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WHILE WAITING

European Integrations Minister **Gordana Đurović** said a few days ago that she expects the Report on the Progress of Montenegro in 2009, to be published by the European Commission in mid October, to be objective.

She adds that the closer you are to the Union, the stricter its judgments.

Is it really so?

Or is Minister, who probably had a look at the draft of the Report, preparing the public for raps on the knuckles?

The Commission, like never before, had very good reasons to be strict with the Government in Podgorica. Did it make any progress in fighting corruption, especially on the higher level, is judiciary more independent compared to last year, can we at all speak about freedom of expression...? Unlike in the previous years, we haven't gone too far in legislative activities either.

All this doesn't prevent Prime Minister **Milo Đukanović** from being optimistic – while waiting for the Report, he has trumpeted his anticipation of positive assessments by EC in this document.

The ruling elite easily manages to persuade most of the voters not to believe their eyes. Things are like presented by the loyal media and analysts, government officials, secret police... This government has been successful at it since the early 90s of the last century (should we recall the "War for Peace" when Montenegro supposedly just defended itself).

The Prime Minister knows very well that the controlled media, stubbornly repeating the prescribed mantras, will dictate a certain public reception of the Report – even if the EC Report is as bad as can be, most will get the impression that everything is rosy like in a fairytale.

We can agree with the Prime Minister in one: the latest Report will be a good basis for Montenegro's chances to get the candidate status, perhaps as soon as 2010.

The Council of EU ministers will decide on the candidate status also on the basis of what gets done in the coming months, compared with the 2009 Report. If the assessment is negative, the Government will have to roll up the sleeves in order to get to the candidate status.

Postponement of such a decision would be hard to justify even by practiced illusionists

Concern about electoral laws (1 September) – European Commission is worried that the deadline for harmonisation of Montenegrin electoral legislation with the Constitution, which expires in late October, will not be met, announced the head of the EC Delegation in Podgorica **Leopold Maurer**. "We are very concerned that the final deadline cannot be met, which would be very negative for the Progress Report on Montenegro and for the opinion the EC should formulate on Montenegro's potential to join EU", said Maurer at the meeting with the leader of the Socialist People's Party **Srdan Milčić**.

NCEI full throttle from the start (12 September) – At the constitutive session, members of the National Council for European Integrations (NCEI) unanimously agreed to adopt the book of procedures as soon as possible, and to hold meetings with the president of the Parliament and minister for European integrations in order to define responsibilities of this body on the road to EU. The new NCEI president **Nebojša Medojević** said that the constitutive session, because of the "enormous tasks" of Montenegro in the integration process quickly turned into a working session and that he is satisfied with the results.

New mandate for Barroso (16 September) – European Parliament elected the old-new president of the European Commission **Jose Manuel Barroso**. Analysts believe that from the standpoint of the Western Balkans Barroso is a good choice as he strongly supports EU enlargement, especially to those countries that already received such promise in the past.



Jose Manuel Barroso

MPs finally get to see the questions (18 September) – European Integrations Minister **Gordana Đurović** held the first operative meeting with the Parliament working group on EC Questionnaire. Đurović has said earlier that the questions and draft answers will be sent to the MPs in late August or early September and the representatives of the opposition have criticised the Government and Đurović because of delays. She said the meeting was constructive and will be repeated in 7 to 10 days, after she receives their suggestions in writing.

Consultations ahead of Progress Report (22 and 23 September) – A Government delegation led by the Minister for European Integrations **Gordana Đurović** visited the EC Directorate General for Enlargement in Brussels. In the course of regular consultations, Đurović will discuss the EC annual report on the progress of Montenegro, the process of answering the Questionnaire and preparations for IPA programmes in 2010.

Đukanović optimistic (26 September) – Prime Minister **Milo Đukanović** expects positive assessments from the EC Report on Montenegro's progress and believes it will constitute a solid basis for Montenegro to get the status of candidate for EU membership perhaps already in the course of 2010. "I believe we made significant progress in many areas and that this will earn us a positive evaluation by EC Report", Đukanović said.

Clear corruption data required for the White List (29 September) – Montenegro is on the right track to have the visa requirement for traveling to the Schengen zone countries removed for its citizens on 1 January but the final decision will depend on the evaluation of the expert group of European Commission which is to visit Podgorica in mid-October, said EC vice president **Jacques Barrot**, who recently visited Montenegro. "We asked the ministers of interior affairs and justice to send us clear and precise data on the number of verdicts in cases related to corruption and organised crime before the visit by the expert group", Barrot said.

A VIEW FROM EU

What links good prosciutto and EU?

Montenegro has been an independent state again for three years and it already made some important steps



by Peter Platte

towards European integrations. It applied for membership. All ministries and relevant institutions are working intensively on answering the Questionnaire of the European Commission.

This is a good place to pause, to leave aside for a short while these technical issues and take some time to think about the essence. For although the European integrations require many technical steps, there is always the danger of getting lost in these technicalities, and failing to see the "tree" of essence from the "technical woods".

The EU itself is a continuously developing construction, and the Lisbon Treaty will bring a turning point in its history. It won't move a finger to make your accession to the Union any easier. If we look at it from aside, without emotions, we first see a gigantic bureaucracy and complicated decision-making procedures. Often, we find contradictions. It is impossible to describe it in short and simple terms. In many member states the citizens are unhappy with it. There are even governments of some member states for whom criticism of EU is part of their political programme. For a state which wants to join this, and which tries to fulfil the necessary accession conditions, this is not exactly comforting.

German politicians always try to nationalise successes and positive results. If, however, things are not going so well or fail because of a decision of the European Commission, the culprit is always to be found in Brussels. From conversations with friends in other EU member states I know that this is not a purely German phenomenon. This habit is usually formed already while the countries are in the candidate stage in the course of adjusting – naturally, because some of the decisions needed will be very unpopular. It isn't exactly easy to "undo the braids" which you love so much

and make a new European hairstyle.

Here's a very concrete example from Montenegro. Montenegro, like many EU countries, has typical dried meat specialties such as prosciutto. However, some of the methods of drying meat aren't allowed in the EU since they cause cancer. In Germany, the producers of the Schwarzwald prosciutto had exactly the same problem. In this situation, there is nothing easier than to say – it's Brussels' fault. In fact, the reason is that a several centuries old traditional production method brings new problems in the contemporary environment: in the old days people were used to different food, and they could smoke their meat on raw wood without any detrimental additives which today is, unfortunately, not the case. In Schwarzwald they found a solution to keep the specific taste and at the same time satisfy EU guidelines, i.e. protect the meat from contamination with cancerogene elements in the course of production.

In Montenegro some important steps

It is not so easy to "undo the braids" which you love so much and make a new, European hairstyle

have also been made. One of the earlier projects of GTZ was consulting for meat industry. The prosciutto makers from Montenegro are already well prepared. They did not introduce these important changes because of EU, but in the interest and for the protection of consumers.

The prosciutto is an excellent example to illustrate a certain phenomenon in the EU. Those who live in the EU quickly adjust to the advantages the EU brings. So many things quickly become so natural that we cease to give importance to all the difficulties that had to be overcome on the way and which were the topic of so many meetings of EU officials in order to reach the consensus that would ensure this kind of progress. The EU advanced welfare of the consumers in all member states by its bureaucratic insistence on the agreed norms and minimum standards. Nowadays there are many things which you cannot buy in the EU at all since they have been removed from the market as a potential health hazard.

The fact that for travelling in the EU you only need an ID creates an impression that those who come in enter a harmonised

legal area where, for instance, there are rules for paying for the medical costs, where the legal principles are equal for all, where a pension is earned relatively easily, where parents from nationally mixed marriages can, in case of dispute, rely on similar regulations, where the same kind of actions are punishable and many other things. Traditionally, legal differences between EU member states and West Balkan countries aren't very large, but there are still areas where further harmonisation can make life a lot easier.

In addition to such concrete effects of EU, which we are often happy to forget, EU also has a very powerful emotional pull, especially in Germany, which after World War II tied its future to the future of Europe. Our European neighbours offered us a hand then, like they did later, after the fall of the Berlin wall, and we will never forget that. We have learned the importance of regional cooperation on all levels, starting with the local politics and contacts among citizens.

In the region of Western Balkans Montenegro has a chance to declare this feature its specialty, for here, in this relatively small country, various groups are represented. And in many areas this has already happened. In this, it is always important that the external impact of a multi-ethnic society always presupposes the fact that it indeed exists and lives among the citizens within the country. This is a Sisyphus' task which must be dealt with again and again, for the conflicts and emotions will always crop up again after a while. The questions of regulating the rights of minorities in Montenegro are therefore very important, as is the implementation of the Law on Foreigners and the ways of making Justitia blind enough to always treat everyone equally, regardless of whether they are officials or ordinary citizens.

In any case, I see great opportunities ahead for Montenegro, opportunities which are at the same time very demanding tasks. And I am honoured to be able to observe and support this process.

