

European pulse

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Foreword: **From Brussels to London**

Vladan Žugić

Can you imagine an EU member state where the judiciary, police and the agency, directorate, or whatever it is that is supposed to be in charge of preventing money laundering, issue a joint communication in which they accuse a group of citizens of illegal activities, without any prior investigation and with complete disregard for the presumption of innocence which they used to swear by whenever the civil sector or the opposition blew the whistle on illegal activities of public officials? Can you imagine an EU member state when these three institutions accuse 19 MPs, from the Investigative and Security and Defence Committees of having revealed secret information on a privatization scandal, waving away all suspicion of their own members? The “listings” affair was the last piece of evidence demonstrating that these three institutions, together with the Agency for National Security, are the major source of leaked information. Can you imagine an EU member state, where the prosecution, police and agency for the prevention of money laundering threaten the highest legislative power in the country that from now on they will only submit the secret information they choose to reveal, although the Law on parliamentary inquiry couldn't be clearer on the obligation of all public bodies to submit all relevant and requested information to the Committee for Security and Defence? All that while assuring us that their selection of information for submission will be “in line with European standards and practice”. Whether the MPs really passed the sensitive information to the media, whether the opposition is trying to score political points on the privatisation scandal of the telecommunications company, whether any state prosecutor will ever get down to investigating the allegations based on the leaked information, since the current and the previous one – Vesna Medenica and Ranka Čarapić – have been dodging the issue since 2005, whether the trail will lead all the way to top government officials and sister of the “highest state representative”, are all hypothetical and secondary to the issue at hand. The case of “Telecom” has entered the official documents of European institutions, and the EC and EU member states will be closely following the future developments. What is worrying right now, at the time Montenegro expects the results of the screening of Chapters 23 and 24, is the ignorance or impudence of the police, prosecution and agency for the prevention of money laundering, and the complete lack of awareness that these institutions must answer to the Parliament, and that it precisely their responsibility to maintain the presumption of innocence, until the opposite can be proven.

Calendar

- 1 August** **Waiting for a European auditor** / Montenegro's Ministry of Finance sent the DG Enlargement the documents necessary to accredit future independent programming and implementation of IPA components “Support for transition and institution-building” and “Cross-border cooperation”. This sets the stage for the arrival of EC auditors and assessment of the new systems for financial control and management of EU pre-accession funds. The auditor will assess the institutional and legal framework and decide on the transfer of competencies from EC to Montenegrin institution.
- 6 August** **Pejović “aiming” for 2018 or 2020** / Montenegro's chief negotiator Aleksandar Andrija Pejović expressed his hope that Montenegro might become part of the European family in the course of this decade, in order to be ready for the next financial framework, from 2021. In the interview for EUInside, Pejović said it would be counterproductive to offer any forecasts. “Once we go through all of the acquis and revise all necessary institutions and projects, we can say “we'll be ready by 2018 or by 2020””, Pejović said.
- 13 August** **Growing numbers of illegal immigrants** / In the last few years Montenegro became an important stopover for illegal immigrants from Asia and Africa who are trying to enter EU. According to Deutshce Welle, This is increasingly putting Montenegro under greater pressure from Brussels. The radio also reported that a group of illegal immigrants recently arrested in Slovenia told the police they paid EUR 200, plus the costs of travel, for the transit through Montenegro. According to the official data, in the first half of the year 419 persons asked for asylum, which is twice as many as in the whole of the previous year.
- 31 August** **Solve the problem of factories on transfusion** / In addition to judiciary, one of the more difficult chapters in the course of Montenegro's negotiations with EU will be agriculture, which must be taken off state subsidies, said **Jelko Kacin**, member of the European Parliament. At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the Employers' Association, Kacin said agriculture must be “fully profitable” and that “in the long run it can't remain part of the folklore or a way of life – it must be part of the economy”. According to Kacin, there is a lot of inertia in the Montenegrin economy, with some factories effectively living on transfusion of public funds. “These are clinically dead enterprises, which have died for various social, historical and other reasons, and we need to rethink whether it makes sense to revive something that has had no chances of survival for the last 25 years”, Kacin said.



Štefan Füle

is the European Enlargement Commissioner

Enlargement is part of EU's DNA

Even in times of crisis, nine European countries still strive to join the EU. This is what I personally view as the most important proof of their trust in the Union. It is also important to notice where some of the states in the accession process are. Serbia, which was recently granted candidate status, and Montenegro, with which we have launched accession negotiations at the start of summer, are the best examples of that. The explanation is very simple. We are talking about an organisation which essentially has enlargement as a part of its DNA. Let's recall the beginnings of the EU – it started with a certain number of member states [and] has gradually grown. The core of its history lies not only in a deepening integration but also in enlargement. Basically, the EU is only continuing its natural development. On the other hand, we also have to say that the process of enlargement has slowed down somewhat and it requires more effort and creativity. I also think that we will not help the situation if we do not care about the enlargement and our neighbours, and look only to the inside of our own organisation and focus solely on our troubles, although they are serious and no one should play them down. That would be an enormous mistake and the EU would pay for that. Enlargement has always brought positive news. The motivation of these nine countries has remained the same, but one has to bear in mind that in times of economic crisis it is much more difficult to carry out reforms. What I think is really significant is that among the candidate states there is no reform fatigue just as there is no enlargement fatigue among the member states, as it is mistakenly reported in the media. The example of Montenegro is valid in this context. On the other hand, it is true that behind the whole process there is a great effort being made by the Commission. We have to be as creative as possible and we have to compensate for the more complicated economic conditions in the EU to some extent. Of course it is also our aim to support these countries in their reform endeavours as much as we can. The best example is the change in our approach to the Chapters 23 and 24 which cover judiciary, justice and home affairs, and therefore are a funda-



mental instrument of the transformation of the society from a totalitarian system to full democracy - since they touch upon the basic principles on which the EU is founded. The main point is that these chapters will be opened at a very early stage in the accession talks and closed at the very end. This enables us to participate in the transition to full democracy during the whole negotiation process. After all, the goal for the EU is not to tick the box of negotiated chapters, but also for the Commission to make sure that the changes in these areas work and bring benefits to the citizens. Montenegro is now waiting to be the first to experience this new approach. For comparison: we had Chapter 23 with Croatia open just for one year and it was opened only 12 months before the end of talks. In this connection I would like to recall that in the case of Turkey, it has not yet been possible to open this chapter which is, I think, detrimental to the entire negotiation process. The beginning of negotiations with Montenegro is a very important signal, as only a short period has passed since we closed the accession talks with Croatia and we have already opened talks with another candidate state. This is especially significant for the Balkans. The successful completion of accession talks with Croatia gave credibility to the whole process because it showed that the country underwent substantial changes during the ten years of negotiations. It was also important for the member states because they were able to see that a particular candidate state successfully fulfilled its obligations. And this is also how the EU is doing its own "homework".

Source: excerpts from the interview for Czech EurActiv

Government's plans for the civil sector in the negotiations with EU

The masks fall quickly



Damir Nikočević

A few months ago, Montenegro's chief negotiator **Aleksandar Andrija Pejović** said that in the negotiations with European Union Montenegro must use the capacities of the civil sector, and agreed with the key civil society representatives to include their representatives in the working groups, selected on the basis of individual expertise. In practice, the things have not gone quite so smoothly. In fact, there are serious doubts as to the sincerity of this invitation, and suspicions that the cabinet of Prime Minister **Lukšić** is in fact planning to use NGOs, trade unions and employers associations as mere decoration to appease the domestic and EU public opinion. The first sign that the Government is offering a hand to the civil society as a purely PR move came right after the appointment of the working groups, when some of the officials boasted that Montenegro is the first country to involve the civil sector in the negotiations. A single glance at the composition of the Croatian working groups is enough to denounce any such claims.

