponed indefinitely, the decision to keep Montenegro in the game was a reason for the Prime Minister to pronounce 9 December a historical date for the country which "fills us with pride and



optimism". Speaker of the Montenegrin Parliament **Ranko Krivokapić** used the opportunity to remind that no country has made such a big leap in five years, while the Minister of Foreign Affairs **Milan Roćen** publicly thanked Germany, happy that Montenegro will take over the European lead from Croatia. Đukanović is the only one not celebrating, which is not surprising, since the EU is adamant about cutting the tentacles of the powerful octopus that controls everything in the country, from security structures to financial flows. The EU keeps emphasising the very weak points that the non-governmental organisations and the independent media insist on, with all leads pointing at Đukanović as the head of this monster.

Member of the Croatian Democratic Initiative against EU Marko Kostanić

## The promise of EU money is a scam



Why did the improvements in the human rights sphere have to come as compromise – we'll help you fix the judiciary and the human rights, and in exchange we'll team up with your comprador elites to de-industrialise and devastate your economies and make you dependent on us.

Marko Kostanić, member of the Democratic Initiative against EU in Croatia said the democratic deficit in European Union and the crisis with no end in sight, which is hitting the hardest those who did not contribute to it in any manner, are sufficient reasons to be critical of EU. "The EU is fundamentally an institutional arrangement which is geared to seek the most appropriate mechanisms to service the needs of West European financial and industrial capital. The whole ideological smoke-screen only served to cover up the main reason for EU's existence, but has been blown away by the depth of the crisis. The EC, which is not subject to any democratic control from below and is not accountable in the electoral process managed to grab even more autonomy through the right to control the budgets of EU member states. It conducts "silent" coups, appointing its

own people to the governments of Greece and Italy, while imposing brutal austerity measures which undermine the standard of living of EU's citizens. Such democratic deficit, together with the continuing crisis, which is crushing those who did not contribute to it in any way, is a sufficient reason to be against EU".

*» What is the alternative to EU membership for Croatia or any other Balkan country, if we take into account our economic situation, the state of democracy, and the standards of human rights in our countries?*

It is first necessary to realise that political and economic processes in this region did not evolve independently from the processes within EU. Already in the 1980s in Yugoslavia the European Economic Community together with the IMF propagated credit and tariff policies which contributed to its dissolution in the nationalist key.

Then as today, EU's only purpose in these parts is to ensure free flow of capital from Western Europe. Undoubtedly, the post-war "normalization" processes were to a large extent influenced by EU and to some extent they contributed to stabilization, primarily in the field of justice. It is however naive to judge these processes through by juxtaposing EU's civilisational standards and our own meagre achievements. Why was, for instance, **Tony Blair** not tried for war crimes in Iraq? This is not to relativise the guilt of the local butchers: on the contrary, it asks for a revision of the current perspective. The European capital needed this normalisation process in order to ensure a safe business environment and to get rid of the local nationalist elites which hoped to create autonomous national bourgeoisies in capitalist periphery. The main question is: why did the improvements in the human rights sphere have to come as compromise – we'll help you fix the judiciary and the human rights, and in exchange we'll team up with your comprador elites to de-industrialise and devastate your economies and make you dependent on us.



As for a concrete alternative, first we should return to the logic of the historical process which offered it in the guise of the referendum question. For years, in the course of the pre-accession process, we worked to harmonise our laws with the so-called European acquis, and in the meantime through transition processes we became a thoroughly dependent economy which is unable to start an autonomous accumulation process. This historical trajectory makes every alternative “illusory”, i.e. hard to achieve. However, I think an alternative is possible and should be gradually developed. Geopolitically, this alternative would encompass the current periphery of the Eurozone, countries of our region and a few other countries in the neighbourhood. Something similar to what is happening in Latin America where the countries are teaming up in order to prevent US interference in their development. This seems like a distant future, but the way the crisis is unfolding, we will need a new solution very quickly. This solution requires first of all development and organisation of serious leftist movements in our countries.

**» Statistical indicators show that all new EU member states have increased their GDPs and citizens' standards of living. What is the economic rationale to oppose EU?**

Immediately after the accession the GDP and the standard of living increased, but the crisis showed how fragile this growth was. Also, there are many problems with GDP as a measure of economic welfare. For instance, GDP does not tell us anything about how wealth is distributed. The Baltic countries experienced a complete economic collapse with the onset of the crisis. The few members which managed to overcome the crisis somewhat were the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland – the first two because of their links to the German economy, and Poland because of the growth in public consumption as a substitute for private investments. Also, Poland is a “success” only compared to the members whose economies have been completely devastated by the crisis, and if we forget that 44% of its citizens live on wages which are below 75% of the average.

**» The new member states have access to the European funds. According to the Croa-**

### Fight against corruption is a screen for internal elite purges

**» Some in the Montenegrin public believe that the legal actions against some high Croatian officials, including the former Prime Minister Ivo Sanader, came about through pressure from EU, and that something similar could happen in Montenegro. What was the weight of Brussels in spurring the Croatian police and prosecution into action against the “big fish”?**

I can't speculate on the Brussels' influence in these investigations. If they did interfere, I can only thank them. But I know for a fact that merciless fight against corruption for the sake of the public good isn't the guiding principle of EC. Just ahead of 2007 elections Angela Merkel had only praise for Sanader, and Hypo Bank appears as the key player in all main affairs, including the one with Sanader. Overall, it seems to me that the legal epilogue to the corruption affairs in our system, which Alain Badiou dubbed “capital-parliamentarianism”, is first of all a result of internal purges within the factions of the ruling elite.

**tian officials, this means that for every euro which Croatia pays into the European coffers this year it will receive almost three euros from the European funds. What is your take on this**

The whole story about how we get much more than we give is a scam. The “official” ratio is less than 2 to 1, and that excludes the interest we have to pay. Croatia doesn't have the money to pay its membership fees, so it will have to raise the money from abroad, and given the current interest rate on our government's bonds, we'll practically pay as much as we get. In addition to basic mathematics, we should also look at the concrete economic factors. Because of the way in which these projects are approved, the amount of money and the need to rely on foreign companies and materials in executing these projects, the multiplier effect on the domestic economy is minimal. The funds can contribute to some socially important projects, but the idea that we can base our country's development on EU assistance is just ridiculous.

## Results of the CCE and CEMI study of corruption in education

## Every second student would pay bribe

A quarter of the respondents admit that, if they had to, they would offer or eventually give bribe to a teacher or a professor in order to get a better grade, pass the exam or complete the grade.