The author is ambassador of the Republic of Germany in Montenegro

WHAT SHOULD MONTENEGRIN AUTHORITIES DO ONCE THEY SUBMIT ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Time to prove ourselves to EU

Although the Administration has been putting a lot of effort into answering the EC

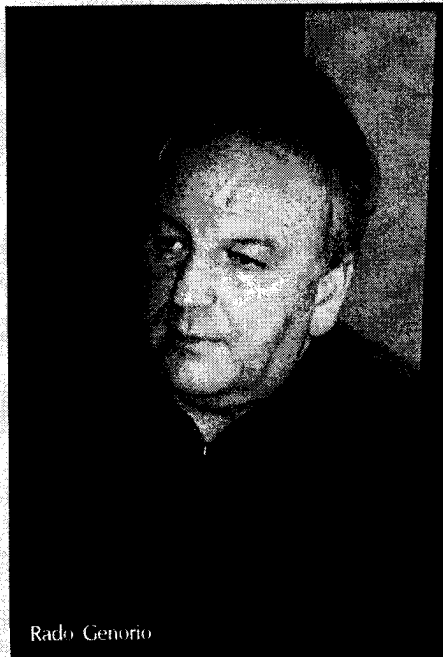


by Mirela Rebronja

Questionnaire as well as possible in order to ensure that Montenegro gets the status of a candidate for EU membership and a date to start negotiations in the course of next year, this is only the beginning of a very complex phase.

Because, in order to do this, many conditions need to be fulfilled, and quality answers to Questionnaire is only one of them.

Advisor for EU matters to the Slovenian Prime Minister, Dr Rado Genorio says that getting the candidate status "depends on the answers, but not entirely".



Rado Genorio

"EC will monitor implementation of internal reforms, strengthening of administrative capacities, and not just rhetorically, but through concrete reforms and activities", said Genorio for the *European Pulse*.

The Montenegrin Government is well aware of this fact. Minister for European Integrations Dr Gordana Đurović says for *European Pulse* that "the candidate status must first of all be "earned" through quality of democratic and economic reforms in the country, and support from EU 27 is only the logical consequence of these results".

Candidate status must first of all be "earned" through quality of democratic and economic reforms in the country, and support from EU 27 is only the logical consequence of these results, says Gordana Đurović

Executive director of Centre for Civic Education (CCE) Daliborka Uljarević warns that the answers are a test of ability and competence of administration, but that "there is also the fact, which is not negligible, of

the impact of political currents within EU, whether regarding the general strategy of further enlargements or in the sense of the concrete views on Montenegro".

"Most of it, however, depends on the decision makers in Montenegro whose practical performance, unfortunately, still fails to demonstrate that democratization and Europeanisation of this country are their absolute priorities, in spite of a rhetoric bursting with European adjectives and accomplishment of a number of technical steps which essentially do not bring us closer to solving some genuine prob-

lems that stifle Montenegrin society", says Uljarević for *European Pulse*.

Montenegro is currently facing a very sensitive turning point on its European road, although at first sight it might appear as a routine step.

After submitting answers to the Questionnaire, which the Government announced will happen in mid-November, we will await the next big EU decision for about a year. First we will get additional questions to help European Commission compose its Opinion on Montenegro's Application for EU membership by July next year. In case the Opinion is positive, the Council of Ministers could grant Montenegro candidate status by the last quarter of 2010. After that, it remains to wait for the decision on the opening of pre-accession negotiations.

Experiences of other West Balkan countries – Croatia and Macedonia – after submitting the answers to the Questionnaire are as different as can be.



Gordana Đurović

Croatia got the candidate status few months after it submitted answers to the Questionnaire, and soon afterwards got the date to start negotiations. Today, it is already with one foot in the elite club.

On the other hand, Macedonia's membership application received a positive opinion by the Commission and the candidate status followed in late 2005, but to date it has not moved from this spot, waiting for the date to begin pre-accession negotiations. The reason is that the Commission believes Macedonia failed to fulfill political criteria because of the incidents during elections, insufficient cooperation between the government and opposition, etc. although some suspect that Greece, which disputes Macedonia's right to the name, is the one blocking Skopje's further progress.

The question is what should Montenegro do once it submits



answers to the Questionnaire, in order to avoid Macedonian European scenario, i.e. to follow instead the road travelled by Zagreb.

Đurović explains that "Montenegro has a defined European agen-

da, regardless of the European Commission's dynamic in preparing the Opinion".

"This agenda includes first of all revision of the National Programme for Integration (NPI) of Montenegro into EU, as well as activities on harmonising legislation. In addition to this, the Government and the entire administration will be working on improving the database of legislation and European directives, as well as on strengthening the Translation Unit in the Ministry", Đurović said.

According to her, the cross-border cooperation programme should also be under active surveillance, as well as activities of the Commission for European Integration and IPA, and planning and implementation of IPA projects.

Đurović adds that "we ought to conduct all institutional reforms and prepare all necessary documents to introduce the System of Decentralised Management of IPA funds through the national budget, which is a very demanding project".

"Once we submit answers to the Questionnaire, we will probably get a few more questions, and early next year we will have several consultations with the European Commission about this issue", she said, adding that one activity which is certain to take

PREPARE FOR EVERY SCENARIO

Montenegro should use Macedonia's example to analyse every possible challenge and prepare an adequate strategy of facing them, both while the Questionnaire and in the upcoming months, while you wait for EC's official response", recommends Dragan Tilev, senior advisor for EU in Macedonia in the interview for *European Pulse*.

Tilev says that Montenegro is yet to encounter a number of requirements and tasks before it submits answers to the Questionnaire, adding that the nature of these requirements will depend on the quality of answers.

"The Commission might require additional explanations, or some of the answers might simply imply that such clarification is needed. Macedonia was faced with a number of such tasks, related to the realization of promises of a short-term or immediate character which could be found in answers. In addition to this, it happened that just before closing of the European Commission's opinion on Macedonia's response to the Questionnaire our administration got a set of politically sensitive questions which we had to answer in the shortest possible period. Montenegro should take from this that after submitting the answers the entire administration must be fully alert throughout this period, for any relaxation after submitting the response might have important consequences and cannot be afforded", Tilev said.

In this transitory or waiting period Macedonia prepared for the negotiations, led by optimistic estimates that the candidate status and negotiations process were "just around the corner".

"We started off organising the structures and procedures for negotiations, selecting and appointing expert teams that would eventually lead negotiations. Also, we conducted preparatory activities for administration through implementation of several projects aimed at perfecting our negotiating skills", Tilev added.

place will be further training of administration and strengthening of its capacities.

In addition to the announced activities Montenegro will have to dedicate its efforts to improving its relations with EU members, especially those with which the communication has not been the best, for the decision on our candidate status and later on the date of the beginning of negotiations requires agreement of all 27 members.

Uljarević says that while the Commission analyses the answers and formulates its opinion Montenegro should focus all of its resources on intensively lobbying the member states in order to get the candidate status as soon as possible.

"Some of them already sent out messages that without tangible results we will not get any further", Uljarević reminds.

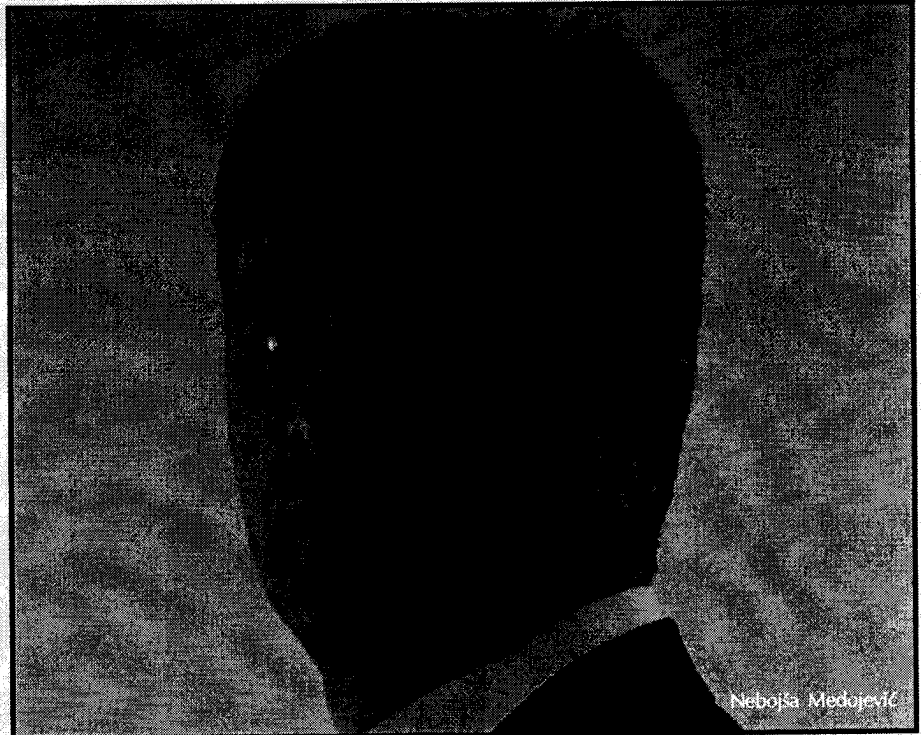
"Lobbying", she emphasised, "does not guarantee success, but can, especially with some of the countries, add support to the standing achieve-

While the EC analyses the answers and formulates its opinion Montenegro should focus all of its resources on intensively lobbying the Member States in order to get the candidate status as soon as possible. Some of them already sent out messages that without tangible results we will not get any further, warns Daliborka Uljarević

ments of our country".

According to her, "These results can be attained if Montenegro keeps up the effort to fulfil the commitments from European Partnership, and addresses and eradicates all those shortcomings which are very precisely listed in the Progress Reports, while making sure that EU member states and institutions take note of these developments".

President of the National Council for European Integrations (NCEI) **Nebojša Medojević** says that in order to continue the European integration process the Government ought to present the situation as realistically as possible, with all the problems Montenegro has in adopting and



implementing EU standards.