Gordan Bosanac from the Croatian Centre for Peace Studies explained that in Croatia civil society representatives participated in the wider working groups charged with preparing the negotiations and which, according to him, weren't as influential, nor were they directly involve in the negotiations. "The Croatian Government decided that the negotiations should be secret. Also, the civil sector didn't participate in all preparatory working groups, but only in some of them. For instance, in the most crucial chapter – Chapter 23, on judiciary and fundamental rights – civil society didn't even participate in the preparatory phase", Bosanac said. He added that the members of the working groups should be paid for their work. "They should be paid for it as part of the wage they receive in their NGOs. I'm not in favour of additional payments to individuals. If the work is conducted within the NGO, the government should be transferred the money to



Ana Novaković (CDNGO): "I am certain that the time our representatives spend in the meetings, as well as the work and effort they contribute during their working hours and during week-ends, to make sure the working groups meet their tasks merit adequate compensation. That is, in an ideal situation, with an ideal government. As in practice our situation is far from ideal, not to talk about our Government, we are hardly even thinking about it. One thing is for certain: compensation wasn't even on the list of reasons why I and my colleagues from CDNGO took up this job"



Gordan Bosanac (Centre for Peace Studies, Croatia): “Our experience confirms that monitoring is essential in this process. External monitoring is perhaps even more important than participation in the negotiations”.

the organisations so they can pay their members who are working on such issues. Otherwise, it is nothing more than discrimination”, Bosanac said. The financial aspect is precisely among the reasons why civil society representatives believe they are subject to unequal treatment compared to the government representatives. The Government’s decision not to fund the trip of civil society representatives to the screening meeting in Brussels met with fierce criticism from this part of the public. The civil sector argued that their members are effectively working for the benefit of the state, and worried that the Government’s decision not to fund them was aimed at diminishing their influence on the negotiations. According to the Government’s regulation, the costs of the working groups’ members should be covered

by their home institution. The practice to date shows that the state institutions are ready to spend the taxpayers’ money lavishly on their representatives’ business trips. Executive director of the Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations (CDNGO) **Ana Novaković** considers this decision “unprofessional, disappointing and a little sad”. She adds that “the Government was not ready to really involve civil society representatives in this process, and has mishandled the basic logistics for the functioning of the working groups”, but insists that it was a wise move on the part of civil society representatives to resist the pressure and advice to leave the working groups because of this.

Daily “Vijesti” recently reported that certain civil society representatives in the working groups 25 (Science and research) and 26 (Education and culture) didn’t receive invitations to the preparatory meetings, and that they were advised to seek a donor who would finance their work and travel. This provoked some of the civil society representatives to contemplate leaving the working groups. Condemning the behaviour within the working group 25, Ana Novaković said: “If such practices continue, it is perfectly reasonable to expect educated people, with important references in the academic world, to leave the working groups and employ their knowledge and time elsewhere”. **Boris Marić**, legal representative of the Centre for Civic Education, said such a move would be “radical, but understandable”. “We already listed our reasons, and the fact that the working groups have been functioning quite chaotically. NGO representatives have made their contributions to the working groups 23 and 24, but we have also witnessed various failures and attempts to limit their ability to act, especially as regards public communication about the work”, Marić said. In addition to refusing to fund their travel, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration also decided that NGO representatives in the working groups have no right to comment for the media the documents



and discussions presented within the working groups. Novaković said the status of the civil society representatives in the working groups had been quite unique: “Personally, I have never felt I was treated differently from any Government representatives. In fact, I felt free to say whatever I thought during the meetings, without prior consultations or approval from any party”. Boris Marić, on the other hand, insists that civil society representatives are not considered of equal status with the government representatives in the working groups. “There are probably many reasons for this, but here is the most important one. Above all, the negotiating team and its working groups don’t have their own budgets, which means that every institutions pays the costs of its representatives, which is the basis for all sorts of obstacles where the NGO representatives are being left out and have to look for additional sources to cover the costs for participation in the working groups”, Marić explained. Bosanac warns that monitoring is the most important task during negotiations. “Our negotiations were entirely closed – but once we took up systemic monitoring through various channels, we realised that the impact of NGOs can be significant precisely in unmasking polished reports and revealing the most realistic image of the state of the country, continuously pointing out areas where improvements are

Boris Marić (Centre for Civic Education):

Not only should we enhance participation of the NGO representatives – we should also expand this circle to other social actors, such as trade unions, representatives of employers, students, farmers, members of the Parliament.”

needed, but which have never been put on the agenda, or have been purposefully neglected by the Government”, Bosanac said. Asked for her opinion on the fact that civil society representatives had to sign a pledge to keep certain information confidential, Novaković said: “These pledges contained nothing that would not be covered by the national legislation on data protection. Also, there was no obligation to sign it. The laws should be respected, especially if you’re from the NGO sector and you advocate adherence to the norms. It is true that our legislation in this area is far from perfect, but that’s another story altogether.” Boris Marić thinks that the pledge had been “completely unnecessary and inconsistent with the legislation” and adds that “confidentiality should be linked to specific documents and information, not to the overall functioning of the working groups. The process should be as open as possible, because it’s the whole country that has to join the EU, not the Government of Montenegro”. According to Bosanac, in the course of the Croatian negotiations with EU there was no doubt about it: “if the negotiations are confidential, all negotiators are bound by law to ensure confidentiality”. Finally, Novaković reminds that the civil sector had been doing most of the work in the realm of European integration for the past decade, and that it was the non-governmental organisations, not the Government, who emphasised the importance of non-discrimination, supported civic activism, and fought against corruption and other anomalies in the society.

With the elections approaching, the government is forgetting the European rules of the game

Darn EU, we've got work to do



Neđeljko Rudović

After Croatia passed the finish line, Montenegro became the fastest approaching candidate for EU membership. But when the time comes to defend the office, European rules are blatantly and brutally broken. The examples from the previous few years abound, ever since the integration process took off. Montenegrin government tries to pass its decorative touches as fundamental reforms fulfilling the EU membership conditions, and the farce is reaching the climax ahead of the 14 October elections. Montenegrin media are buzzing with reports on local governments, already bursting at the seams, taking in new interns and employees, and the same goes for the public institutions and establishments, such as the Medical Centre. The required work qualification is either membership of the ruling party or a commitment to support it in the elections. Job announcements only appear on the boards in municipal halls, often for just a day. Although we all know what is going on, it was fun to watch the DPS officials come up with grotesque excuses, and some even took very seriously the task of justifying a practice that is an offence to the common sense. "We have more responsibilities", explained the mayor of Nikšić, **Nebojša Radojičić**. According to the non-governmental organisations, at least one third of employees in Nikšić's local administration are redundant. Well aware of this practice which occurs around every elections for the last decade, less than a year ago the opposition fought for additional clauses in the Law on the financing of political parties, that would prevent DPS-SDP coalition to abuse its power position. Thus the law now forbids the use of official vehicles in the campaign, as well as "employment and recruitment of employed persons". This means public servants and others employed in the public and local administration, public enterprises, schools, hospitals and state funds, between the date of announcement of the elections until the election day. But Montenegro is famous for having as little regard for the Law on the financing of political parties as for any other law which touches into the ability of the ruling party to use



any means available to safeguard its position. Abuse of official vehicles and taxpayers' money for the needs of the ruling parties is a discussion in its own right, and so widespread that the non-governmental organisations recently announced they were giving up on the monitoring practice, because for all their efforts and reprimands there was absolutely no change in the authorities' approach to the use of public resources. "The Law was needed as a kind of decoration, and also to satisfy the complaints by the European institutions... it is time the Government learns that all citizens have equal right to work, and that the wealth and resources of the country are a common good. It is not lost on anybody that DPS and SDP treat those citizens as "theirs" who have the membership cards of the ruling coalition, and have no interest in those who disqualify themselves by not wanting to side with them", wrote recently Vladimir Vujović from SNP. It should also not be lost on Brussels, which now, after the opening of negotiations, has more than one tool to help Montenegro end this impudence and disregard for European rules, which should at least guarantee a civilised election race.

Former Minister for European Integration Prof Dr. Gordana Đurović

It was a mistake to abolish the Ministry of European Integration



Former Minister for European Integration Prof Dr. **Gordana Đurović** maintains that the Government had made several mistakes in the following two years which could have a negative impact on the beginning of Montenegro's accession negotiations with EU. Among such mistakes, according to her, was the decision to abolish the Ministry of European Integration, to begin the formation of negotiating structures a full year after the country acquired the candidate status, and allowing a drain of experts because of formalities.

» How do you see Montenegro's negotiating structures and their capacities?