“Students are a lot more ready to solve a problem at school by offering bribe – 41% compared to 23% in the general population”, finds the opinion poll on corruption in education conducted in late November and early December on a sample of 917 respondents by Centre for Civic Education (CCE) and Monitoring Centre (CEMI), with support of the German Embassy in Podgorica. The research showed that 46% of the population trusts the educational system of Montenegro, while 22% do not.

Nearly half of the citizens, 46%, believe that it is possible to “buy” a diploma of certain schools or university departments, 34% say nothing like that could happen, while the rest is not sure what the situation is. According to the opinion poll, 22% of the respondents said they know somebody who “bought” a diploma. Very few of the respondents thought there was corruption in primary (13%) or secondary schools (21%). A larger number, according to the poll, believes there is corruption in public higher education (almost 30%) while 44% corruption exists at private colleges.

“The citizens believe that most of the corruption happens in distributing places in student dorms (44%), during the enrolment process (39%) and with awards to the most successful students (38%)”, finds the study. Most citizens believe there are cases of reliance on family, party or other connections with those in education to improve a student’s grade, or help them pass an exam or move to another grade (58%) or to give an undeserved good grade to a student (51%). “In primary and secondary school, very few citizens say they had personal experience, or that somebody from their family or

near surroundings had such an experience with concrete cases of corruption. The percentages are in the range of 8% – the number of citizens who had a personal experience of a student being given a better grade or being allowed to pass into a higher grade upon outside intervention”, finds the study.

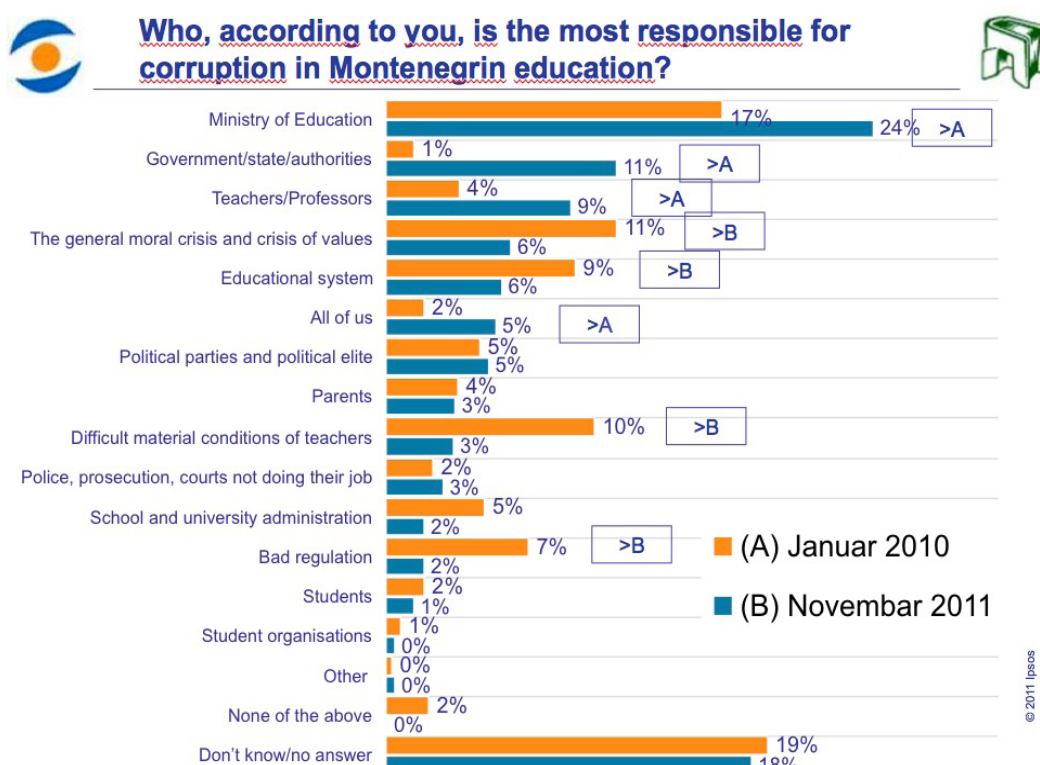
In general, more than 90% of students said they never heard of a teacher asking for sexual favours from a student, 82% do not know of any cases where a teacher threatened a student with a bad grade, 81% say they don’t know of any unofficial “price-lists” in schools, and 72% never heard of a case of bribe” On the other hand, 43% did hear or experience teachers giving a better grade or allowing the student to pass the final exam upon outside intervention. Montenegrin citizens also have relatively little personal experience with corruption in higher education, and the number of those who heard of such corruption cases is similarly low – 15% of the respondents said that they, a family member or a close friend had experienced teachers asking them to buy their book in order to attend the exam. According to the polls, this is by far the most widespread form of corruption in higher education. Another 27% say they heard of such cases. “Personal experience or experience of a close friend or family member with other forms of corruption in higher education is very rare. Fewer than 25% of the citizens heard of a better grade being given to a student upon instructions from the outside, a little more than 20% heard of bribe cases, and 17% heard that a professor allowed a student to pass or gave him or her a better grade because of political pressure”, concludes the study.

Only 10% of the respondents admitted that they personally used family, party or other connections to secure a better grade or passing of an exam for themselves or another close person. “A third of the population wouldn’t re-

port cases of bribe and corruption in education if they were to witness such an event. On the other hand, 60% say that in a situation like that they would contact the relevant bodies. The Police (27%), Ministry of Education (18%) or the Directorate of the school or university (15%) are the most commonly mentioned institutions that the citizens believe should be acquainted with corruption cases in education”.

The authors of the study emphasise that 80% of the respondents believe that some students are privileged when it comes to grades or their overall position in the school/at the university (only 12 say there are no differences in status, and 10% has no opinion). “According to the citizens, the privileged position is primarily reserved for the children of parents in high positions (60%), children of rich parents (47%), children of party activists (22%) and children of other teachers/professors (12%)”, finds the report. Almost ¾ of the respondents said studying in Montenegro was expensive, while 20% do not think so. A narrow majority believes that there are more university de-

partments in Montenegro than is necessary (51%), students themselves think that the offer and number of such departments in Montenegro is quite modest, and 75% of the respondents said there should be more funding for the public university than was the case so far. A majority of respondents – 58%, said there is little talk about the problem of corruption in education in Montenegro. “More than 40% of the respondents believe it is possible to reduce the extent of corruption in education, but almost 30% is pessimistic and says it cannot be fought. According to the respondents, the main body responsible for this phenomenon is the Ministry of Education (24%), the authorities and the state apparatus as such (11%), teachers (9%), the general crisis of morals and social values (6%) etc. The most important role in fighting corruption is accorded to the Government (24%), the Police (20%), prosecution and judiciary (10%), parents (8%), schools (8%), professors (7%) and other actors in the educational process or the relevant social factors”, concludes the study.