"None of the Governments in the region was overly self-critical and assumed blame for the situation in its answers. This simply can't be expect-

ed from a government which is in power for the last 20 years and is the only one responsible for the accumulated anomalies of the Montenegrin society, which are neither small nor insignificant", Medojević added.

Genorio explains that "answers to the Questionnaire are only the first, starting phase which helps the European Commission to acquire a picture of the current state of affairs, i.e. to estimate to what extent Montenegro complies with the EU requirements and how ready it is to assume obligations of future membership".

Genorio agrees that relations with the member states are very important.

Montenegro, according to him, should never forget that the Commission only gets the mandate to apply the procedures of rapprochement of third countries with the European family, but the final decision is always taken by member states.

Which is why special effort should be put in developing relations with member states.

"They want to know how serious a partner is Montenegro, how ready to cooperate. The period of waiting for candidate status is the period when a country builds its credibility with member states", Genorio explains.

He emphasizes that administrative capacities should be improved at full speed, as this is an area which the Commission will use as an indicator of the quality of reforms.

"EC and member states will monitor Montenegro's progress. This years' progress report, but even more so the one for next year, will be of crucial importance".

The author is a programme associate in Centre for Civic Education

HOW MONTENEGRO "APPLIES" THE CASE LAW OF THE EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Podgorica ignores Strasbourg!

How will Montenegro ever fulfil Brussels' standards if for two years it has failed to follow the ones of Strasbourg?



by Neđeljko Rudović

If its authorities continue to ignore and violate the practice of the European Court of Human Rights so blatantly, the answer is clear, what is unclear is to what extent Montenegro will continue to suffer the unforgivable irresponsibility and arrogance of some of its authorities, accompanied by fawning of those who should be in charge of administering justice.

In the last few months we have seen Montenegrin courts order brutal fines for independent media, in open defiance of the case law of the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, which they are otherwise obliged to follow.

In this way, Montenegrin courts became accomplices in suffocating free thought and professional journalism, directly overruling the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and its Article 10 dedicated to freedom of expression. By joining the Council of Europe Montenegro state committed itself to change this practice by adhering to the case law of the European Court of Human Rights, which unambiguously asserts that criticising politicians is the core of a democratic society and that the right to free expression must be accorded full protection.

This court ruled that the Article 10 of ECHR guarantees freedom of expression also with regard to information of offensive, shocking or disturbing character, as reiterated by the Resolution 1577 (2007) of the Council of Europe which Montenegro, as a member of CoE, ought to obey.

The same is said in the Law on Media, which states that Montenegro

guarantees and ensures freedom of information on the level of standards contained in the international documents and that "this Law ought to be interpreted and applied in accordance with the principles of ECHR, based on the case law of the European Court of Human Rights".

Similarly, Article 17.8 of the Resolution of the Parliamentary Assembly of CoE urges all members to set reasonable and appropriate fines for damage compensation in case of slander to make sure sustainability of the media is not brought into question.

This means that all those charges brought before Montenegrin courts against independent media and claiming enormous damages, currently surpassing 13 million euros, are untenable before the court in Strasbourg.

In the last few months the Montenegrin courts have ordered brutal fines for independent media, in defiance of the case law of the European Court of Human Rights which they are otherwise obliged to follow. Thus Montenegrin courts became accomplices in suffocating free thought and professional journalism

The Constitution obliges Montenegrin courts to judge according to Constitution, laws and adopted and proclaimed international treaties. ECHR is one such international treaty on human rights which has been ratified and therefore became inherent part of the legal order of Montenegro. The Convention on Human Rights is special in the way that its provisions ought to be understood in the context of legal practice of the European Court of Human Rights which has the mandate to interpret the Convention.

Should Montenegrin courts fail to apply this standard of protection of the freedom of expression, the Court in Strasbourg will have to decide that the Montenegrin courts' verdicts violated the Convention and order the state to pay damages to those whose rights have been denied.

The freedom of expression is one of the so-called absolute rights protected by the Convention and as such it cannot be suspended.

Legal practice of the court in

Strasbourg shows that there is especially freedom to express opinions about politicians as can be seen in the court's decision in the case *Lingens vs. Austria*: "Freedom of political debate is at the very core of the concept of a democratic society... The limits of acceptable criticism are accordingly wider as regards a politician as such than as regards a private individual. Unlike the latter, the former inevitably and knowingly lays himself open to close scrutiny of his every word and deed ... and he must consequently display a greater degree of tolerance".

In the case *Lopes Gomes da Silva vs. Portugal* the court found the following: "The court believes that use of offensive or excessive critique against politicians can be considered a natural part of the democratic process". Further, "the Court

also considered it appropriate to reiterate that journalists could resort to a degree of exaggeration, or even provocation".

In the case *Oberschick vs. Austria* (1991) and *Oberschick vs. Austria II* (1997), the Court ruled that in the case of politicians the limits of acceptable criticism must be wider than in relation to a private individual. A politician willingly lays himself open to close scrutiny by both journalists and the public at large". The court even absolved a journalist who called a politician a "Nazi".

Finally, in 2008 the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg ruled that a fine amounting to six monthly salaries is not proportional to the offence, and that the accorded damages must be lower than that.

Only the latest verdict of the Basic Court in Podgorica against the daily *Vijesti* claims a fine of 33 000 euros. And the Code of Conduct of the Journalists of Montenegro states: "A journalist's work is inspired by the idea to be a critical observer of the powerful ones in the society, politics and economy".

STATE SECRETARY FOR POLITICAL ISSUES IN THE CROATIAN MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATIONS, DR DAVOR BOŽINOVIĆ

EU negotiations call for people from outside the public institutions

Approximately 1.500 people are involved in the process of Croatia's negotiations on accession to European Union, 900 of them from outside the public institutions. While organizing negotiations we deliberately chose to involve so many people in order to ensure transparency of the negotiations process, educational effects, i.e. spreading the knowledge and experience acquired through negotiation, transposing the negotiation process into the widest segments of the Croatian public and expert circles, as well as the synergy effects – connecting state and non-state sector, says Dr **Davor Božinović**, state secretary for political issues in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integrations (MFAEI) of the Government of the Republic of Croatia in the interview for *European Pulse*.

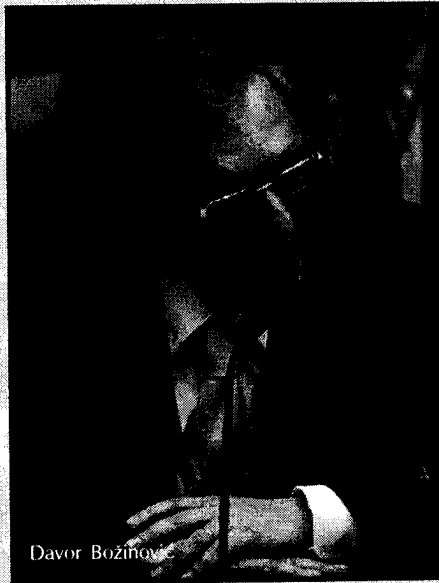
● **What did Croatia do to prepare for the start of negotiations with EU, for instance in forming the negotiations teams?**

Six months ahead of the start of negotiations Croatia passed a Government Decision establishing bodies responsible for leading negotiations and concluding the Accession Agreement with EU. It prescribed their structure and competencies and appointed their members.

The following bodies were established: State Delegation of the Republic of Croatia for negotiations on EU accession, Coordinating Committee on Accession, Negotiating Team for the Accession, 35 Working Groups for the Preparation of Negotiations of individual chapters, Office of the Chief Negotiator and Secretariat of the Negotiating Team.

● **How many people participate in the negotiations process?**

The negotiations involve many people from more than 400 different state and non-state institutions, different sectors (public or private), organizations and enterprises. In addition to all ministries and other public administration bodies, the structure involves more than 39 university departments and educational institutions, 13 state



Davor Božinović

agencies, 20 bureaus, 24 institutes, 53 associations, such as different councils and communities, 6 associations of economic interests, 9 chambers, 9 trade unions, 3 academies and more than 100 companies.

On the opening of pre-accession negotiations, the number of experts participating in the work of 35 expert groups

In addition to all ministries and other public administration bodies, Croatian negotiations structure involves 39 university departments and educational institutions, 13 state agencies, 20 bureaus, 24 institutes, 53 associations, such as different councils and communities, 6 associations of economic interests, 9 chambers, 9 trade unions, 3 academies and more than 100 companies

stood at 1 500.

Out of this, some 900 come from outside of public institutions. Here one should note, however, that in the course of negotiations these number changed and expanded according to the need.

● **Why did you involve so many experts from outside of public institutions?**

This is an important specificity of the Croatian negotiating structure because, in addition to ensuring greater transparency of the process, it represents a challenge with regard to coordinating the work of differ-

ent sectors.

More than half of the members of the working groups work on the four chapters related to agriculture (1.227 positions or 869 people). This is a logical consequence of the fact that almost one half of *acquis* deals with agriculture.

Appointment of members to the working groups was guided by two criteria, i.e. two basic strategic goals – their knowledge of a concrete segment of negotiations, in order to provide expert support for the leader of the Croatian team and negotiators, and their capacity to transfer the experience and knowledge acquired in the course of negotiations to the establishments they represent.

Working Groups' members are not negotiators. Negotiations are led primarily by the head of the State Delegation, Chief Negotiator and negotiators of individual chapters.