After the political decision by EU grand Montenegro the status of a candidate, the first thing the Government did was to abolish the Ministry of European Integration (MEI), which acted as the institutional coordinator of the process.

Until the decision to begin accession negotiations with Montenegro in December

The drain of cadres of the former MEI from the integrated MIREI was evident all throughout 2011. Many members of a solid team left the coordination structure, many new people came in, and this has led to a loss of some institutional memory and disrupted the ongoing activities.

2011, the Government did nothing to develop a structure for negotiations, nor did it adopt a new National Programme for Integration. The first moves to establish this structure were made a year after we received the candidate status, which is how long it took to formalize the new organisational scheme of the “grand” Ministry of International Relations and European Integration (MIREI).

In the 2011 progress report the European Commission found that “...the decision to abolish the independent Ministry of European Integration had a negative impact on the administrative capacities involved in the coordination of European integration process, which should have been significantly strengthened”.

The drain of cadres of the former MEI from the integrated MIREI was evident all throughout 2011. Many members of a solid team left the coordination structure, many new people came in, and this has led to a loss of some institutional memory and disrupted the ongoing activities.

» Were there any other changes in this period that affected the negotiation structures?

The new organisational scheme of the MIREI resulted in another major change – limited use of expert human resources, which are anyway in short supply in the Government. Namely, all people in the leading positions – from the Secretary of State for European integration, general directors, heads of units and directorates – must from now on have a certificate for having passed the state diplomatic

exam. “Diplomatisation” of the key positions in the domain of European integration, which prioritizes “diplomats” was unnecessary, and did nothing to improve the efficiency of work. All leading cadres from the former MEI have been “downgraded” in the hierarchy, regardless of their expertise, because of a mere formality – lack of diplomatic experience.

All this, in the conditions of grave economic difficulties, budget cuts and a freeze on new hires, had an impact on the establishment of negotiating structures. The result was a vague model of coordination, lack of leadership, a weak communication strategy, a hasty shift from a “Slovenian” to the “Croatian” organisational schema, and an attitude of “muddling through”, which is not a result of caution, but of a lack of clear strategy and long-term, sustainable approach.

» Still, the Government has made efforts to establish the working groups?

Government’s part of “coordination” is partly completed, but the genuine coordination hasn’t begun yet, as a result of the electoral cycle. Government’s activities are taking place without much publicity, negotiating platform isn’t available to the public, there is no information about the plan for the screenings, and nobody can guess when the Second Inter-Governmental Conference will take place, which is supposed to mark the opening of Chapters 23 and 24.

Since the Commission won’t produce another report before September 2013, it means that more than a year will pass between the two inter-governmental conferences, and that the real negotiations will only start towards the end of 2013, instead of December 2012. In the meantime, the working groups are being formed from one screening to another, when there is no more time left for procrastination.

» What do you mean by that?

For instance, nominations of members to the working groups from the Department of Economics were entirely monopolized by the department’s leadership. Some young professors were left out of the working groups, even

though they did their PhDs on precisely these areas of European policies. When the time comes to put in some real work, they will probably need to take on additional people for the working groups.

» What will be the main problems in the course of Montenegro's membership negotiations, in addition to Chapters 23 and 24?

Chapter 8 – competition and state aid, will certainly prove to be a difficult chapter, both to open and to conclude. The same goes for the key economic chapter 22 – regional policy and coordination of structural funds, where we need a major improvement of the existing capacities, and also the chapters linked to regional development and agriculture. Equally challenging will be chapters 20 – enterprise and industrial policy, 19 – employment and social policy, but also chapter 32, on financial oversight. Every chapter is important in its own way, and entails specific difficulties and complications.

» Even though the processes are not the same, as a former head of the team which concluded the SAA, what would you recommend to the Montenegrin negotiators based on your experience?

The recipe is quite simple: hard work and dedication. Teamwork, development of good professional relations, synergies, strengthening of the institutional memory, strong IT support with effective cost management, clear aims, good coordination and good communication strategy. The process should be open to the media, local communities, employers, trade unions, academia, non-governmental sector, representatives of the international development organisations, diplomats... the process are different, but the profile of coordination is similar.

I have tried to pass on my experiences with Montenegro’s European integration, both academic and executive, to my graduate students, and have summed up these insights in a monograph, “European union and Montenegro: the enlargement policy”, which should come out in late October.

V. Žugić



Minimum wage from 148€ to 1.801€

According to the latest data by Eurostat, minimum gross wages (including taxes and contributions) in Europe vary between EUR 148 in Bulgaria and EUR 1.801 in Luxembourg. In 20 out of 27 member states the minimum wage is set by law. Among the member states with the lowest minimum wages between 100 and 500 EUR are: Bulgaria, Romania (EUR157), Lithuania (EUR232), Latvia (EUR287), Estonia (EUR29), Czech Republic (EUR312), Hungary (EUR323), Slovakia (EUR327), Poland (EUR353), Croatia (EUR374) and Turkey with EUR412. In the second group of medium earners are Portugal, Malta, Greece, Spain and Slovenia, with minimum wages between 500 and 1.000 euro. In Portugal, the minimum wage is EUR566, in Malta EUR680, in Greece EUR 684, in Spain EUR 748 and in Slovenia EUR 763. Finally, the last group consists of countries with minimum wages above EUR1.200, such as the UK (1.244), France (1.426), the Netherlands (1.456), Ireland (1.462), Belgium (1.472) and Luxembourg (1.801). According to Eurostat, the countries with the lowest minimum wages also have lower prices, so that in purchasing power parities the differences are less dramatic.



Hefty pocket money in Germany?

German children will receive this year more than EUR 2.8 billion in pocket money and financial gifts from parents and cousins. The average monthly pocket money for a German child aged between 6 and 13 is around EUR27.18, more than ever before, shows a study commissioned by the publisher of youth literature and comic books Egmont Ehap. German municipal departments for children and youth recommend the parents to give children aged around 11 a monthly amount of 16 euro, 15 year olds around 30 euro and 18 year olds 50 euro per month.

The price of 1m2 in Sofia falls below 1.000€



Housing prices in the Bulgarian capital, Sofia, fell below 1.000 euro per metre square, the first time in the last five years, warns the consulting company Arco Real Estate. Except for Prague and Warsaw, the price of housing has been continuously falling since 2009 in all East Central European countries. In the north and north-east parts of Sofia the prices fell by 19%, with the price of a square meter falling to EUR 433.

Russian market opens up for EU

After 18 years of negotiations, on 22 August Russia became the 156th member of the World Trade Organisation (WTO). In order to comply with WTO's standards, Russia will have to lower its tariffs on automobiles, open up the banking and telecommunications sectors for foreign investors, and simplify procedures in many areas. This even is especially significant for EU, where Russia is the third largest trade partner. In some important sectors, such as automobile industry, the tariff rates are set to fall from the current 30% to 25%, and after seven years of membership to 15%. It is estimated that these will result in additional exports of European goods to the Russian markets, valued at up to 3.9 billion euro per year.

No logo for electronic cigarettes



Among the measures to be introduced by EU this autumn will be a ban on logos on the cigarette packs. Brussels is not contemplating extending this ban also to electronic cigarettes. Anti-smoking lobby in EU institutions argues that brand-free packaging could discourage young people from taking up smoking, because branding makes certain cigarettes more popular, just like sneakers or mobile phones.