# Jingle bells

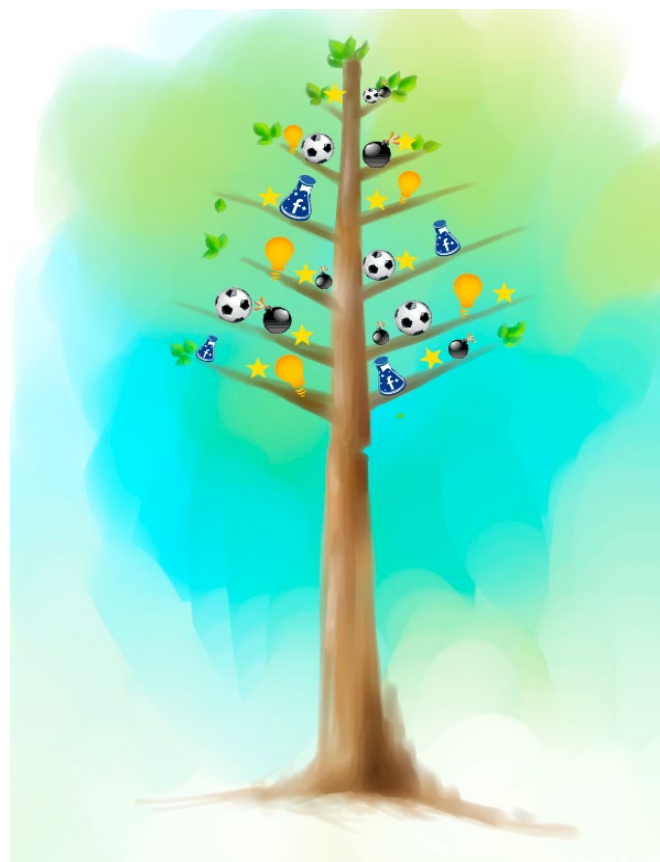


Brano Mandić

A flood of unnecessary information is a major problem of the humanity and an obstacle to healthy development of each individual. It's a sentence to start a handbook. Grounded in general theories of the "information bubble", hyper-production of symbols and meanings – we can conclude that in the days around the New Year's things are getting extra complicated. The veil of PR discourse which permeates all spheres of language and society grows heavier around the beginning of each calendar year. Doubly so. In other words, if they've been lying to you during the year, know that in the holiday vacuum the lies will multiply. You get another firm fact in your life, a carnival tune of the road into the better future in a shiny package which, when opened, turns out to be empty.

All of us kneeling under a Christmas tree, trying not make the little profane tree too kitchy, are trying to find meaning in the so-called "little things" and ground our warmed-up stuffed cabbage in "fundamental values", among which the first and foremost is always the family. Many families will have a chance these days to feel the enormous gap between the reality and what they are offered as ideals. Paradoxically, exactly when exhausted by such realisations and deprived of hope, they become perfect sculpting material and veritable sponges for the promises dished out by the jolly traders in ideas. Self-preservation instinct, what. They accept every new year as the new beginning, a ritual turning point that ought to be respected, just like the elderly paedophile in the red robe whom we affectionately call Santa.

What Santa is doing to us is a classical political game. He comes like a reformist from far away and offers ready-made solutions. He relies on a handful of sclerotic slogans. He's a master at commanding the attention of the masses. Exiled from the central simulacrum also known as job, people with excess free time and without the habit of taking it cool are ruining them-



selves with new year's plans and sales. Turn the purse inside out for the albino Christmas trees and plaster angels. For the triple editions of newspapers, thick as if we were in the West, leafing through mostly dumb content. According to CEDEM, people trust Santa more than any other politician. It is true, the new years would be the perfect time for elections. The political potential of holidays is enormous, and the time when we sum up the results of the previous year is practically crying for a summary through short slogans and pre-electoral synopses. I suppose that's why we find so boring those lengthy journalist analyses listing, with more or less taste, the alleged key moments of the expiring Anno Domini. Bearing in mind all the above, I can only warily, with difficulty, get into a similar undertaking, and all I offer is a subjective list of facts which perhaps mean something, or could mean something in the time to come.

1. It was a year that will remain in history, written by the winners, as a year we received a conditional date for the beginning of membership negotiations. The losers will fixate on this condition without which Brussels offer no guarantees. None of the two will have any answer if I ask what it all has to do with my everyday problems.
2. Prime Minister **Igor Lukšić** published two books of poetry, conquered the hearts of some thirteen thousand Facebook fans, parted at **Nathaniel Rothschild's**, philosophised about the role of the working class, and finally replaced the director of the secret police. No major breakthroughs. In all, he confirmed his reputation of a boring politician.
3. The population census of 2011 took us back into the recent past. Fearsome agitation. The poverty of spirit. The nineties and the billboards. It turned out it is all still here, all around us. All it takes is a spark. The political parties gave their best to the national competition.
4. Montenegrin national team failed to qualify for the European football championship. Nevertheless, exciting qualifications were an excellent opportunity to send out political messages, most of them aimed to foster the national feeling in Montenegrins. We got used to our own flag. The next is the anthem.
5. President **Filip Vujanović** and the Speaker of the Parliament **Ranko Krivokapić** will be remembered in 2011 by their fight. They should both be ashamed of their lack of ideas and style. God help them, their voters and political opponents. With such a political elite, Montenegro can't hope for much. There will be no progress while we allow mediocrities such ego trips. In addition to being offensive to good taste, it is fatal for our value system. Beavis and Butthead.
6. Electricity became more expensive. The citizens didn't get a representative who would channel their demands the price of electricity is still considered a natural occurrence on which the caveman has no influence whatsoever. Like rain. The problem of the Podgorica Aluminium Combine is by far the least read on internet pages. Economic journalists have neither the clue nor talent to show things as they are. Opposition parties have no economic programme. That's why the damned Aluminium Combine is just an enormous ghost, to be forgotten as soon as the elections pass.
7. Former Prime Minister **Milo Đukanović** definitely went over to the world of famous entertainers. The gossip of the year was about his private life. Tabloids' interest in his private life is in his best interest. Nobody is asking him about money. Let's first see if he's getting married. In the meantime, his authority transformed from absolute presence into omniscient absence. It's easier for him, it's all the same to us.
8. The police arrested the brother and the wife of a narco-boss. One priest asked for the wife to be released. She's now free, the narco-boss is at large. Is there any chance for the two doves to reunite? The state did its duty, gave them a chance. An excellent plot for a Turkish soap-opera, another genre which definitely marked 2011.
9. Students took to the streets. 4000 of them. It was a joke.
10. Unknown individuals set fire to Vijesti's cars. Nobody knows which individuals are behind these despicable acts. The director of the Police said the media were free. Like Fromm, he accused the media of "escape from freedom", and said a public word carries responsibility. Then he defended his MA. Now he'll probably become an ambassador or something. Unknown individuals who set fire to the vehicles of daily newspapers are more powerful than the state apparatus financed by some fifty million euros of its citizens. To the cops on duty in the night of the New Year – happy New Year, with a new director.