Leaders of the working groups, and extraordinarily when necessary members of the working groups (upon agreement with the head of SD) can communicate directly with European Commission when technical clarifications of *Acquis Communautaire* or

Croatian legislation are required.

Members of the Working Groups, with support of a part of public administration, also participated in the screening process, as well as in drafting proposals of negotiating positions, and are continuously involved in the creation of all other documents, measures and action plans.

While organising negotiations we deliberately chose to involve so many people in order to ensure transparency of the negotiations process, educational effects, i.e. spreading the knowledge and experi-

ence acquired through negotiation, transposing the negotiation process into the widest segments of the Croatian public and expert circles, as well as the synergy effects – connecting state and non-state sector.

● **What is the role of the Croatian Parliament in the process of EU negotiations?**

Parliamentary dimension of negotiations is very important for our accession to EU. In that sense, I would like to emphasise the role of the National Committee for Monitoring Accession Negotiations between Croatia and EU. This special working body of the Croatian Parliament was established with a task of monitoring and evaluating the course of negotiations, providing opinions and guidelines in the name of the Parliament on the proposals of negotiating positions, and scrutinizing information on the negotiations process.

It also discusses and provides opinions on issues that will come up in the course of negotiations, and where necessary opines on harmonisation of Croatia's legislation with EU regulations.

The fact that the President of the National Committee comes from the opposition and that opposition MPs participate in its work on an equal footing gives a special democratic note to this form of representation of Croatia's citizens in the negotiations process.

The National Committee, through its

Continuous, effective and timely implementation of all commitments that ensue or will ensue from the SAA, European Partnership, EC's reports and opinions and others, as well as establishment of an efficient mechanism for their monitoring and implementation is the best guarantee to get the date quickly

president, holds regular consultations and exchanges information with the President of Croatia, president of the Government and president of the Parliament, as well as with the Head of the Negotiating Team, about the course of negotiations, open negotiating issues or possible ways of closing individual chapters.

The National Committee consists of representatives of the Parliament, representatives of the Office of the President of Croatia, academic community, employers' association and trade unions.

● **Based on Croatian experience, what should Montenegrin government do in the period between submitting the answers to the Questionnaire and the decision of the Council of EU on the candidate status in order to improve its**

chances to soon receive the date for the beginning of negotiations?

Fulfillment of most criteria for full membership in the EU is only attainable through full implementation of the SAA and positioning of EU membership as the key national interest supported by the entire society.

Since the process depends on the preparedness of all key sectors it is important to start as soon as possible with training and educating the staff of public institutions for the process of adjustment to EU standards, as well as finishing up the necessary preparations for implementation of

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technical assistance from EU.

For that purpose, it is necessary to develop an encompassing strategy for accession to EU, i.e. a programme that will contain all activities and concrete legislative and administrative measures which ought to be taken in order to adopt the legal, economic and political standards of EU.

Similarly, in order to ensure timely fulfillment of this programme, it is neces-

sary to establish adequate monitoring mechanisms.

In short, continuous, effective and timely implementation of all commitments that ensue or will ensue from the SAA, European Partnership, EC's reports and opinions and others, as well as establishment of an efficient mechanism for their monitoring and implementation is the best guarantee to get the date quickly.

Parallel to this, you should also work on the preparation, training and organisation of structures and teams that will participate in negotiations once they begin, since the process is, and I speak from own experience, very demanding in terms of technical requirements and expertise, deadlines are short and exchange of documents and information with EC happens

almost on daily basis.

For instance, during screening, we submitted more than 20 000 pages of various materials and documents to EC and we prepared and presented some 700 presentations on the state of harmonization and implementation of our legislation in different sectors.

● **What was the biggest mistake of Croatia in the period before getting the candidate status and immediately afterwards that Montenegro should not repeat?**

Bearing in mind the political maturity and general decisiveness of Montenegro to join EU, I doubt that on the eve of getting

the candidate status Montenegro could commit any mistake that would seriously endanger the continuation of this process.

I suppose that the biggest mistake that any country could commit in this period would be to believe that a problem, or a requirement of EU, is simply impossible to overcome and turn away from the accession process. This did not happen to Croatia, and I am sure it will not happen to Montenegro either.

Of course, everything depends on how you see the accession process. In Croatia, we had to learn that negotiations are a predictable process only up to a point.

We could have made a big mistake, for instance, if we had understood several months of blockade by Slovenia, a basic bilateral issue, as a problem that is impossible to overcome. Although sometimes the situation could seem utterly discouraging, it is important to note that we never stopped working on these blocked chapters, nor on any other. True, blockade of a certain chapter halted the procedural elements of it, but the work was nevertheless done well and on time, and the EC recognised this. This is why we are very content today and we can say that more than 2/3 of the job has been done, and that after unblocking the chapters, which will be an additional psychological incentive, we should be able to finish the technical part of negotiations relatively quickly.

V. ŽUGIĆ

TWENTY YEARS SINCE THE FALL OF BERLIN WALL

Where is Montenegro?

In November 2009 we are celebrating twenty years since the fall of the Berlin Wall. These two decades were mar-



by Vladimir Pavićević

ked by fundamental changes in the system of international relations. They reshaped the European continent, and their consequences are most visible in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe which went through the transformation of previous systems into modern communities based on the rule of law, market economy and political pluralism. What happened in Montenegro in these twenty years?

In spite of a very favourable inter-

Society is any more mature than it was in 1989, and whether it is able to chose a better and more efficient policy this time. And an ever bigger dilemma, perhaps, is who are the actors who can offer an alternative to those who are already overripe from hanging on way too long

national position which Tito's Yugoslavia enjoyed in 1989 and which could have provided it with a clear European perspective and membership in the European community, Yugoslavia didn't survive, and its peoples started viewing each other as enemies. Lack of readiness on the part of political elites of the federal units to agree on the principles of systemic transformation led the successor nations of Yugoslavia into a series of wars starting with Slovenia, and spreading to Croatia in summer 1991. After Slovenia, Croatia and then Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina declared independence, Serbia with its two autonomous provinces – Voivodina and Kosovo – and Montenegro decided to establish a new

union – Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Two eyes in the head – form without content

Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) was established as a federation of two republics, Serbia and Montenegro, on 27 April 1992. In spite of enormous differences in the size of the territory, development and population, the necessity of this union was justified by historical, cultural and political ties between two ancient states. This brought the proverb that Montenegro and Serbia are like two eyes in one head into everyday speech and made the mutual dependence of two republics unquestionable.

In the moment of FRY's formation, the war was already raging on the territory of the neighbouring Croatia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina the conflict was about to escalate. Numerous voluntary recruits from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as well as armed forces of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army transformed into

the Army of Yugoslavia, and various armies of Serbian para-states participated in the war on the territories of its new Western neighbours. Participation of Montenegrin forces in the area of Konavle was then justified by the "young, handsome and clever" leadership by the need to protect Montenegro from a possible attack by Croatia. "War for Peace" was a slogan coined in Budva, which makes many Montenegrin citizens today blush when they pass the gates of the Old City of Dubrovnik which bear the description of the attack.

Several years later, Dayton peace agreement was signed, ending the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the time it seemed that the region of the Western

Balkans will be stabilised. Long-awaited peace sprouted hopes that the times of war for Yugoslav heritage were past. **Slobodan Milošević** strengthened his rule in Serbia, the larger member of the Yugoslav federation, remaining President of Serbia until 1997. Unlike in Serbia, in the smaller member of the Yugoslav federation the then president of the Government, still young and clever **Milo Đukanović** raised in late 1996 his voice against the authoritarian rule of Slobodan Milošević.

The reason for this decision of Milo Đukanović were massive civic protests organised by the Serbian opposition and students of the Serbian universities after the rigged elections for local governments. Encouraged by these events, Montenegrin Prime Minister believed that the long-term isolation of the country ought to stop, and that this could be achieved by opening the country towards partnership with the West and democratising political processes within FRY. At the same time, Đukanović publicly pronounced that Slobodan Milošević was an outdated political figure and asked him to leave politics. This change of heart on the part of the president of Montenegrin government led to a split within the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS), the ruling party of Montenegro, which since 1992 had been blindly following Milošević's politics.

The next presidential elections in autumn 1997 were won by Milo Đukanović against Milošević's candidate **Momir Bulatović** and marked a clear distancing of Montenegrin leadership from the policies designed in Belgrade. Đukanović's victory in 1997 directed Montenegro towards Western partners and created foundations for its independence which finally came in 2006.

Formation of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro

Soon after democratic changes in Serbia in 2000 the two republics started a negotiations process to redefine their

relations within the federation. Montenegrin government offered a negotiating platform already in 1999 and confirmed its commitment to establishing an independent state in the same year by introducing Deutsch Mark as the official currency in Montenegro. The 1999 platform received new elements in 2001 which envisaged that Serbia and Montenegro should first become independent and then negotiate a potential union.

President of FRY **Vojislav Koštunica** and the Serbian Government offered their platform which proposed preservation of the federal framework and endowing central organs of authorities with competences typical of a federal state. Negotiations failed, and in late 2001 and early 2002 European Union joined the negotiations process. EU's High Representative for Foreign Policy and Security **Javier Solana** tried to direct negotiations towards a formula that would protect the integrity of the existing union. Involvement of European Union was important for Serbia and Montenegro also in the context of starting the process for rapprochement with EU. Between 2001 and 2003 FRY established relations with all relevant European institutions and forums.