Municipal waste management is a serious challenge in EU

A broom for Greece, Italy and new member states

In early August the European Commission published a report on the management of municipal waste in EU, naming the best performers and the worst offenders and spelling out areas in which urgent improvements are needed. The ranking reveals a stark divide between the old and the new member states, even though Greece and Italy were also named among the worst performers. At the very top of the table are Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Netherlands and Sweden. The ranking is based on 18 criteria which range from access to waste collection to waste prevention and treatment and legal mechanisms for implementation of EU waste norms. The ten worst “offenders”: Greece, Bulgaria, Malta, Lithuania, Romania, Cyprus, Latvia, Italy, Slovakia and Estonia, will receive separate roadmaps in September to help them improve

their waste management systems. The report is part of an ongoing programme which monitors EU member states’ progress in meeting one of the criteria of the Europe 2020 strategy: by 2020, minimum 50% of all municipal waste should be recycled, and the member states should work to reduce their reliance on landfills. Every year the EU produces around 520 kilograms of municipal waste per person, although the amounts vary from one country to another. As a rule, richer countries produce more waste: in 2009, Denmark produced 769 kg per capita, compared to only 316 kg per capita in Poland. The biggest difference, however, lies in the way in which this waste is managed. The EU Waste Directive stipulates a hierarchy of measures to tackle waste: the first set of measures should be aimed at prevention, the second at re-use, followed by recycling, recovery and, if everything else fails, disposal. Re-use, recycling and recovery describe different degrees to which the enormous amount of material and energy embodied in waste can be recovered. Recycling recovers most of the material for further processing; recovery implies destruction of waste in a way that can still have some beneficial effects (like composting or incineration for energy). Countries like Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden recycle or recover most of their waste, so that less than 5% of it ends up in the ground. On the other extreme, Bulgaria dumps all of its municipal waste on landfills, and is closely followed in this practice by Romania (98.7%), Latvia (94.5%), Lithuania (90.5%), Malta (86.3%), as well as Cyprus, Greece, and Slovakia (each above 80%). Commenting these tremendous differences, the European Environment Commissioner **Janez Potočnik** said: “The picture that emerges from this exercise confirms my strong concerns. Many Member States are still landfilling huge amounts of municipal waste – the worst waste management option – despite better alternatives, and despite structural funds being available to finance better options. Valuable resources are being buried, potential economic benefits are

Member state	kg/person	Coverage	Recycling %	Recovery %	Disposal %
Austria	591	100%	69.8	29.5	0.7
Belgium	489	100%	61.8	36.8	1.4
Bulgaria	470	98.2%	0	0	100
Cyprus	775	100%	19.8	0	80.2
Czech Rep.	316	100%	16.6	15.5	67.9
Germany	592	100%	61.8	14.3	23.8
Denmark	762	100%	42.3	54.3	3.5
Estonia	346	79%	23.8	0	76.5
Spain	547	100%	33.1	9.1	57.9
Finland	480	100%	32.8	17.5	49.7
France	535	100%	34.9	32.4	32.6
Greece	457	100%	18.3	0	81.7
Hungary	430	92.4%	21.4	9.8	68.7
Ireland	662	76%	38.8	4.1	57.1
Italy	533	100%	34.1	15.1	50.7
Latvia	334	94%	5.4	0.1	94.5
Luxembourg	679	100%	46.8	35.5	17.7
Lithuania	361	85%	9.4	0	90.7
Malta	647	100%	13.7	0	86.3
Netherlands	612	100%	60.7	38.9	0.4
Poland	316	79.8%	25.6	0	74.4
Portugal	517	100%	18.8	19.4	61.9
Romania	362	70%	1.3	0	98.7
Sweden	482	100%	49.8	49.3	1
Slovenia	448	93.1%	41.2	0.9	58
Slovakia	322	100%	8.9	9.8	81.3
UK	526	100%	39.1	11.6	49.3

Source: Eurostat, EC Report on the management of municipal waste

being lost, jobs in the waste management sector are not being created, and human health and the environment suffer. This is hard to defend in our present economic circumstances." European Commission estimates that improvements in waste management could save EU some EUR 72 billion per year, in addition to raising the turnover in the waste management and recycling sector by EUR 42 billion and creating over 400 000 jobs by 2020. In addition to economic benefits of recycling, waste can also be a lucrative export business. According to the most recent figures, in 2011 the EU member states exported around 3.36 million tonnes of "waste, parings and scrap of plastic" to destinations outside the EU. The total value of these exports ran to around EUR 961 million. Most of the waste is exported to China, where it is recycled for production. However, in addition to exporting high-quality waste as secondary raw materials, the EU is often accused of using export to get rid of the waste that would be more expensive to recycle in Europe due to stringent regulations and high labour costs. The EU has long banned export of waste solely destined to be dumped or destroyed, but is also increasingly restricting options for exports of hazardous waste if it cannot be assured that it will be

treated according to high environmental and safety standards. One of the most problematic categories in this regard is electronic waste, which is difficult to recycle and highly toxic, but for which there is an enormous demand from the Chinese electronics industry. EU has effectively banned exports of electronic waste, but this has only given a nudge to lucrative illegal trade. The latest amendments to the 2003 Waste Electrical and Electronic Equipment directive impose ambitious new e-waste recovery and recycling targets on the IT and electronics industry while also introducing stringent new penalties for companies and member states who fail to comply with the rules. Under the new legislation, EU countries will have to recover 45 tonnes of e-waste for every 100 tonnes of e-goods sold by 2016, rising to 85% of all e-waste generated. Meanwhile the retailer take-back plan means that by February 2014 at the latest, larger electrical goods stores will have to accept small electronic items, such as mobile phones, free of charge. The revised directive also includes a clampdown on illegal exports of waste electronic equipment. Equipment that is no longer under warranty can only be exported to non-OECD countries if it has been certified to be fully functional.

Worse than the worst EU member

In spite of Montenegro having long proclaimed itself as an "ecological" state, waste management is one of the country's most severe problems. There are practically no facilities in the country to process or recycle municipal waste, and nearly all of it ends up in landfills. However, not even all landfills are equally problematic. The 1999 Directive on the landfill of waste carefully sets the criteria to make such facilities as safe as possible. It requires that all landfills should be carefully sealed to prevent leakage of waste into underground water, forbids certain types of waste (such as hazardous waste, flammable substances or tyres) to be deposited in landfills and demands reductions in the amount of biodegradable waste to minimise discharges of carbon dioxide and methane. The authorities are expected to monitor the quality of air, surface and underground water on a monthly basis. Not a single landfill in Montenegro meets any of these criteria. In 2005, the Government adopted a Strategic Master Plan for management of solid municipal waste. According to this document, Montenegro produced around 365kg annually per inhabitant, but only around 50% of all waste was at all collected, which is 20% less than in the lowest-ranked EU country, Romania. Only 0.34% of it was recycled, even though the estimated share of recyclable materials was around 75%. The same document offered targets for recycling of different types of materials: for instance, by 2009 Montenegro was to recycle 30% of all paper and 20% of glass. A study conducted in 2011 to assess the need for a new Master plan found that the share of recycled waste in Montenegro was still less than 2%.

Like an agora



Darka Kostić

The author participated in XIX generation of Democracy School

We are approaching 2013, which the European Commission has already declared the “European Year of Citizens”, when all citizens of European Union, regardless of their national, religious or political affiliation, regardless of their gender, will be informed about their rights and possibilities ensuing from their citizenship of EU, and the opportunities they have to improve their lives.

And while the European authorities are trying to educate their citizens about their rights, we are still demanding ours – seemingly by the only democratic means left – on the streets, in exhausting strikes, protests, boycotts, and often we don’t get them, becoming victims of violence, mobbing, and similar irreconcilable, antagonistic outbursts.

“Citizen” denotes a person free to think, act, believe... Can Montenegrin citizens really call themselves citizens? This is precisely the kind of uncertainty which makes me choose a more primary identity – citizen of EU – over my national attribute.

The first reason for this is the rule of law and protection of individual rights. For decades the Europeans have been perfecting their laws and harmonising regulations across the member states. And these laws and regulations really protect ordinary citizens and their rights, much more so than in the Balkan societies where an individual is always at the mercy of the authorities and partocracies in power. The laws are useless if we there is nothing to safeguard our law-guaranteed rights in the real life, if it doesn’t protect us as individuals or it always takes the side of the powerful, the corrupt, or an organised interest group. The second reason I would always prefer to be a citizen of EU is the transfer of knowledge and integration into the technical and scientific networks of Europe. How many graduates in Montenegro are today left to themselves, lost in their home country and, with few exceptions, losing their value?

Moreover, cultural integration with European peoples and participation in the world culture would only have an ennobling effect, raising our cultural level as a nation, teaching us respect and dampening our vanity.

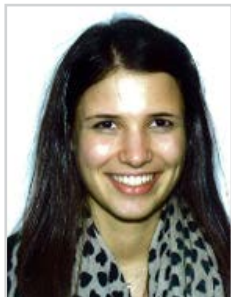
Another, crucial reason for my choice of EU are the 1990s and our history. There isn’t another area on this planet whose history is so packed by peace negotiations, peace conferences and peace treaties. And after all these peace attempts, we still don’t know whether we can speak with any certainty of a lasting peace in the Western Balkans, or if the bomb is still ticking, stoked by identity crises and ethnic conflicts.