Bulgaria and Romania – the balance of five years of membership

# EU is no Santa Claus



In the first 10 months of 2011, the Bulgarians working in other EU member states sent their families 680 million euros, Romanians 2.7 billion.

Romania and Bulgaria drew many advantages from their five years of membership in EU – from the freedom of movement and employment in other countries, to assistance funds and infrastructural development. They are still the poorest members of the Union, with per capita GDP around 45% of the European average. Nevertheless, there has been substantial progress on this indicator, which many consider to be the measure of wealth and development of the economy: in 2004, Bulgaria was at 34% of the EU average, Romania at 34, while in 2007 these figures were 40 and 42% respectively. This is, however, way below the pre-accession expectations which saw the EU as a promised land where all problems will be solved, and there is widespread disappointment in the two countries. Among the most sour points is the failure to join the Schengen zone due to opposition from some member states, notably the Netherlands “Many things have changed since 1 January 2007 (when the two countries joined EU). For one thing, Romanians and Bulgarians can travel freely and work in the EU,” Romania’s Minister of European Affairs **Leonard Orban** said. There are still limitations – in 10 countries the Romanian workers must have a work permit, and even Spain, which initially opened its market, introduced some restrictions for Romanian citizens in August 2010, after the Netherlands enforced similar measures in April. Despite labour market restrictions, hundreds of thousands of Bulgarians and two million Romanians are

working in other EU countries, mostly Italy, Spain and Germany. Most of them are construction workers or nurses. In the first 10 months of 2011, the Bulgarians working abroad sent their families 680 million euros, Romanians 2.7 billion. The two countries also received a lot of money from the EU structural funds – Bulgaria can draw on 6.67 billion, Romania almost 20 billion euro between 2007 and 2013. In addition to this, they received 13 billion through agriculture funds. Structural funds, whose purpose is to reduce developmental gaps between the old and new members, created opportunities for new undertakings to modernise infrastructures. The procedures are complex, and some difficulties arise because of the need to co-finance the projects. Still, many kilometres of highways and railway tracks have been laid out. The experience of Bulgaria and Romania suggest that the main difficulties in using these funds lie with the countries themselves – with their lack of experience and misuse of money. In Alexandria, a town in Romania’s impoverished south, a plan to renovate an emergency hospital built in the 1970s has remained on paper, although nearly 21 million euros have been earmarked for it. “There’s a lot of red tape, the bidders have contested the specifications...”, a local official, **Ilie Balan**, told AFP. With fraud suspicions looming, Romanian authorities in October froze most of the projects under way to have them verified by experts, before Brussels could take the decision to withhold the funds. In 2008, Bulgaria already faced a decision like that, and had hundreds of million euros in EU funding suspended over corruption fears. Bulgaria and Romania undertook important reforms, but much remains to be done and the two countries are closely monitored by Brussels in order to improve their judiciary systems and anti-corruption mechanisms. The youngest two EU members took on the task of reducing the budget deficits very seriously. As the debt crisis looms over Europe, they are among





Director of the Romanian European Policy Centre (CRPE) Cristian Ghinea says there was no “radical” transformation in Romania in the last five years, but that there are some visible changes. “For the first time there is garbage collection in my grandmother’s village. The same happened with many other local communities”

the least indebted and most disciplined members. Director of the Romanian European Policy Centre (CRPE) Cristian Ghinea says there was no “radical” transformation in Romania in the last five years, but that there are some visible changes. “For the first time there is garbage collection in my grandmother’s village. The same happened with many other local communities”, he said. “There is also a certain degree of disillusion, because our expectations were too high, we thought the EU was Santa Claus,” Ghinea stressed. In Alexandria’s open-air market place, disenchantment is the prevailing sentiment. “Nothing has changed for us. On the contrary, we are even poorer now,” said Stela, a farmer in her fifties. But farmer Constantin Apostol, defying the icy wind in his thin pullover, says he had benefitted from Romania’s EU accession. “Every year I get subsidies for my three cows. It’s not a lot, but it comes in handy.” Director of the Bulgarian Alpha Research polling institute Boriana Dimitrova says that at the beginning Europe seemed to be the promised land. “But now it is clear there are also problems. We are faced with different interests at European summits, de-

On his visit to a supermarket in December, Romanian President Traian Băsescu said he tries to avoid buying Dutch vegetables. The Netherlands remains the only EU country blocking Romania’s and Bulgaria’s entry into the Schengen zone

mands to rewrite the founding treaties... Bulgaria is still seeking its place in this new puzzle”, she added for AFP. During their first five years of EU membership, Bulgaria and Romania failed to enter the Schengen zone, which was their priority objective for 2011. The reasons for the failure are the growing fears of immigration, disputes between France and Romania, and subsequent opposition on the part of the Netherlands, France, Germany and Finland. A further cold shower for Bulgaria came from an incident on the border with Turkey, which shattered all hopes that it could get a positive decision in February. However, the European Commission together with the Polish presidency, have been insisting for months that Romania and Bulgarian fulfilled all technical conditions, such as those regarding the safety of EU’s external borders and visa-issuing procedures. According to the European Commission President **Jose Manuel Barroso**, their accession to the Schengen Agreement is therefore a matter of fairness. France, Germany and Finland withdrew their opposition and suggested a different solution: open the air and marital borders, but delay the opening of the land crossings. The Netherlands, however, remained firm, asking for further evidence of progress in the fight against corruption. Romania, in turn, has accused the Netherlands of being hostage to the extreme right party of Geert Wilders who is currently supporting the ruling coalition. According to the Romanian European Affairs Minister Leonard Orban, there is a certain frustration in the two countries with the position of the Netherlands, and expressed his hopes that this country will accept a compromise solution. In expectation of this turn, Romanian President **Traian Băsescu** said that on his trips to supermarket he tries to avoid buying vegetables from the Netherlands.

Sources: AFP and [www.euroaktiv.rs](http://www.euroaktiv.rs)

# Europe of values



Miloš Knežević

The author is a coordinator of the CCE Youth Group and a student at the Department of Philosophy of the University of Montenegro

If we manage to push through all the reforms required by EU by spring 2012, in June this year Montenegro will begin accession talks with EU. The next existential question is – how long will we have to wait until our citizens become part of the big European family of nations. One thing is clear, however: most of the Montenegrin citizens still know little about what this “European Union” to which we all strive really means. I’m one of them, and I often ask myself – do I want to, and why do I want to be a citizen of EU? Why should it even matter? It matters because I believe the life in EU will offer me more than I have now, in terms of opportunities, challenges and motivation to work on myself and develop personally and professionally.