At the same time, Serbia was facing the difficult question of defining the status of Kosovo. This question appeared as important also in discussions of the relationship between Serbia and Montenegro. UN Resolution 1244 tied Kosovo to FRY, not to Serbia. Thus, especially in Serbia, there was a concern that disappearance of FRY could open up the road to independent Kosovo. Since the development of the Kosovo question was defined at the time through the formula "standards before status" neither the European Union nor other international actors were willing to open up the issue of Kosovo's status at the time. In 2002, the generally accepted conclusion was that full disintegration of FRY would necessarily pose the Kosovo question.

Unready to tackle this issue, EU representatives offered Belgrade and Podgorica a temporary solution in the form of establishment of a State Union of Serbia and Montenegro. The Union was created for a period of three years after which both members had the right to



The fall of Berlin Wall

reconsider whether they want to remain in it. The agreement signed on 14 March 2002 envisaged that the legal successor of FRY in case of Montenegro's separation after three years will be Serbia, which provided for the question of Kosovo, being tied to FRY by UN Resolution 1244, to be transferred to Serbia after dissolution of the State Union. The new union was a shaky matter, resembling a confederation.

Creation of the state

Very soon after the expiry of the three-year period set at the establishment of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro Montenegrin government decided to call a referendum to decide on Montenegro's independence. At the referendum, organised on 21 May 2006, 55.5% of the electorate supported establishment of the independent state of Montenegro, and Montenegrin Parliament declared independence on 3 June 2006. Independence of the newly founded country was recognised by Serbia, EU member states and members of United Nations. A year later, Constitution of the Republic of Montenegro was proclaimed.

After parting ways with Serbia Montenegro completed negotiations with EU on its own in the framework of Stabilisation and Association Process and in 2007 it signed the Stabilisation and Association Agreement. A year later, Montenegrin Prime Minister handed over the application for membership in EU, and Montenegro is hoping to get the membership candidate status in the course of 2010.

Association and accession to the united Europe should not only be the priority foreign policy goal of Montenegro and other West Balkan countries, but also the most important internal orientation towards genuine reforms of the political, economic and judicial system and building of democratic institutions in line with European standards. For the countries of the region, Balkan's Europeanisation would create foundations for the strengthening of their mutual trust and democratic consolidation of their political orders. Still, Montenegro's progress in the integration process so far was not entirely free of problems which burden the Montenegrin society for the last two decades: weak rule of law, unreformed and inefficient legal system and widespread corruption.

It is useful to bear in mind that Montenegro walked into the process of European integrations led by the same clever ones who lead it into a bloodbath two decades ago. The effects of their rule are a protracted transition and delayed integration into European Union.

Twenty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall the question is still whether Montenegrin society is any more mature than it was in 1989, and whether it is able to choose a better and more efficient policy this time. And an ever bigger dilemma, perhaps, is who are the actors who can offer an alternative to those who are already overripe from hanging on to power for way too long.

The author is a lecturer at the Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Belgrade

Brussels to Cetinje

by Brano Mandić

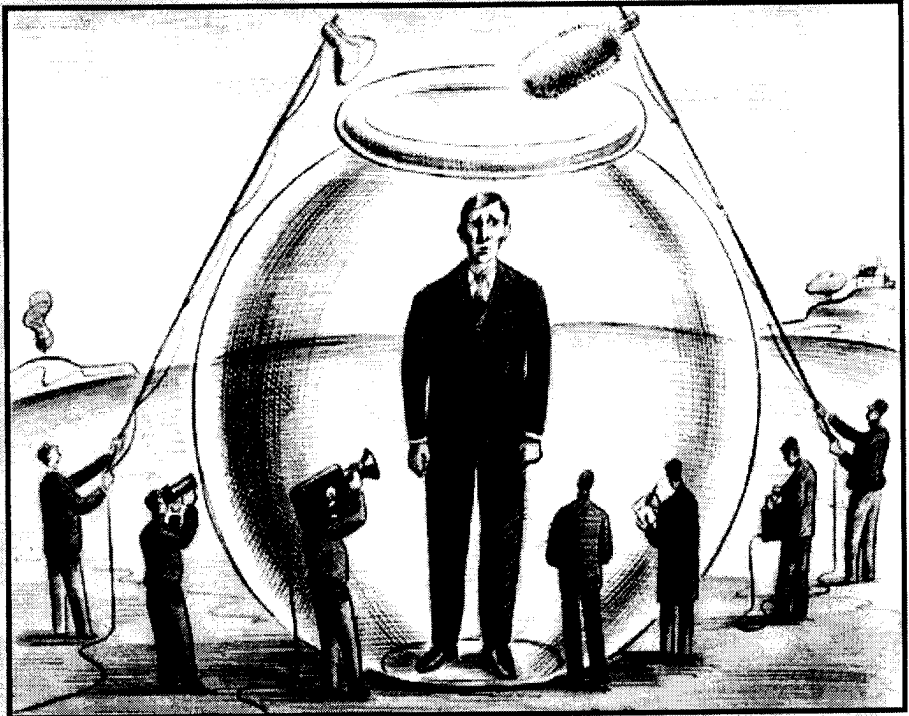
Montenegro is probably the only country in the region which doesn't have a TV, press or, heavens forbid, radio correspondent with a permanent laptop in Brussels. I learned a bit of stale news from reliable sources: all of our illustrious televisions were supposed to agree to pay a single freelancer to supply them all equally with most important news from out there. The idea wasn't bad, but it's a small wonder that it failed. At least we journalists know how reliable the guild is. We demonstrated it forcefully last month when one bully molested our colleagues and we remained without a single organised protest. Not even a little walk to the white house of the centre of the city in which we get beaten.

In Brussels they don't beat journalists, but it's not easy to send over the lucky one if you have to pay his apartment, good suits, lunches with consultants, shaving foams and taxi when it's raining...in a word, every-

Without underestimating a few electronic and TV broadcasts on the topic of our European unionising we have to agree that our contact with officials from Brussels comes down to a few corridor ambushes of the kind Do you like Montenegro? or to phone communication with Brussels' port paroles whose photos we then take off Google

thing one doesn't need here. If you want information from the high European politics, you ought to send someone who isn't counting his remaining coins from the middle of the month and stretching them to the first. Thus our editors concluded that it's a waste of money if you have someone expensive who will write about something boring. And European integrations are boring, let's face it.

Led by such philosophy of development our media leaders are wait-



ing for Montenegro to move a little further on the golden path of bureaucratic haggling with Brussels, and by 2013 we might even get a chance to be informed on what's actually going on out there. Without underestimat-

ing a few electronic and TV broadcasts on the topic of our European unionising we have to agree that our contact with officials from Brussels comes down to a few corridor ambushes of the kind Do you like Montenegro? or to phone communication with Brussels' port paroles whose photos we then download from Google.

In this story, all media are the same, those fed by the state and those independent, professional and lonely, civic and national. They are all

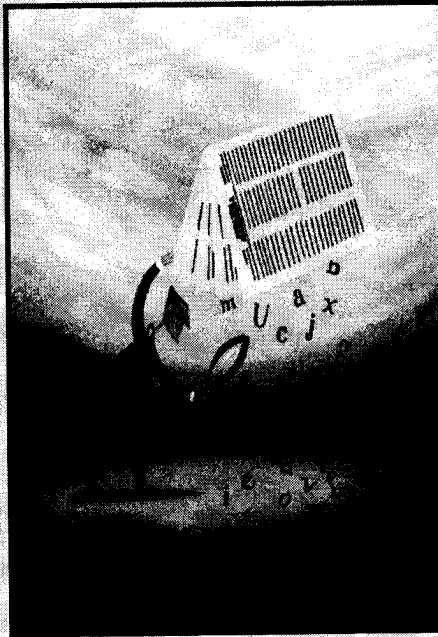
together perfectly indifferent to in-depth understanding of the European continent and its political incarnation, and they let a few agile journalists plug in the general gap of ignorance and indifference. What I meant to say is, given how much money goes to infrastructure, the information roads from European Union are very passable and in a decent condition but still remote and windy for his majesty ordinary citizen. I will not mention the scandalous website of the Government of Montenegro this time, for it really didn't deserve it. That one is entitled to a special place in our information wasteland, like the Government is entitled to a throne, which by Constitution belongs to the Parliament but nevermind.

All these are possible explanations for why the Questionnaire soap retreated into the corner and yielded the stage to local comedians, acrobats and contortionists to wrestle for space on the screen. It turns out: politicians have to go around beating up people

if they want to be in the headlines. Everybody is fed up with political stories, and the opposition is blessedly shrouded in silence, which has its good and bad sides. It is good that the people get some rest. Whoever needs political information on the crown strategic path of our country when it's unquestionable and already decided at the elections? And once they open up the borders for this handful of thinking people, when the visa tapestry falls once and for all, whoever will be interested in the accession process... Come to think of it, there is nothing negative about this, the media is simply following the tastes and the level of the audience which is satisfied with Brussels as a stylistic figure. Is that the function of the media? Not at all. The textbooks say that media should not just blindly nod to the interests of the citizens, but also try to raise their needs to a slightly higher level. It is simply unbelievable that nobody came up with the idea of introducing a serious circle, be it a club of recent graduates, of journalists who would dedicate their working time to foreign affairs.

The provincial flavour of media circles is best illustrated by the black chronicle view of the abroad: it exists as some kind of unexplored space resting on the backs of two turtles and occasionally ravaged by a fallen airbus or a suicide bomber blowing up a maternity ward.