I have little doubt that, in spite of all difficulties, the EU is the best product of our civilisation. The EU has been working for more than half a century to democratize the old continent, to develop it, to be a safe ground for many peoples and nations and to integrate them according to the best democratic standards. On its way, it has encountered many challenges, but it has always managed to overcome them. Let’s be realistic: corruption, nepotism, lobbying, mobbing, exist everywhere, including EU, but to a far lesser degree and not so openly and unscrupulously like they do in the Balkans. Individuals have a sense of dignity, and most people are willing to help each other – here, by contrast, the lack of even the most elementary solidarity is stunning.

Individual citizens are more actively involved in tackling the problems of their local communities, they are less spiteful and envious of their neighbours. Of course, the EU is not a heaven on Earth, but it is a community founded upon economic might, social respect and a developed civic consciousness which still cherishes altruism. For the ancient Greeks, the town square was the place where their humanity would be recognised. Much like the Greek agora, EU is a place where the states confirm and advance their virtue and maturity, and its citizens live a life worth living.

Montenegro's accession to the EU: taking stock and suggesting areas for progress

Regional inequality and women's rights



Maša Lekić

The author is analyst in the Global Governance Institute, Peace and Security Section

One of the final decisions of the Danish presidency was to open EU accession negotiations with Montenegro. These negotiations guide the candidate countries to implement reforms to match the criteria set out in the *acquis communautaire*. For Montenegro this is important as recognition of the country's progress in the past years and as symbol of its political dedication for reforms. Shortly after gaining independence from Serbia in June 2006, the Montenegrin government placed European integration as a top priority declaring to have become strongly committed to adopting and implementing EU standards. The next step is a detailed overview of the degree of harmonisation between Montenegro's legislation and EU laws, and the screening process already began with Chapter 23 (Judiciary and Fundamental Rights) and Chapter 24 (Justice, Freedom and Security). Montenegro has so far made significant efforts to become an EU member state, but it still needs to tackle the final challenges. This article highlights the most critical areas for progress and advises how to overcome the major difficulties.

protecting women exists in Montenegro the state is ineffective at implementing this in practice. Rather than respecting adopted legislation, police units and the judiciary are guided by patriarchal norms whereby women are immediately "found guilty" and humiliated. Women have repeatedly reported that members of a police unit, specially established for treating the issues of domestic violence, have told victims of abuse "to go home and not argue with their husbands". The judiciary in Montenegro is another state organ that fails to protect women from violence. Victims are discouraged by slow and costly procedures, and the application of traditional norms in Montenegrin courts means women often undergo humiliation throughout the judicial proceedings and the violators ultimately receive very lenient punishments, if any. The phenomenon of tolerating family violence is strongly rooted in the highly patriarchal culture of Montenegrin society. A recent study found that every fourth citizen of Montenegro considers violence in families to be justified. Given the lack of understanding and support for violated women in both state and society and due to the economic dependency of these women on their violent partners, victims of domestic violence often choose not to report it. Domestic violence is treated as a private problem to be solved within a family sphere and is rarely addressed publicly. As a result, it is very difficult to fight against and domestic violence is marginalized in the EU Progress Reports.

Overcoming regional differences with better economic policies

Despite its size, Montenegro is a country with large, persistent and increasing regional disparities in economic development. The entire Northern region lags significantly behind the Centre and the South in terms of employment, social development and poverty. Over the last ten years this negative trend resulted in North-South migration and a net population decrease of 8% in the North. In order to overcome this, future development and regional policies should focus on utilizing development potential in sectors with comparative advantages.

Women's rights need to be enforced with zero tolerance to violence

Domestic violence against women is a serious problem: it is estimated that one in three Montenegrin women experience within the family. While a solid legislative framework



In particular, agriculture and tourism may stimulate private sector development in the northern rural region through the development of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs). In Montenegro, the SME sector makes a significant contribution to economic development constituting 61.7% of total employment and 31% of total exports. Thus, SMEs in agriculture and tourism can be expected to deliver an important contribution to the economic growth of the region.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The protection of women's rights and the issue of domestic violence in Montenegro require urgent attention. Firstly, women need help becoming financially empowered. Female entrepreneurship should be highly encouraged as only with their own economic resources women can afford to leave violent partners. The second most important task is increasing awareness of victimization, which requires stronger institutions and greater capacity especially within the police units and the judiciary. There should be educational seminars and awareness campaigns, targeted also towards the general population with a special emphasis on youth. At the same time, it is important to strengthen women's awareness of their rights as well as their knowledge of the legislative acts and procedures. In this respect, the media could play a very important role. Thirdly, more focus should be placed on strengthening the financial and technical resources of the NGOs providing shelters and other type of help to the victims of domestic violence. Currently, international donors are the only source of funding for these organizations, with no government budget reserved for the victims of domestic violence. The second major challenge is overcoming regional differences between the impoverished North and the more developed South and Centre. This can be achieved through private sector development, particularly SME cluster development with particular attention placed on utilizing development potentials in agriculture and tourism. In order to ensure an effective implementation of the cluster development strategy, we suggest the following steps. Firstly, Montenegro needs to

Independence of judiciary remains an area of concern

The major issues of concern in this field are the independence of judges, transparency and administrative capacity.

build institutional capacity and strengthen the qualifications of national experts through regular training. Secondly, the Montenegrin government needs to raise awareness and build trust at SME local/regional and national levels, again achievable through training and workshops. Through pilot activities among the chosen clusters, collective efficiency needs to be developed and the effectiveness of the cluster approach demonstrated. Thirdly, because potential lies in utilizing the EU technical assistance funds (especially the components for regional and agricultural development), it is necessary to build institutional capacity and upgrade administrative capacity in order to ensure the effective usage of these funds. It is also important to raise awareness about the EU funding possibilities for the Montenegrin SMEs among the potential beneficiaries. The third major challenge is strengthening the judicial system in Montenegro. Firstly, the independence of judicial appointments needs to be improved. This process has already started in Montenegro and should be further enhanced by the required Constitutional changes. Secondly, in order to enhance transparency, the establishment of a country-wide single recruitment system based on anonymous tests is needed as well as the improving the technical conditions of the local courts with increased financial investments. Thirdly, improving the qualifications of judicial administrative staff can be achieved through more frequent seminars and training. Without addressing the issues identified as major obstacles to the Montenegrin progress (especially the women's rights, private sector development and judicial reform), further integration into the EU will not be sustainable.

(excerpts from the Briefing Paper by Global Governance Institute, Brussels)

What can Montenegro learn from Croatia regarding negotiations on Chapter 23

From the four benchmarks to USKOK

Harmonisation of the national legislation with EU acquis within Chapter 23 entails multiple additional requirements, such as resolution of concrete cases of corruption, reform of judiciary and human rights violations. If we take into account the dynamic of reforms in Montenegro, Croatia's experience and the European Commission's evaluation of progress and reforms to date, there is much reason for concern that negotiations in this field might stagnate, unless Montenegro demonstrates strong commitment to ensure independent judiciary and investigate corruption cases on all levels. Ongoing and severe violations of human rights and freedoms can lead the entire process of negotiations to a halt. This is why additional efforts to reform the judiciary, amend the Constitution to remove political influence from the legal system and complete and improve anti-corruption mechanisms and regulations, should be among the top priorities. It is also extremely important to clearly delineate responsibilities and enhance coordination among the bodies responsible for fighting corruption. Another priority should be ensuring openness of the process, high degree of participation by civil society in the course of regular consultations and thematic forums, and their involvement in the development, implementation and monitoring of strategic documents. These are the conclusions of the study "Montenegro and negotiation of Chapter 23", conducted by the Institute Alternative ahead the start of Montenegro's negotiations of EU membership. In formulating recommendations to Montenegrin institutions, the study also draws on the development of negotiations between EU and Croatia on Chapter 23.