Opinion polls show that the expectations of young people in Montenegro are quite similar to mine, i.e. that we expect the EU membership to bring us better future, the missing democracy and human rights, greater opportunities for travelling and studying, a more certain future. But my impression is that everyone expects these to come on their own. Why not work on creating this better future, to expand and develop it further with EU’s help? Everyone is ready to talk, to dream, to wait, but few are willing to move from words to deeds. Our young people are thus copying bad politicians who dish out grand promises to only fulfil little or nothing of what they pledged. No European future will happen without young people. If they’re ready to think, to be active, to work on themselves and their society, then the society also has a future. If not, the great expectations from EU membership are bound to be disappointed. The EU is an opportunity, not a finished product. I sometimes fear that we’re not used to fighting for what we want, especially the youth. It is not only their “fault”, because the grown-ups, through their care for the youth and their efforts to bring out the best in us, to develop our talents and potentials, are also creating and shaping the future.

Just think back to the big student protest on 17 November 2011. I was part of it, and on that day I felt as if something was going to change. I soon “snapped back” to reality and realised that it is not easy to forget all the shortcomings of these young people who came out to protest, although I really wanted to. But even this little step is important. Perhaps we’ll also learn something from our mistakes, but it should be soon, because we’re already running late. The most important lesson is to realise that we can only go ahead with an open mind, only if we are ready to question our aims, to accept criticism, to think freely. Our chance lies in harmonising our educational system with that of advanced countries, so that our universities can churn out educated young people who can think and who are not afraid to question authority of any kind, instead of simply becoming followers. I’m worried by the outright intolerance of the young people towards everything that’s different and other. This is why membership in EU is a chance for us to see that differences exist and that they can live with one another. I was deeply disappointed by the young people’s reaction and attitudes towards the LGBT community and the people’s right to love in a way which is only different, but not less worthy or beautiful. The majority still suffers from prejudice and stereotypes, traditionalist values which are an obstacle to progress.

Finally, although I still don’t know what the EU can do, I know that things are not only black or white, that not everything that comes from Europe is necessarily good or bad. But I know that most of the member states are trying to ensure equal rights for all and that these rights are respected, that there is space and opportunity for everyone to develop their full potential. This is why we need the EU, this is why we need to “Europeanize”, and embrace the fundamental values of the Union.

## Lichtenstein in the Schengen zone

As of 19 December the Schengen zone has 26 members, with the most recent accession of Lichtenstein. The Council of EU decided to abolish the internal border controls after consultations with the European Parliament and an evaluation of Lichtenstein's preparedness in terms of police cooperation, information systems and data protection. Lichtenstein has 35 000 inhabitants and is estimated to be 213th out of 239 world states ranked by size. The official language is German, and the statelet is known as a tax haven. The tiny state has been part of European integration process since its accession to the European Economic Area in 1995, and it is also part of the EU single market.

## Migrants mind their own

According to Eurostat, migrants working in EU sent in 2011 remittances to their countries of origin of a total value of 31.2 billion euros, which is 3% more than in 2010. This includes remittances within EU, but also towards third countries. The largest amount of remittances was sent from Spain – 7.2 billion, which is nearly a quarter of all remittances from EU. The second largest source was Italy from which the migrants sent home 6.6 billion, followed by Germany, with 3 billion, or 10% of all EU remittances. Following a change in methodology, the numbers for this year exclude the transfers sent by migrants who have been working in EU for less than a year.

## Deutschmarks in mattresses and memories

On the tenth birthday of the Euro, which replaced the national currencies on January 2012, the German central bank said there are still 13 billion Deutschmarks that have not been exchanged, although at the time the leading bankers expected all bills to be replaced within

1-2 years. Old money remained stashed under mattresses, in forgotten books, in fountains as change thrown for good luck, but the experts believe that a large amount remains with the citizens of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. the old Deutschmarks can be exchanged any time in all branches of the German central bank. On average every one of the 47 branches of Bundesbank exchanges on daily basis between 8.500 and 10.600 marks. The Germans are well accustomed to the new currency, although the opinion polls show that citizens older than 65 still often recalculate the prices in euros into the old marks, while those younger than 30 either do not remember the mark, or only remember it as pocketmoney they got from parents. Most recent opinion polls show that 85% of the Germans believe that euro made everything more expensive. However, the data indicate that the average annual inflation in Germany was 2.6% in the 53 years of the Deutschmark, while the average inflation since the introduction of euro was only 1.6%.

## Luxembourg likes cars

Luxembourg earned the unofficial titles of the EU member state with most passenger cars per head of the population: in 2009, for each thousand inhabitants there were 672 cars. According to Eurostat, the second are Italians with 606 cars, followed by Cyprus (579), Malta (568), Austria (522), Slovenia (521) and Germany (509). Between 2004 and 2009 the number of passenger cars grew in all EU member states, except in Germany and UK. Compared to 2004, the largest increase was recorded in Poland and Latvia. The rate of motorisation in Poland jumped from 314 in 2004 to 433 in 2009, while the increase in Latvia was from 296 to 400. Romania has the fewest cars, with only 197 vehicles per thousand inhabitants, followed by Slovakia with 294.



EU makes new steps to introduce mechanisms that partly suspend visa-free regime with the Western Balkans