In deficit of serious political analyses of the foreign world's Zeitgeist, every news agency report has the value of a delicacy, a secretive precedent and proof that our planet is ruled by a secret society and there is nothing we can do about it. The former, I don't know, but the latter is certainly true. And we will hardly be able to do anything about anything if our citizens know nothing about the world around us and they select their political leaders following animal instincts rather than personal interest and public good, two main ingredients of every good civic decision. Without a logical series of such



little civic decisions nothing good will come out of this even if we manage to drill out some oil under Lovćen for future generations.

We will remain a small, primitive settlement which needs somebody to overthrow the government before we realise that our leaders are mortal, boring and mortally boring people.

The great European lesson coming from Cetinje these days is perhaps just the beginning of the reawakening of dignity, but I doubt it. It will take a lot more work, especially by the media. It is therefore very important that our media allow us to see and read something about all these struggles that are led patiently every day by European pensioners, American war veterans, African peacemakers. We don't have to send our journalists to Somalia, but it's about time that we open up the media channels towards neighbouring countries, and one towards Brussels

And in all this whining, the only bright light, right beneath the said holy mount – a civic protest of high-school students. I have two possible explanations for their courage. First, internet. They got addicted and in the sea of information exchanged on daily basis among the young ladies and gentlemen they found their identity. And they are not letting this feeling of the worth of human struggle be contaminated by the peasant yodelling that pours out of our televisions.

Second, the abandoned town of Cetinje, ravaged for years by various

pathologies, still holds some civic power in the uniqueness, i.e. loneliness to which it has been undeservedly condemned. The great European lesson coming from Cetinje these days is perhaps just the beginning of the reawakening of dignity, but I doubt it. It will take a lot more work, especially by the media. It is therefore very important that our media allow us to see and read something about all these struggles that are led patiently every day by European pensioners, American war veterans, African peacemakers. We don't have to send our journalists to Somalia, but it's about time that we open up the media channels towards neighbouring countries, and one towards Brussels.

If they have no money to pay for this, Montenegrin media will pay the most terrible bill: they will not be read by the high schools students from Cetinje and their fellows who wish to be informed about something else but car accidents and Champions League draws.

Times of slavery to party topics

are up, and the market will only feed those journalists who have to offer a different angle and a relieved reasoning of a citizen who just happens to have a Montenegrin passport through a stroke of fate. New audience coming up: new generations of students who might even rebel against this wasteland and buy a political magazine once a week.

Optimism blowing from Cetinje, once again.

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

TIME TO MANAGE SCHOOLS DIFFERENTLY

Fail for politics

Students of the Gymnasium of Cetinje, royal capital of Montenegro, have not entered



by Stevo Muk

their classrooms for weeks, demanding compliance with the law and the adopted decision of the board of this school, whose appointment is opposed by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Government of Montenegro. The rival for the place of the director of the candidate judged undesirable by authorities is a member of the city council of the ruling Social-democratic Party!

This case revealed the depth of politicisation of public administration of educational system. It is easy to conclude that a school board is only acceptable when it implements the cadre reshuffles dictated from the party headquarters.

However, the case of Cetinje's Gymnasium isn't a lonely exception. It is an event in a series of rebellions against politicisation of the entire schooling system which reached the public lately.

Ahead of the latest presidential elections in Montenegro *Vijesti* reported on the meeting of the heads of primary schools in Podgorica when more than twenty directors handed the president of association, **Dragoje Radonjić**, lists of names of their employees and estimates which ones would, or would not, vote for the candidate of the ruling coalition.

Recently, students of the primary school "Dušan Ivović" in the village of Kosanica near Pljevlja also threatened to boycott classes unless the school board changed its decision and reappointed the former director **Milutin Petrović** to this office.

The parents were ready to see the boycott through but they accepted the proposal of Petrović who urged them, in the best interest of their children, to abandon the boycott. The storm over the selection of director in this school has been going on for more than eight months, and it culminated when the school board appointed **Nebojša Rubežić** as acting director only two days after they rejected his application

It is clear that the laws regulating the work of educational institutions have been tailored to give excessive powers to the Ministry and very little influence to the community of students, teachers and parents, or local authorities

as incomplete. Rubežić, who is also president of the youth section of Democratic Party of Socialists in Pljevlja, works as a teacher in the primary school "Salko Aljković" in the same town.

Parents' representative in the

school board of the gymnasium "25 May" in Tuzi resigned from this function, explaining that the election of director is "entirely undemocratic" and "sheer farce".

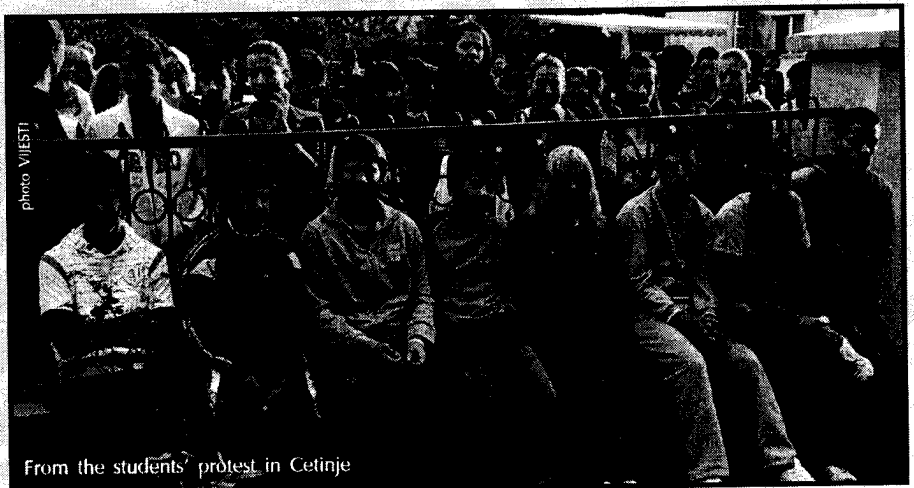
Appointment of director in the public pre-school institution "Dragan Kovačević" in Nikšić also revealed that the Ministry has its favourites.

Offices of many schoolmasters still display posters and other promotional material of their political parties.

Instead of respecting the opinions of parents, teachers and students the Ministry, as usual, resorted to repressive measures – firing disobedient members of school boards, annulling calls for applications for the posts of

directors, dragging on the selection procedure, threatening with the school inspection, threatening students with failing a year and those in the final year with losing the right to attend graduation exams.

School boards consist of as many



From the students' protest in Cetinje



as four representatives of the Ministry of Education and Science and Bureau of Education. On the other hand, only one representative is appointed by the parents' council, and one by teachers.

It is clear that the laws regulating the work of educational institutions have been tailored to give excessive powers to the Ministry and very little influence to the community of students, teachers and parents, or local authorities.

For starters, there should be a rule that members of the school boards cannot be members of political parties. Then there should be a rule that the Ministry cannot overrule decisions of the school boards by decree. Finally, clear procedures should be defined for appointment of parents' representatives to the school boards.

Decentralisation process, which in Montenegro has been stalled, unfortunately also in other areas of organisation of public administration, could, with a little will, be revived with regard to management of schools.

All it takes is for the Government, the Ministry of Education and Science and the ruling political parties, most of all Democratic Party of Socialists and Social-Democratic Party, to decide that the schools should cease to be a training ground for exercise of political discipline, showdowns with political dissidents or terrains for sounding out the public opinion.

After this, it will be much easier to admit that the law, the system and the practice can and must be changed

Prime Minister **Milo Đukanović** believes that "the state is responsible for organising the educational process and if it is to provide the entire budget for financing education then... the minister should have the last word in appointing candidates in charge of implementing the policy designed by the Government through the responsible ministry". Such attitude on the part of the Prime Minister of Montenegro is not encouraging in terms of the necessary changes with regard to democrati-

This issue should find its way to the agenda of European Commission and other organisations monitoring the political processes in Montenegro, as part of a larger context of de-politicisation and decentralisation. The first such opportunity comes with the next Report of European Commission on the Progress of Montenegro for 2009, which is expected in mid-October

sation and decentralisation of school administration. Instead of admitting that centralisation of the funds for education in the central budget of the Government and ministries is an obvious proof of centralisation of competences and decision power, he believes this is an argument to support continuation of the current practice.

This process can be enhanced by the non-governmental organisations with an interest in democracy and good government, those who support decentralisation of authority, associations of

parents and teachers, student parliaments and other associations.

Of course, like until now, the greatest support for transparency and responsibility in school administration should come from the media.

This is one of the questions that ought to be attended to also by those in the donor community who are interested in the reform of educational system. Last, but not least, this issue should find its way to the agenda of European Commission and other organisations monitoring the political processes in Montenegro, as part of a larger context of de-politicisation and decentralisation. The first such opportunity comes with the next Report of European Commission on the Progress of Montenegro for 2009, which is expected in mid-October.

Law on Gymnasium prescribes that education on this level has the goal of: providing the students with: the knowledge, skills, abilities and habits, based on the achievements in science, technology, culture and arts, necessary to continue their education; achieving internationally comparable levels of knowledge; developing critical thinking and reasoning; developing communication skills; developing a responsible attitude towards working and living environment; developing skills necessary for

life in a pluralistic and democratic society; promotion of understanding, tolerance and solidarity.

At least some of these last goals have been fulfilled by the students of Cetinje's Gymnasium by their persistent, critical, argued, tolerant, democratic protest and demand for the rule of law, thereby giving others a lesson in how to fight for their rights.