The course of negotiations: example of Croatia

Compared to East Central European countries which joined the EU 2004 and 2007 "enlargement waves", Croatia's negotiations have been marked by a number of innovations. First of all, the number of chapters to be negotiated

Although the benchmarks for the closing of the chapter had been laid out in ten points, their extensive formulation resulted in altogether twenty-two complex sub-benchmarks, and the number of concrete requirements in the end ran up to 80

increased to 35, and for the first time the Commission used the so-called benchmarks, i.e. the conditions that must be met before the chapters can be opened or closed. The process of negotiations in Croatia was extremely hermetic. Public officials kept all the information from the process secret, and refused to communicate to the public the content of the benchmarks or the negotiating positions. Representatives of universities and professional associations took part in the work of selected working groups for the preparation of negotiations, while the trade unions, academic representatives and employers' associations participated in the parliamentary (National) monitoring committee for negotiations on the accession of Croatia to EU. In the final phase of negotiations, the EC demanded a detailed account of progress in resolving specific corruption cases and human rights violations (the so-called track record).

Chapter 23: overview

Harmonisation of the national legislation with EU acquis on Chapter 23 aims at ensuring a high degree of the rule of law, founded upon effective judiciary and mechanisms of human rights' protection. The chapter consists of several sub-areas: a) judiciary; b) fundamental rights; c) anti-corruption policies and d) rights of EU citizens. Judiciary, human rights and anti-corruption policies also belong to the political criteria for EU membership. Institutional structure for negotiations in Croatia was established in April 2005. Working group for Chapter 23 had altogether 56 members, and consisted of representatives of public institutions plus representative of the academic community. Most of

the members came from the Ministry of Justice, Supreme Court, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integrations and Ministry of Interior Affairs.

Screening of the harmonisation of Croatia's legislation with EU acquis and the setting of benchmarks

In its screening report on Croatia's legislation in chapter 23, European Commission stressed the importance of meeting four benchmarks before the negotiations could begin. The benchmarks also included preparation of Action Plans for • Prevention and combating corruption; • Reform of judiciary; • Implementation of the Constitutional law on the rights of national minorities; • Accelerated implementation of the Programme to provide housing for refugees – former property owners who wish to return to Croatia. Implementation of these action plans was meant to ensure, among other, independence, impartiality and professionalism of the judi-

ciary; rationalisation of the network of courts, establishment of effective institutional mechanisms for implementation and monitoring of anti-corruption measures, etc. In its negotiating position on Chapter 23 Croatia did not ask for any permanent exceptions or transition periods, judging it would be able to meet all requirements of the acquis. Although the benchmarks for the closing of the chapter had been laid out in ten points, their extensive formulation resulted in altogether twenty-two complex sub-benchmarks, and the number of concrete requirements in the end ran up to 80. The complexity of benchmarks is best illustrated by the example of “demonstrate genuine results in combating corruption” or “improve the effectiveness of judiciary”. Croatia eventually demonstrated its genuine commitment to fulfilment of these conditions by establishing, among other, specialised bodies for detection, monitoring and sanctioning of corruption. The first assessment listed 2010 as the year by which all the commitments under Chapter 23 could be fulfilled. The chapter was eventually closed in June 2011.

NGOs excluded from negotiations but managed to follow them through

Almost until the very end of negotiations, the non-governmental organisations in Croatia only participated in this process through individual initiatives and interventions regarding flaws in the process. However, from the beginning of 2011, the leading NGOs in Croatia joined their forces to produce a monitoring report on the negotiations on Chapter 23. The main reason behind this joint action were the announcements that the chapter will be closed, while in the opinion of NGO's the country was far from attaining “irreversible” progress in all relevant areas. In February 2011 civil society organisations published the first joint report on Croatia's preparedness to close Chapter 23. The report contained a list of “requirements” the fulfilment of which, according to the authors, would result in a “tangible improvement in the everyday lives of Croatian citizens”. The requirements included annulling the recent appointments of judges; decriminalisation of defamation and abolishment of certain laws. By insisting on certain issues and problems that could be considered part of Chapter 23, but which were not part of European Commission's progress monitoring, civil society organisations “enlarged” the chapter by raising awareness of a broader set of issues. Joint action and distribution of the report to the European Commission ensured that certain problems of great importance for the advancement of the rule of law in Croatia did not remain neglected. In May 2011 they published the second report, containing the results of the monitoring of recently adopted legal norms. Although CSOs only teamed up and joined the process at the very end of the negotiations, their involvement resulted in very tangible achievements. After the negotiations were completed, this group of CSOs, together with other organisations, established Platform 112, with the goal of continuing joint activities in reform monitoring. one of the key requirements they put forth concerned transformation of the National Monitoring Committee for negotiations into a body that would continue to monitor implementation of reforms until Croatia's accession to EU in 2013.

Slovenia, the economic and political role model for the Balkans, may be facing bankruptcy

“Central Europe’s Spain”



The situation is dramatic also in other areas, which are more or less directly relevant to the quality of life. Slovenia has the third highest rate of growth of food prices in EU, seventh for the energy products – which, in turn, affect the prices of agricultural and other products, with the overall effect of the GDP shrinking by 3.2%.

Slovenia could soon become the sixth member to approach European Union for financial help, after its long-term bond rating was downgraded this August by Fitch down to A- and with a negative outlook. Fitch is only following in the footsteps of the other two major rating agencies -- Standard and Poor's and Moody's – which already downgraded Slovenia in response to the upheavals in its banking sector. Slovenia's long term interest rate was already high, around 7%, which is considered unsustainable in the longer run. According to Fitch, Slovenia will have to pump some EUR 2.8 billion into its banking sector by 2013, a sum equivalent to 8% of its GDP. Experts disagree on whether Slovenia will be able to handle the situation without EU's help, but there is a general consensus that the country must urgently undertake certain measures, and overcome its internal political conflicts. The following are excerpts from a report for Al Jazeera by long term journalist **Aleksandar Mlač** who offers an overview of the situation. Back in the not so distant war year of 1994,

in Bosnia and Herzegovina, I asked professor **Esad Duraković** from Sarajevo how he is coping with the desperate situation – without food, water, and all that goes with a civilised life. He answered: “Like sailor on a sinking ship. The ship may be sinking, but the sailor keeps painting the deck”. That's more or less how the citizens of Slovenia feel today. Foreign press, financial and political, is busy prognosticating whether Slovenia will be the next to show up on the black list of countries facing bankruptcy. The forecasts are far from rosy. According to them, the statelet on the “sunny side of Alps” is ripe to join in the queue behind Spain, Italy, Greece and others, who are facing European and world financial institutions hat in hand to help them clamber out of the crisis. In other words, it's about to face bankruptcy. The national press mostly agrees with the foreign press. And adds its own reflections. The debt crisis is coming from the West. So did the neoliberal capitalist model. The idea that unregulated markets are omnipotent. *Laissez faire, laissez passer*. According to “disobedient” media, who reflect the views from abroad, the Slovenian Government is taking some concrete steps. For instance, the subscription for the national TV has been reduced by one euro as a “savings measure”, with long-term consequences for the contracts of 400 employees and associates. And for the quality of broadcasting, and the development of democracy. Saving has indeed very little to do with it.

The situation is dramatic also in other areas, which are more or less directly relevant to the quality of life. Slovenia has the third highest rate of growth of food prices in EU, seventh for the energy products – which, in turn, affect the prices of agricultural and other products, with the overall effect of the GDP shrinking by 3.2%. The ship is sinking, and the captain, the Slovenian Prime Minister **Janez Janša**, said the country was “nearing bankruptcy in October, unless we manage to auction government bonds” and thus plug the holes in the economy. Slovenia is hoping to raise two to three billion euro through the bond auction, but it already tried to do so twice, without success. The Prime Minister, then, agrees with the foreign press. But then there’s a glitch. The minister of finance, **Janez Šušteršič**, disagrees with the Prime Minister, and thinks that Slovenia can handle the crisis on its own, without any help. He argues that certain measures are already under way and new ones are being prepared, all aimed at consolidating the public finances and strengthening the country. The Minister thus agrees with the Secretary General of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development **Angel Gurría**, who on his visit to Slovenia said the country was not being threatened by bankruptcy, provided it implements the necessary reforms. In response, Šušteršič revealed there was already a set of measures concerning management of public property, the pension system and the labour market, as well as another set aimed at stimulating economic activity and raising competitiveness of the economy. Disagreement between the Prime Minister and the Minister of Finance is only curious if we forget that Janša’s statements are a narcotic for the local public. To force the opposition in the parliament to quickly pass the said measures. The same measures that were fiercely opposed by Janša’s own party while it was in the opposition, until it came into power primarily thanks to anti-austerity campaign. If these measures had been adopted in Slovenia a few years ago, perhaps by now there would be no reason for the for-