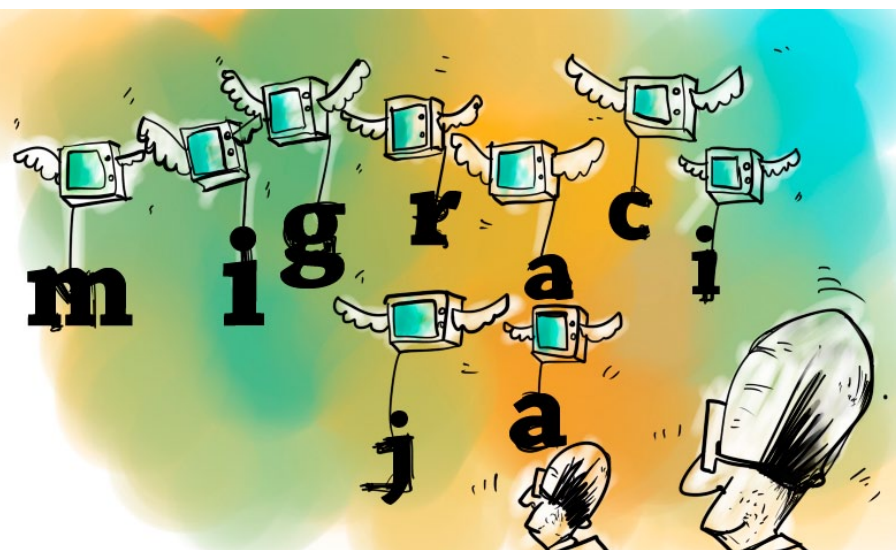
## Visa on poverty



Faced with mounting abuse of the EU's three-month visa-free regime in the Schengen Zone, interior ministers adopted a proposal on 13 December that would allow EU states to temporarily suspend the visa-free regime to Western Balkan states. This is another step towards a new mechanism that should first be approved by the European Parliament. "If the mechanism is adopted by the European Parliament, the member states will have the possibility to suspend the visa-free regime of third countries, not only in the Western Balkans, initially for half a year. Then, there is the possibility to extend it to nine months. Finally, it is possible to place a country back on the 'black' Schengen list," Visa Liberalisation Rapporteur **Tanja Fajon** explained. She added that the mechanism would be enforced when all the details are agreed on and adopted in the European Parliament and Council, most likely next year, and that member states are in a "great hurry". The EC prepared the new mechanism and presented it in May 2011, on demand of a number of EU members which experienced a large increase in asylum seekers from the region. The core of the Commission's proposal is a safeguard clause which allows the countries to temporarily re-introduce visas for the citizens of those coun-

The core of the Commission's proposal is a safeguard clause which allows the countries to temporarily re-introduce visas for the citizens of those countries from which they receive a large increase of unfounded asylum-seeking applications or persons who overstay the three-month limit of visa-free travel for tourism, visits, business or other.

tries from which they receive a large increase of unfounded asylum-seeking applications or persons who overstay the three-month limit of visa-free travel for tourism, visits, business or other. According to the Commission proposal, the safeguard clause is triggered when the inflow of "false asylum-seekers" and illegal immigrants increases by more than 50% in six months. The draft report from the meeting of the Council of Ministers of Justice and Home Affairs says that the Council welcomes the safeguard clause but that it decided to change the article which defines the situation in which the member states can notify the Commission that the extraordinary circumstances obtain for the introduction of the safeguard measures. The Council decided to alter the 50% increase threshold, which remains as a general guideline, while the trigger is now formulated more vaguely as "a sudden and significant increase" in the number of illegal immigrants and asylum seekers. The Council also clarifies the definition of "false asylum seekers" as persons submitting "applications for asylum which are clearly unfounded or do not correspond to the conditions for international protection". So far, the biggest problem has been the arrival of false asylum seekers - mostly Roma - from Serbia and Macedonia to Sweden, Germany, Belgium and Luxembourg. Certain EU countries recently complained of a large number of Albanians overstaying their visas. They come from south-



ern Serbia and western Macedonia via specially organised bus tours. Some destroy their passports and seek political asylum, without any grounds to do so. Citizens of Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia can travel without visas to the Schengen countries since 19 December 2009. A year later, the same privilege was extended to the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Albania. Kosovo remains under visa requirement. The safeguard mechanism was already introduced during negotiations to lift the visa requirement for citizens of Albania and BiH, in order to enable quick reaction in the case of abuse of visa-free regime. According to the UN Refugee Agency, Serbia with Kosovo is the third largest source of asylum applications in 44 developed countries for the first 6 months of this year, with a total of 10 300 applications. After a slight decline in the number of Serbian citizens seeking asylum in EU countries during the summer of this year, it again increased with the beginning of autumn. In September, the European Commission asked the authorities in Albania, BiH, Montenegro, Macedonia and Serbia to submit the description of measures they undertook to stem the increase in number of asylum seekers in EU member states. Montenegrin authorities have so far reported that the number of false asylum seekers from Montenegro is negligible. However, given the experience with Serbia and Macedonia which shows the asylum seekers are predominantly Roma, it is clear why the European Commis-

So far, the biggest problem has been the arrival of false asylum seekers – mostly Roma – from Serbia and Macedonia to Sweden, Germany, Belgium and Luxembourg. Certain EU countries recently complained of a large number of Albanians overstaying their visas.

sion demanded a solution to the temporary refugee settlement in Konik before it begins negotiations with Montenegro. To date, the government has drafted a new housing plan to clear out the camp, but has repeatedly asked for financial support from the international community. After the first warnings arrived already in mid-2010, Serbian authorities introduced a number of measures, including the possibility of forbidding the Serbian citizens to leave the country, unless they can offer a clear justification for the journey. Minister of Interior Affairs **Ivica Dačić** said in November that the EU should “tighten the control of its borders and prevent re-entry of false asylum-seekers”. A study on migrants from southern Serbia conducted by Group 484 from Belgrade and Nexus from Vranje with support of the Balkan Trust for Democracy (BTD) shows that the citizens are opting for such measures out of poverty and social exclusion. “The living conditions in the collecting centres for asylum-seekers are incomparably better than what they have at home”, explains the study, which was based on focus-group interviews with former asylum-seekers from Vranje, Bujanovac and Preševo. For them, application for asylum, a stay in a collecting centre and related benefits are usually a “short-term survival strategy”, something they choose to do when there is no other option. Contrary to the established prejudice, the research shows that these people are not at all trying to avoid work. The conclusion of the study urges the EU to reconsider the possibility of allowing unqualified workers from Serbia and other Balkan countries to take up seasonal and temporary jobs in EU member states.

Source (SETimes, euractiv.rs)

“Montenegrin Parliament in the European integration process  
– an observer or an active participant?”

## Instead of a weak NCEI, a strong Committee for European Integrations

National Council for European Integrations (NCEI) should be abolished in its present form, and part of its mandate and functions assigned to the newly established Committee for European Integrations. The latter should be created by dividing the current Committee for European Integrations and Foreign Affairs. These are the conclusions of a recent study by NGO Institute Alternative titled “Parliament of Montenegro in the European integration process – an observer or an active participant?”.

So far NCEI did not live up to its role of a strategic advisory body in the process of European integrations. There are several reasons for this: first of all, the fact that this body failed to redirect the discussion from current political affairs towards a constructive debate based on which it would formulate recommendations and proposals for specific problems and obstacles in fulfilling the commitments from SAA.

“The newly established Committee for European Integrations should keep the current responsibilities of the Committee for European Integrations and Foreign Affairs – coordination and monitoring of implementation of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA). In addition to this, it should be given two tasks currently accorded to NCEI: a role in the accession talks and a more important role in informing the citizens about the integration process, and organising consultations, thematic discussions, expert debates about particular issues on the European agenda, public debates and conferences, in which it would bring together representatives of the civil sector, civil society organisations and interest groups, as well as representatives of various bodies and branches of administration. “By adding this task of organising quarterly thematic forums with representatives of the civil society and public administration to the responsibilities of the Committee, NCEI’s competencies could be integrated in a satisfactory manner. A further obligation to adopt joint conclusion and to allow participation of all interested members, as well as to submit written reports on the conclusions of the forums, would further strengthen the role of this body”, maintains Institute Alternative. The analysis finds that so far NCEI did not live up to its role of a strategic advisory body in the process of European integrations.