The author is the president of the Board of Directors of the Institute Alternative (IA)

WHY DO I WANT TO BE A CITIZEN OF EUROPEAN UNION

I want to get out of the box

Members of the generation which grew up during the nineties in Montenegro know perfectly well how



by Rajka Raičević

dangerous isolation can be.

You grow and develop mentally inside a box from which there is no exit. Inside the box there is chaos, deprivation

Members of the generation which grew up during the nineties in Montenegro know perfectly well how dangerous isolation can be

and injustice, and above your head hangs the fact that out there beyond your cardboard walls rages a war. Through the doors of the box you see coming lines and lines of unfortunates who have left their homes because of the war. Around it, there is a wall you can neither jump over nor break through.

Inside the box, however, it's comfortable. You got accustomed to everything inside it. Like everybody else, you believe this box is the most important one on the planet. Still, as time goes by you start to find it too cramped you realise your box is even growing partition walls. Partitions continue to multiply and the rules are not the same for all, nor is observance of the law mandatory for all individuals in the society. Tiny pockets are formed where all the bounties of this world are being concentrated, but you cannot get to these pockets simply because you're not clever enough to secure these benefits for yourself.

With time, thanks to marvellous and never entirely explored contents of its pockets, there are sporadic breakthroughs through the wall. You try to understand who in the "outside world" came to your rescue. In vain. Inside the box, even if you stand on your toes you can't figure out the trick. You realise you are still iso-

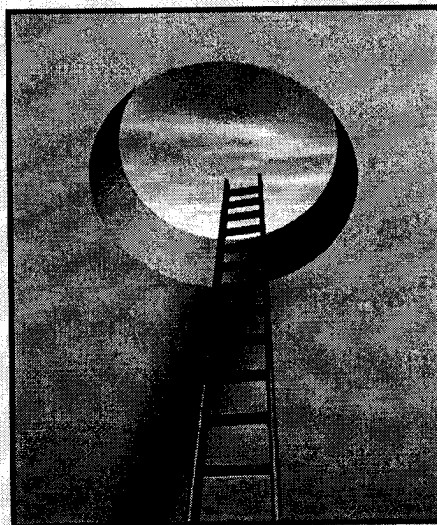
lated.

It's impossible to describe the moment when after years marked by sanctions and the smell of dumplings hovering above the whole neighbourhood I finally laid my hands on Toblerone. The feeling is truly strange, unrepeatably. For a moment it seemed like the years of isolation had passed forever and our little box opened up several exits and passages through the wall, through which you can use a return, not just one way ticket. Probably the sugar rush did the trick. For a short while it seemed like we are going back to the times when we really were European and the European Union couldn't wait to take us in. Very few

Montenegrians today own a passport. They lost so much time and nerves getting the essential IDs that waiting for hours in line for a passport seemed like an excessive

As long as corruption is widespread on almost every level, organised crime works in close connection with some parts of the government and the judiciary bows to the Police instead of Justice, Montenegrin citizens will wait in lines for visas and suffer special checkups on airports

luxury. You will waste your time, and when you get your passport you will anyway stuff it into a drawer to wait for bet-



ter times. Simply, you didn't know what to do with it, for you never had a chance to get out of the box.

Today the situation is a little different. There is a chance to leave the box for a short while. True, you need even more nerves to get through all the humiliations that await you through no fault of your own while you queue for visa in front of the embassy of some EU member. And this is not the end. If you get the visa, for you never really know whether you will get it, you will be shocked by the special gates for non-EU citizens. You will get thoroughly disappointed at the special body search procedures which requires you to take off your belt and your shoes to make sure that your stay in the EU doesn't mean a terrorist attack but a simple visit to the landmarks you have heard, read and seen so much about.

Getting out of the box and entering an EU member state in a normal, dignified manner in the style of the 21st cen-

tury is the main reason I want to be get the formal status of a citizen of Europe.

Visa free travel and a chance to get to know the culture of EU countries is the most important benchmark for me, for in order to get there it is first necessary to fulfil a number of key conditions in order to comply with the basic principles of the founding documents of EU. As long as corruption is widespread on almost every level, organised crime works in close connection with some parts of the government and the judiciary bows to the Police instead of Justice, Montenegrin citizens will wait in lines for visas and suffer special checkups on airports. Your box will remain the most beautiful prison on Earth.

The author is editor of the political section of the daily "Dan". She attended VI generation of European Integrations School

Champions of beer-making

With annual production of 427 million hectolitres Europe defended its position as the world's biggest producer of beer, ahead of China (393 million) and USA (234 million), shows the research conducted by association Brewers of Europe and published in 27 EU countries, Norway, Switzerland, Croatia and Turkey.

Germany is the largest beer producer, followed by UK, Poland and Spain.

"Even more astonishing is the fact that the number of breweries in Europe increased by 25% in the last three years, from 3000 in 2006 to 3.733 today", said the chief secretary of the Brewers of Europe **Rodolphe de Looz-Corswarem**.

Directly and indirectly 2.5 million jobs in Europe depend on the production and sale of beer, and the European econ-

omy and national governments collect large amounts in VAT and other taxes. However, general business conditions for European breweries are worsening overall, states the reports, warning that the price of agricultural inputs and production costs increased by almost 24%, and the tax burden has grown dramatically, especially in some countries such as the Netherlands where taxes on beer rose by almost 30%.



eCall for safety and economy

Mobile communications operators signed a Protocol for establishment of an automatic system for calls to the single European emergency number 112 which, according to the European Commission, should significantly decrease the number of fatal road accidents in the future. The so-called eCall enables the closest medical emergency centre to locate the vehicle which was part of an accident, even if the passengers cannot identify their location. Establishment of this system requires cooperation between carmakers, mobile phone operators and public authorities.

According to EC, when the system is fully functional some 2 500 lives will be saved per year, and the rate of severe injuries will fall by 10 to 15% because of the

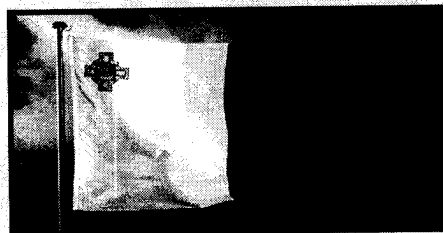
emergency services' ability to act promptly.

On the occasion of signing the Protocol with mobile operators EU telecommunications Commissioner **Viviane Redding** urged the remaining six member states which have not signed the Memorandum of understanding on the introduction of eCall to do this as soon as possible. Mostly due to financial reasons Denmark, France, Ireland, Lithuania, Malta and UK are reluctant to join the system. If they fail to do so, however, the EC did not rule out the possibility of adopting a regulation next year that may force them to comply.

Car accidents cost European economy more than 160 billion euros per year. By equipping 230 million cars in Europe with the eCall some 26 billion could be saved every year.

Maltese spring for quails

Court of the European Communities ruled that Malta has been violating European regulations by its several decades old tradition of spring hunting season for birds.



Maltese hunters go after turtledoves and quails during the so called spring hunt, in spite of European Bird Directive which prohibits hunt in this season. The directive allows for some exceptions, if the country can prove that the birds are only hunted in spring.

Maltese government said it will obey the Court's decision but the association of Maltese hunters accused the government in La Valetta and European Commission of renegeing on promises given before the referendum on EU accession in 2004.

Spanish hope

After a meeting with the Prime Minister of Iceland **Johann Sigurdardottir** Spanish Foreign Affairs minister **Miguel Angel Moratinos** said he hopes the negotiations with Iceland and Croatia will be completed under Spanish presidency of EU, in the first half of 2010.

Iceland received the European Commission Questionnaire on 9 September and its ambition to become an EU member has been facilitated by the fact that this country already has much of its legislation harmonised with *acquis communautaire*.

EU office in Africa

Italian Prime Minister **Silvio Berlusconi** asked EU to open an office in Africa that would verify visa applications and prevent inflows of illegal immigrants.

"The EU must establish an office in one of these countries (on the African coast of the Mediterranean) that could decide which immigrants are eligible for asylum and distribute them throughout EU member states", Berlusconi said.



A strange law

European airlines expressed their concern over the new proposal for EU regulation which would require them to label food served on the flight.

"This law means that the consumers would get different types of information about allergens or not get them at all depending which company they fly to or our of EU. For instance, they would get such information on the Lufthansa flight from Frankfurt to Tokio, but not on the Japanese Airlines flight on the same relation", complained the association of European air companies.

EU'S MOST POWERFUL WOMEN TAKE AIM AT MALE ELITE

The new waves

Some of the most powerful women in the EU are discussing how to bring gender equality to European politics, an arena that continues to be overwhelmingly dominated by men.

EU observer reports that recently a who's who of women politicians in Brussels met to see how they can better promote women in the EU capital, where women's names routinely fail to be mentioned for the top jobs.

The gathering brought together some fifteen women, including four EU commissioners, Sweden's Europe minister and seven parliament committee heads, wants women to become better networkers and better at promoting one another in politics.

"There is still a glass ceiling to reach the very top of European politics. It is still very much an old boy's

network and men are very good at praising each other and promoting each other," says **Haidi Hautala**, Finnish Green MEP and head of the human-rights sub-committee.

Danuta Huebner, the head of the parliament's regional development committee and a former EU commissioner, also stressed the importance of women supporting one another.