The crisis is not only Slovenia’s, and its exit from the crisis doesn’t only depend on its reforms and sale of bonds, but also on the state of the economy of its largest trading partner, Germany, and a few other markets. In order to escape the crisis, Slovenia will have to sell the most profitable firms in which the state holds shares: Mercator, the New Bank of Ljubljana, Triglav Insurance...

eign media to speculate on its likely bankruptcy. Perhaps. The crisis is not only Slovenia’s, and its exit from the crisis doesn’t only depend on its reforms and sale of bonds, but also on the state of the economy of its largest trading partner, Germany, and a few other markets. In order to escape the crisis, Slovenia will have to sell the most profitable firms in which the state holds shares: Mercator, the New Bank of Ljubljana, Triglav Insurance... Globalisation and interdependence did the trick. In good and bad times. The good times passed quickly. The bad times, as it usually goes, will be overcome first by the most developed countries of the world, like the USA, in spite of its 16 000 billion dollars in debt. The fate of Slovenia also worries other countries in the West Balkan region. Croatia is concerned about its exports to the northern neighbour. In other countries in the region, where Slovenian capital and enterprises invested extensively in search of cheap labour force and available markets, Slovenian economy was once the source of jobs. Now it is becoming a source of crisis. Once again, we are returning to the arguments from the Second Summit of the Non-Aligned countries, the so-called “Economic Summit”, where the leaders argued that the most developed countries cannot keep their riches without faster development in the less developed regions, then known as the “third world”. Abandoning this wisdom brought the overall crisis, as the rich ran out of markets for their products. And today, even the EU has become split into a rich north and a poor south.

What we need to know before we decide to join European Union

EU for citizens



Directives, regulations, *acquis communautaire*, Council of EU, chapters, screening... How many citizens of Montenegro, or for that matter of most countries which aspire to become EU members, or are already in EU, understand this terminology?

In effect, the questions which really matter to European citizens, much more than familiarity with these omnipresent bureaucratic terms, are those that relate to the working conditions in EU, prices, the size of fruit, driving licences, schools... this is why European Pulse decided to publish answers to the questions important for our everyday lives, answers that should bring EU closer to the citizens of Montenegro.

How many people work in EU institutions and how much do they cost?

The main institutions (European Commission, including offices around the world and 20 specialised agencies, European Parliament and Council of Ministers) employ some 47 500 people. Although there is widespread belief that EU spends most of its money on administration, the truth is that administrative costs only account for about 6% of the total budget, or around EUR7.9 billion in 2010. By comparison, this is four times less than the number of civil servants in the public admin-

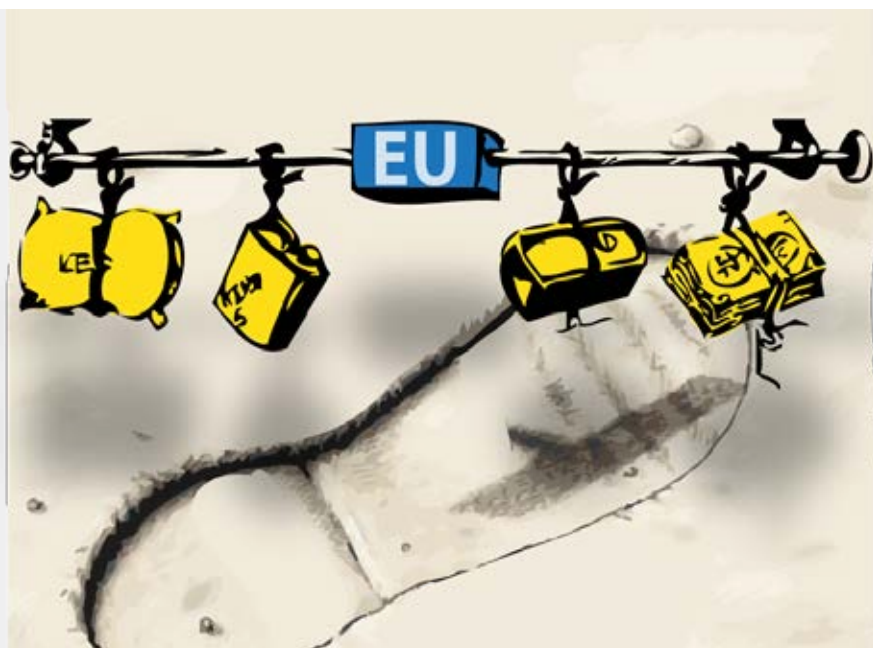
European Ombudsman receives most of complains from Germans and Spaniards, who contributed almost a third (27%) of all petitions against EU institutions. In 2010, the European Ombudsman received 2,667 complaints from citizens, companies, associations, NGOs and regional offices. The commonest allegation by far was a lack of transparency in the EU administration (33% of all closed inquiries), including refusal to release documents or information. Other cases concerned problems with the execution of EU contracts or calls for tender, unfairness, abuse of power, or discrimination

istration of Montenegro.

Who should the citizens of EU contact if they are unhappy with the work of the institutions?

When the EU citizens encounter problems in their dealings with the European administration (not the national one – for that there are specialised national bodies) and EU institutions, they should contact the European Ombudsman. The Ombudsman's role is to investigate cases of maladministration in the EU institutions and bodies, such as refusal to grant citizens access to documents, abuse of power, discrimination, administrative irregularities or failure to reply. A petition should be submitted after receiving the response from the relevant institution, within two years from the event. The petition should be submitted to the Ombudsman in writing, in any official language of EU, via representative in the European Parliament or through an online form. The petition must be addressed within a year from the date of reception. The Ombuds-

In 2010, EU development aid reached a record 53.8 billion euro, confirming its place as the world's largest donor of development aid



man informs the petitioner about the outcome of the investigation.

Who represents the member states in international relations, and who decides on military and security matters?

By joining EU the member states do not lose their independent foreign policy, diplomatic structures and institutions. However, certain events on the international scene – such as gross violations of human rights, require the EU to respond in a “single voice”. For this reason, the Lisbon Treaty instituted the office of the High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy who represents EU in certain circumstances, following unanimous agreement of all 27 national governments. The first person to be appointed to this office by the European Council was Catherine Ashton. High representative is also in charge of the European External Action Service (EEAS), which consists of the officials of the Council of Ministers, European Commission and national diplomatic services. Military remains in the jurisdiction of the national governments, but the EU members can make their civil and military resources available to EU in case of common security and defence operations. Participation in these operations is voluntary.

How is the EU financed and how much does full membership cost?

At first the EU budget depended entirely on the financial contributions of the member states. Following a 1970 decision these were replaced by the so-called own resources, which today account for 99% of EU revenues. These consist of mandatory contributions from the member states of 1.23% of each members' GDP, 1.4% of their value added tax and revenues from the customs on goods from third countries, and the sugar excise. Other sources of revenue are income taxes from the employees of EU institutions, contributions from third countries which participate in certain EU programmes, and various fines collected as sanctions for the violation of EU competition laws.

Can small members influence decision-making in EU?

It is often said that small countries should accept the decisions and authority of big states in the EU. However, in the Council of Ministers every state has a chance to influence decision in EU regulations. Although the number of votes a state has in qualified majority voting within the Council is determined by the number of inhabitants (which means larger states have more votes), this is not strictly proportional, so the small state actually wield more votes per inhabitant. Also, decision-making rules in the EU Council ensure that the big states can't make decisions on their own. To adopt a certain rule by qualified majority, it needs support of 74% of all votes in the Council (255 of 345) and of at least half of all member states representing minimum 62% of the population. This means that regardless of the resources and the number of inhabitants each member's vote counts and impacts the adoption and changes of EU's laws.