There are several reasons for this: first of all, the fact that this body failed to redirect the discussion from current political affairs towards a constructive debate based on which it would formulate recommendations and proposals for specific problems and obstacles in fulfilling the commitments from SAA.

Due to overlapping responsibilities of NCEI and Committee for Foreign Affairs and European Integrations, there were so far seven joint meetings between the two bodies, while in three years of its existence NCEI only managed to have another nine meetings on its own.

A number of NCEI’s members, according to the study, do not attend these meetings at all, while others fail to see the purpose of NCEI’s work. Besides, for a while now there were several empty seats at NCEI but neither its president nor other members took the initiative to appoint new members. In its proposal for (re)defining the role of the Parliament in the process of European Integrations, Institute Alternative formulated another, less preferred solution, where NCEI would remain as a body with the existing competencies, membership and role. An additional possibility would be to restructure NCEI in order to provide greater scope for involvement of the civil society and representatives of non-parliamentary institu-



“The experience of countries which joined the EU in 2004 and 2007, as well as of those currently in the accession process, suggests that a separate Committee for European Integrations would have a basis in comparative practice. Out of 17 countries under consideration, 16 had established a specialised working body for European integration issues at some point of their accession process”, says IA

tions, based on clear and well defined criteria (primarily expertise), which would turn the Council into a strategic consultative body. In this set-up, all of its members would have voting rights, unlike their counterparts in Macedonia and Croatia, thus making this body a de facto Parliamentary body. Institute Alternative further discusses the need for splitting the Committee for Foreign Affairs and European Integrations into two, and observes:

“The experience of countries which joined the EU in 2004 and 2007, as well as of those currently in the accession process, suggests that a separate Committee for European Integrations would have a basis in comparative practice. Out of 17 countries under consideration, 16 had established a specialised working body for European integration issues at some point of their accession process”.

IA however warned that a division of the Committee for Foreign Affairs and European Integrations cannot be achieved by simply dividing the existing competencies into two, but that it is necessary to thoroughly rethink the current and the future role of these bodies through the prism of the following issues: public transparency of their work, membership, presidency, human resources, competencies, role in the accession negotiations etc.

“As the members of the Committee for Foreign Affairs and European Integrations are already members of other working bodies, any restructuring should consider the option of the two new committees having fewer members than

the parliamentary average (12). Also, members of the Committee for European Integrations should be members of the parliamentary Committee for Stabilisation and Association with EU”, suggests the study. A new Committee for European Integrations does not have to entail an increase in the number of scheduled jobs within the Parliament’s Administration. “Support services to the legislative and oversight roles of the Parliament envisage 6 employees dedicated to the Committee for Foreign Affairs and European Integrations, and another 2 positions for associates whose tasks are exclusively dedicated to the harmonisation of legislation with that of EU, and who are not members of any committee. By transferring these two employees and adding another two from the current Committee for Foreign Affairs and European Integrations to the new Committee for European Integrations, both would have 4 employees in their support teams”.

According to the proposal by Institute Alternative, the Committee for European Integrations would oversee and issue opinions on the Government’s activities dedicated to accession to EU; coordinate and analyse activities of other parliamentary working bodies in the field of European integrations, develop cooperation with similar bodies in the parliaments of other countries and in the European Parliament, and discuss EU assistance programmes and their implementation.

### President from the opposition

Institute Alternative suggests that the new Committee for European Integrations, in case it is established, should have for president a representative of the opposition. According to IA, this would be the optimal solution, given recommendations of the Council of Europe and the fact that such an arrangement could not jeopardise the will of the majority, as majority of MPs in the Committee would be from the governing coalition. Nevertheless, it would give a new quality to the political relations, opposition’s ability to take responsibility for the process and the performance of the Committee.

## Fast Forward Human Rights Film Festival

Centre for Civic Education (CCE), in cooperation with the cultural centre “Budo Tomović”, Montenegrin National Theatre, Beldocs, Heinrich Böll Foundation, RTCG and the Government of Montenegro organised between 10 and 15 December 2011 the Fast Forward Human Rights Film Festival. During the six days of festival the spectators had a chance to see a selection of films from renowned production houses across the world. The programme was chosen by the Council of the Festival, consisting of **Balša Brković**, a writer and the editor of the Art section in daily “Vijesti”, **Branko Baletić**, director and head of the Montenegrin Cinema, **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE, **Dušan Vuleković**, director, lecturer at the Performing Arts Department of the University of Montenegro, **Janko Ljumović**, producer, director of the Montenegrin National Theatre, **Miško Popović**, director of the film programme in the cultural centre “Budo Tomović”, **Mladen Vušurović**, director of Beldocs and **Nataša Novović**, editor of the documentary programme in RTCG.

Sixteen movies were shown during the festival: *Tilva Roš*, *Tarot Serbia*, *Mila looks for Senida*, *Food, Inc.*, *Barzakh*, *Khodorovski*, *Rabbit à la Berlin*, *Blockade*, *Nostalgia for light*, *The Vodka Factory*, *What's in a name* and *The Green Wave*.

The festival was initiated by CCE, with the intention to put Podgorica onto the cultural map on the region which for many years now cherishes a tradition of similar festivals and human rights promotion. As part of the accompanying programme, two panel discussions took place alongside the festival, “Post-traumatic societies” and “Voices from the margin”, which further discussed some of the issues that have been broached by the screened movies, and which are also highly relevant for the Montenegrin society.

## “War for peace” – 20 years later

On 2 December 2011 in Podgorica, in commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the attack on Dubrovnik, CCE and partners organised the conference “War for Peace – 20 years later”. The event was organised by Centre for Civic Education (CCE), in cooperation with Human Rights Action (HRA) and the Centre for the confrontation with the past Documenta, with support of Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES). The aim was to open up the discussion on different aspects of the war, post-war reconstruction and re-building of trust, the needs and the fates of the victims and the legal action against war crimes perpetrators. Among the participants were representatives of the Government, non-governmental organisations, political parties, diplomatic corps and educational institutions. The conference consisted of three thematic panels. The first, titled War crimes trials – challenges and achievements, was moderated by **Tea Gorjanc Prelević**, executive director of HRA and the speakers were **Lidija Vukčević**, deputy Special Prosecutor for organised crime, corruption and war crimes, and lawyer **Tamara Durutović**.

During the second panel, Dubrovnik and Morinj in the 1990s, the participants had a chance to listen to personal experiences, witness accounts and more recent insights into the events in Dubrovnik and the surroundings by **Luka Brailo**, a journalist from Split, **Veseljko Koprivica**, a journalist of Montenegrin “Monitor”, and **Metodije Prkačin**, a former camp inmate from Cavtat. The session was moderated by the director of Documenta, **Vesna Teršelič**. The participants also discussed the role of the media, education and civil society, as well as the importance of these areas in

confronting the past. These issues were the subject of the third session A look into the future: education, media and the civil society, which featured **Šerbo Rastoder**, professor of the Department of Philosophy of the University of Montenegro, **Zoran Pusić**, President of the Civic Committee for Human Rights in Zagreb, and **Vladimir Pavićević** from the Political Science Department of the University of Belgrade, moderated by **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE. As part of the conference the organisers staged an exhibition of photographs by a young photographer from Dubrovnik, **Pavo Urban**, who was killed by a grenade while photographing the bombing of Stradun on 6 December 1991. The conference ended with a general discussion, where the participants had a chance to contribute their opinions and comment on the presentations of the panellists.

### Political education for democracy

On 16 December 2011 in Podgorica, Centre for Civic Education (CCE), in cooperation with Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES) organised a conference on the importance of political education, titled “Political education for democracy”. Political education is imperative for democratic development of every society, from those that just made the first steps towards development of modern democracies, to those which already belong to that group. The goal of the conference was to assess the results and outstanding challenges for Europeanization of the Montenegrin society and its transformation into a mature political community based on democratic values. The discussion brought together a range of perspectives on these matters, by political parties, educational institutions and different segments of the civil society. Has the process to date sufficiently taken into account the importance of political education? How do we prepare and select our leaders and officials? How to improve the political elite and culture in Montenegro? What is the role of education in reducing corruption? What are the plans of political parties, civil society and educational institutions? What are the examples of best practices? How do we involve the citizens in policy-making? What are the ways and the extent to which the experts can influence the decision and policies? Have the students found their place in it? These are only some of the questions that were debated in the course of three panel discussions and elaborated through the introductory speeches of the participants. The discussion offered an overview of different positions and points of view, as well as recommendations for improving political education which in the long run should have a positive impact on democratisation of the society. The conference was divided into three discussion panels: **The role of NGOs and political parties in political education of the citizens; Universities, think-tank organisations and media in the context of political education and consulting; Civic initiatives as a form of political education in practice.** The conference was opened by **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE, **Dr Igor Lukšić**, Prime Minister of Montenegro and **Dr Michael Erhke**, head of the regional office of Friedrich Ebert Foundation. The discussion was moderated by **Boris Marić**, senior legal advisor to CCE, and it featured the following speakers: **Prof. Dr Radovan Radonjić**, Faculty of Public and Administrative Studies; **Momčilo Radulović**, Secretary General of the European Movement in Montenegro; **Goran Jevrić**, member of the Executive Committee of DPS; **Mirko Stanić**, member of the Chief Committee of SDP; **Aleksandar Damjanović**, member of the Executive Committee of SNP; **Goran Danilović**, vice-president of NOVA; **Prof. Dr Čedomir Čupić**, Political Science Department, University of Belgrade; **Jovana Marović**, research coordinator in Institute Alternative; **Nedeljko Rudović**, editor of the daily “Vijesti”; **Prof. Dr Filip Kovačević**, Political Science Department, University of Montenegro; **Balša Brković**, writer; **Damir Nikočević**, student, Political Science Department, University of Montenegro (participant in 2011 student protests) and **Nikola Nikolić**, student, Political Science Department, University of Montenegro (participant in 2011 student protests).



### International Summer School, 2012, Norway

The International Summer School (ISS) is part of the University of Oslo, in Norway offering intensive Master's and Bachelor's courses over 6 weeks. They welcome more than 550 students from nearly 100 countries. The ISS is a learning community of diverse students who come together to study, interact and increase understanding and good will between nations. It aims at developing and conveying knowledge and at promoting understanding between people from different cultures. This dual purpose is reflected in the ISS motto: *"Six Weeks of Academic Achievement and International Good Will"*. It will be held from 23 June - 3 August 2012. 12 Bachelor level courses offered at the ISS: art in Norway, Norwegian History, Intensive Elementary Norwegian, Norwegian Life&Society, Norwegian Literature, Contemporary Norwegian Society, Scandinavian Government & Politics, International Politics, etc. 8 Master level courses offered at the ISS: Gender Equality in the Nordic Countries, Media Studies, Human Rights, International Community Health, Energy, Environment and Sustainable Development, International Development Studies, Peace Research, Special Needs Education. ISS has a wide variety of full and partial scholarships, but the competition for scholarships is tough. Deadline for applications: 1 February 2012. For more information please visit: <http://www.uio.no/english/studies/summerschool/>

### The Master of Public Policy, The Hertie School Future of Europe Stipend, Germany

The EU currently faces challenges that demand innovative governance concepts and a new quality of leadership. The Hertie School recognizes the role of young leaders in public policy responding to these challenges. We have therefore introduced the new Future of Europe stipend, aimed at young European Union professionals. The Master of Public Policy prepares future leaders to find innovative policy solutions in the realm of economic cooperation, reform of the welfare state, and new modes of democratic governance. If you want to take the lead in the interface of the public, private, and civil society sectors, the MPP presents a unique opportunity to expand your knowledge, skills and competences. The stipend covers the full tuition costs (27.000 EUR) for the two-year MPP program. The School particularly encourages students and young professionals from Eastern and Southern member states of the EU to apply for the stipend. Deadline for applications: 31 January 2012. . For more information please visit: <http://www.hertie-school.org/futureofeuropestipend/>

### MiReKoc International Summer School, 2012, Turkey

The Migration Research Center at Koç University, MiReKoc is organizing its II Summer School Program on July 1-13, 2012. Designed as a summer school for graduate and PhD students as well as junior experts in the field, in the premises of Koç University's main campus in Sarıyer, Istanbul, the program aims at high-level, research-oriented, interdisciplinary and innovative academic courses on migration as well as workshops on related policy issues for professional development. Lectures and discussions given and led by a distinguished international faculty will also be combined with field trips within Istanbul involving seminars given by policy-makers and implementers. It will be conducted in English. A certificate will be provided upon successful completion of the program. MiReKoc International Summer School is designed as a program for 20 graduate and postgraduate students as well as junior migration experts. Applications from all over the world are encouraged. Deadline for applications is 1 April 2012. For more information please visit: <http://miss.ku.edu.tr/home>

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