Source: "101 question on EU's influence on the lives of citizens", published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integrations of Croatia – www.mvpei.hr

National Human Development Report

On 27 July in Podgorica UNDP Montenegro organised a presentation and discussion of the draft National Human Development Report, concerning human capital in Montenegro. Are the people the greatest wealth of Montenegro? What actions must we take today in order to acquire human capital for the Montenegro of tomorrow? These were some of the main questions the discussion tried to answer. The report argues that human capital can only be improved by increasing the financial resources for health and education, and that it requires inter-sectoral action and harmonisation among departments of education, employment, health and others, in order to increase the impact of human capital investment. The audience was addressed by **Rastislav Vrbenski**, UN Resident Coordinator and UNDP Resident Representative to Montenegro, followed by a presentation by **Božena Jelusić**, the main author of the Report, who touched upon issues of education, health and social capital. Director of the Center for Entrepreneurship and Executive Development (CEED) **Dragana Radević** offered the perspective on human capital development from the standpoint of the labour market and work satisfaction. Segments from TV Atlas serial episodes under the title „I have an opinion”, thematically tied to the Report, were presented by **Duška Pejović**, a TV Atlas journalist. The discussion part offered a chance to hear opinions from representatives of various public institutions, ministries, universities, Parliament, civil society, NGOs, international organisations and independent intellectuals. **Željka Četković**, CCE programme associate, attended the discussion on behalf of CCE.

Anti-corruption student network

Anti-corruption student network of South East Europe held its regional meeting from 27 to 30 July in Plovdiv. The network brings together members from Albania, Serbia, Ukraine, Croatia, Montenegro and Moldova. The meeting was also attended by social science experts who helped the participants to design methodology for a study on corruption in higher education. The main goal of the meeting was to develop common methodology and a questionnaire and agree on a timeframe and dates for implementation of a joint study this fall. On the first day of the work, the participants from Montenegro presented their activities to other members of the network, with a special focus on the project *Corruption in Education*, and offered an overview of the attitudes of students who participated in this project. In Montenegro, CCE and CEMI have been cooperating with student organisations on a project to decrease corruption at the University of Montenegro. The project will concern: offering bribes to professors, the market for plagiarised papers, market for diplomas, cheating at exams, and will formulate measures to eradicate such practices. Montenegrin representatives at the meeting were **Danilo Ajković** from CCE and **Ivana Bogojević** from CEMI.

CCE and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung invite applications for XX generation of DEMOCRACY SCHOOL

- a school for the study of democracy from theory to practice -

The school consists of 5 modules of a total duration of four months. The courses will be offered once or twice a week for two hours. All expenses are covered by Friedrich Ebert Foundation and Centre for Civic Education, but the participants must commit to attend at least 80% of the programme. Successful participants receive a certificate of completion and are eligible for further programmes. The call is open to all citizens who wish to contribute to development of democracy and civic society in Montenegro. All candidates are welcome, regardless of age, gender, nationality, religion or personal beliefs, but the advantage will be given to the activists of political parties and non-governmental organisations, as well as all individuals who can demonstrate a high level of social activism. The programme has been design to offer a broad understanding of the idea of democracy and the ways in which this idea is implemented in various social spheres. The School is led by Professor Dr Radovan Radonjić, and includes lectures by eminent experts from Montenegro and abroad. Interested candidates should submit their application with a short biography no later than **15 September 2012**, to: Centre for Civic Education (for “Democracy School”) Njegoseva 36, I sprat, 81 000 Podgorica Tel/Fax: 020 / 665 112 E-mail: info@cgo-cce.org

Call for volunteers – fall cycle 2012 You are young and want to...

Learn about the work of one of the most successful NGOs in Montenegro
 Help us with your ideas and creativity
 Experience the advantages of volunteer work
 Develop your self-confidence and skills
 Meet new friends, get to know other countries and cultures
 Learn about teamwork
 Help projects that benefit our community
 Acquire experience that will help you in choosing future career paths

... in short – to work, learn, make friends, change yourself and the world around you!
 Sounds appealing? If you agree, and have some free time, motivation and desire to dedicate your energies to social activism, join us and become our volunteer. We offer volunteering opportunities in our programmes Democracy, Human Rights, European integration and Active Citizenship. At the end of the volunteering term you will receive a certificate and qualify for further educational programmes of the Centre for Civic Education. Application (CV+letter of motivation) should be sent to info@cgo-cce.org, at the latest by 20 September 2012.

Centre for Civic Education (CCE) invites applications to XV generation of the HUMAN RIGHTS SCHOOL

- the school for study of human rights from theory to practice -

The School consists of 3 modules covering altogether one intensive week of numerous lectures, workshops, film screenings and theatre forums, which offer an opportunity to learn and discuss various issues relevant to human rights. All School-related costs are covered by CCE, with support of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, through the regional project of human rights education in the Western Balkans. The participants are expected to attend at least 80% of the programme. Human rights school provides broad theoretical and practical coverage of the concept of human rights, and promotes the culture of human rights, inspiring and motivating people to stand for their rights, as well as for the rights of those who are not able to do so on their own, and empower them to have a more direct influence on the society in future. As of late February 2010, CCE is an equal project partner in the Regional Programme for Human Rights education for active citizenship in the Western Balkans. The project has been running since 200, with support of the the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in cooperation with the Norwegian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights. By becoming part of the programme, CCE made some adjustments to its earlier conception and organisation of the School, including the structure of participants, and has introduced a greater number of interactive classes. As a consequence, the call for the XV generation of Human Rights School is now open to all interested candidates aged 16 to 19, regardless of gender, nationality, religion or belief, although advantages will be given to the youth members of political parties, activists of non-governmental organisations, youth leaders, volunteers, students and other individuals who demonstrate a high level of social activism. The participants will attend classes by expert lecturers who will introduce them to a broad range of human rights topics through presentations, workshops, film screenings and forum theatre. The successful participants will receive a diploma of the school and the right to participate in other educational programmes of CCE. *If you want to learn, listen to others, understand those who are different, and you are open, courageous, concerned about the environment in which you live, and are eager to contribute to the development of human rights culture in Montenegro, Human rights school is the choice for you!* All interested candidates should submit their application with a short biography **no later than 25 September 2012**, to: Centre for Civic Education (for “Human Rights School”) Njogoševa 36, I floor, 81 000 Podgorica Tel/fax: 020 / 665 112 info@cgo-cce.org

Training in Germany for Networking projects of Youth in Action

TICTAC in Germany – Multilateral Training Course to support quality in Training & Networking projects of Youth in Action aim is to develop participants' competences for implementing Action 4.3 / 3.1 projects, as support measures in an organization's long term strategy. The training takes place in Germany, from 2 to 8 February 2012. It is open to 30 participants from Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Germany, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom and Eastern Europe and Caucasus & South-East Europe. The specific objectives of the course are:

- * to promote the YiA Programme as an Educational Tool;
- * to explore the YiA Programme with a special focus on the aims of Action 4.3 / 3.1 and its activities;
- * to understand the role of Action 4.3/ 3.1 projects within a long term strategy;
- * to simulate the first steps of organising an Action 4.3 / 3.1 project within an international team;
- * to develop participant's competences in planning Non Formal Education and Intercultural Learning Processes;
- * to promote Youth Participation and European Citizenship as key elements when designing a YiA Project.

The training course is designed for youth workers and youth leaders, who have experienced an international event/activity before (not necessarily a project under the Youth in Action programme), have at least basic knowledge in the Youth in Action programme, are newcomers in Training and Networking projects (Action 4.3/3.1) of Youth in Action or have limited experience and are motivated to learn about and make use of these Actions as a tool for creating or strengthening international partnerships and working on quality in their international Youth in Action projects, have the support of an organisation to attend the TICTAC course and are in the position to implement Action 4.3/3.1 training and networking projects in their organisation,

- * are minimum 18 years old,
- * are able to use English as a working language in order to establish effective communication during group-work and sessions. A low level of English will limit your learning opportunities.

This project is financed by the Youth in Action Programme. Being selected for this course, all costs (accommodation, travel, visa, etc.) relevant to participation in the course will be covered by the NAs or SALTO involved in this project – except a participation fee which varies from call to call and country to country. Please contact your NA to learn more about the financial details, and how to arrange the booking of your travel tickets and the reimbursement of your travel expenses.

Deadline for applications: 18 November 2012. Read more: <http://www.salto-youth.net/tools/european-training-calendar/application-procedure/2732/>

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