"We should do more about networking – that's where we're extremely weak. If we start some networking of women in European institutions, this could have some impact. If you are alone, you just behave as those around you," said the Polish politician.

EU Observer reminds that "the women's initiative" comes as the 27-nation club gears itself up for what is

For women, there is still a "glass ceiling" – it is simply impossible to reach the very top of European politics

FAR FROM PARITY

The percentage of women in the European Parliament stands at 35%. Although this is significant improvement compared to the 30% in the previous term and 16% for the first EP election in 1979, the EP again fails to attain parity or even the 40% of women threshold agreed by Member States of the Council of Europe.

The results vary significantly across member states: a quarter of the EU member states (8 of them) now have more than 40% women Members of the European Parliament – Finland, Sweden, Estonia, Netherlands, Bulgaria, Denmark, France, and Austria.

Eleven of the member states reach a level between 30 and 40%, while in the 8 other Member States, women's representation did not reach the minimum threshold of 30% – Slovenia, Lithuania, Ireland, Italy, Poland, the Czech Republic, Luxembourg – and Malta having for the second time not a single woman among its MEPs.

In terms of changes in the female presence with regard to the previous term, Germany has the leading position with 6 more women elected in June 2009. The UK follows with an increase of 5 women, Poland with 4 more and then Bulgaria, Finland and Italy with 3 additional women each. Spain has three women MEPs less than in the previous term, but together with Belgium this is also the only country where women's representation is better in the national parliament than in the European parliament.



likely to be fierce haggling on new EU commissioners and their portfolios. This year, the possible creation of two new high-level jobs – an EU foreign representative and an EU president – will bring extra spice to the negotiations.

None of the names often mentioned for the posts are those of women.

Diana Wallis, vice-president of the European Parliament, said the main point of Wednesday's meeting was to say: "Here we are, a group of women all in fairly high posts in the European institutions, so what's all this chat about there not being women able to do any of the senior jobs either as commissioners, or any other posts that might come up under the treaty of Lisbon."

Although gender equality is enshrined in EU law, there is often little evidence of it at the top of European politics. The "family portraits" of the regular gatherings of EU leaders are eloquent witnesses of this – amid a sea of men, German chancellor **Angela Merkel** is the only woman head of government.

"We talk about gender equality more and more and we have all

Percentage of women in the new European Parliament by Member State, compared to the 2004–2009 EP and to the percentage of women in national parliaments

Member State	Total seats	Number of women	% of women in EP (2009–2014)	% of women in the former EP (2004–2009)	% of women in the national parliaments
FINLAND	13	8	62%	42.9%	41.5%
SWEDEN	18	10	56%	47.4%	47%
ESTONIA	6	3	50%	50%	20.8%
NETHERLANDS	25	12	48%	48.2%	41.3%
BULGARIA	17	8	47%	44.4%	21.7%
DENMARK	13	6	46%	42.9%	38%
FRANCE	72	33	44%	44.9%	18.2%
AUSTRIA	17	7	41%	27.8%	28.4%
SLOVAKIA	13	5	38%	35.7%	19.3%
LATVIA	8	3	38%	22.2%	20%
GERMANY	99	37	37%	33.3%	32.3%
BELGIUM	22	8	36%	29.2%	35.3%
HUNGARY	22	8	36%	37.5%	11.1%
PORTUGAL	22	8	36%	25%	28.3%
ROMANIA	33	12	36%	28.57%	11.4%
SPAIN	50	15	36%	27.8%	36.3%
UK	72	24	33%	26.9%	19.5%
CYPRUS	6	2	33%	0%	14.3%
GREECE	22	7	32%	29.2%	14.7%
SLOVENIA	7	2	29%	42.86%	13.3%
LITHUANIA	12	3	25%	38%	24%
IRELAND	12	3	25%	38.46%	13.3%
ITALY	72	18	25%	20.5%	21.3%
POLAND	50	11	22%	14.8%	20.2%
CZECH REPUBLIC	22	4	18%	20.8%	15.5%
LUXEMBOURG	6	1	17%	50%	23.3%
MALTA	5	0	0%	0%	8.7%

those laws and everything that is needed to give everyone an equal chance in the political life [yet] when it comes to concrete cases, jobs for taking responsibility in Europe, somehow women disappear," said Mrs Huebner.

To illustrate her point, she spoke about a 10-minute video to commemorate the 10th anniversary of European Monetary Union. "There were no women in this, like women did not exist in the history of European integration."

The group has sent a wishlist to newly re-elected European Commission President **Jose Manuel Barroso** and national governments to ask that member states present both a man and woman candidate for commissioner posts and that Mr Barroso make sure his team of commissioners is equally balanced.

At the moment, there are eight women commissioners in the 27-member college. Women represent 35 % of MEPs in the 736-member strong parliament, with Finland sending the highest proportion of women to Brussels (61%) and Malta, with no women for the second legislature running, the least.

One of the main objectives is for the group to drop names of qualified politicians into the EU jobs discussion, with Mrs Hautala mentioning Finnish President **Tarja Halonen**, former UN human rights commissioner **Mary Robinson** and communications commissioner **Margot Wallstrom** for the EU foreign minister or president jobs.

Mrs Wallstrom, for her part, did not categorically deny interest in such a post, but pointed out she had already dedicated much of her life to a public career, including the last ten years as commissioner in Brussels.

"There are so many good women candidates and we need to get them out there," she told this website, offering to be a "mentor" to others seeking EU jobs.

The women's proposals are set to meet resistance among national capitals – even in those countries considered to have a more progressive gender equality policy. Mrs Hautala said she discussed the idea of each government suggesting two candidates for a commission post with Finnish leader **Matti Vanhanen**.

"Even our prime minister is not convinced," she said, with Mr Vanhanen fearing the proposal would take power away from member states' right to choose commissioners.

V.Ž.–V.Š.

COUNCIL OF EUROPE COMMITTEE OF MINISTERS REPORT ON MONTENEGRO'S COMPLIANCE WITH OBLIGATIONS AND COMMITMENTS

Concern over the influence of politics on judiciary

The Venice Commission's concerns about potential political influence on the appointment of judges, the Supreme State Prosecutor, the State Prosecutors and the Ombudsman are still valid and should be addressed at the earliest opportunity, warns the Third Secretariat Monitoring Report of the Council of Europe (CoE).

Third Secretariat Report on Montenegro's compliance with obligations and commitments ensuing from its membership in CoE is based, among other, on the visit of the Secretariat to Montenegro between 11 and 15 May 2009, and concerns the period between May 2008 and August 2009.

The report finds that Montenegro continues to progressively implement its accession commitments and obligations and that there have been significant positive developments in the reform of the



and investment in the implementation of legislation and policies, increased participation of NGOs and of civil society in

The Government has an excellent opportunity to focus on delivering concrete and visible results for the people of Montenegro. This will require additional emphasis and investment in the implementation of legislation and policies, increased participation of NGOs and of civil society in public affairs, and reinforced transparency and accountability of the Government's work

justice system and the fight against corruption, but warns that these efforts should be continued.

The Parliament, they suggest, could be a more effective and influential institution if it makes full use of the working methods available to it and the talents of its members.

"A more functional relationship between the parliamentary majority and the opposition, as well as openness to the participation of non-partisan experts, for example from specialized NGOs, would contribute to a stronger parliamentary input to law and policy in Montenegro", states the report.

With a successful experience of transition to independence and of European integration behind it, with a full mandate and a solid majority in the Parliament ahead of it, the new Government has an excellent opportunity to focus on delivering concrete and visible results for the people of Montenegro.

"This will require additional emphasis

public affairs, and reinforced transparency and accountability of the Government's work", recommends CoE's report.

It adds that the political context in Montenegro is one of continuity and

The postponement of the electoral reforms, the continued blurring of state and party structures, a relatively uncritical media, a lack of adequate redress for complaints of electoral violations and opacity of the financing of parties' electoral campaigns all contributed to a real challenge to public confidence in the elected institutions

transformation, at the same time, since the same political party has been in power since 1991.

"The ruling parties have adapted themselves to the changing circumstances of their country, rather than the more usual case of changing circumstances leading to a change of ruling party", says the report.

It reminds that on 27 January 2009, President Filip Vujanović called for early parliamentary elections, following the

decision of the Montenegrin Parliament to shorten its mandate.

"In the light of the looming effects of the economic crisis and the high level of popularity of the ruling coalition, calling the elections for 29 March was a well-calculated strategic move on the part of the Government", states the report.

According to CoE, calling the elections so early was controversial from the start, not least because the electoral legislation has not yet been put into conformity with the Constitution.

The report emphasises that prior to these elections, clear rules for the financing of election campaigns, for broadcast media fairness, for processing electoral complaints and for the procedures for modifications to the voters' register should have been adopted, but this was not the case.

"The Law on the Implementation of the Constitution was amended on 26 January 2009 so as to postpone the deadline fixed for the revision of the electoral legislation to October 2009. Therefore, the first parliamentary election held under the new Constitution of Montenegro was held under the old election rules", reminds the report.

It adds that both the ODIHR and PACE statements after the elections pointed out that most of the recommendations made by previous election observation

missions had not been addressed.

"They concluded that the postponement of the electoral reforms, the continued blurring of state and party structures, a relatively uncritical media, a lack of adequate redress for complaints of electoral violations and opacity of the financing of parties' electoral campaigns all contributed to a real challenge to public confidence in the elected institutions", warns the Report.

V.Ž.

TWO YEARS AFTER THE SIGNING OF CEFTA MONTENEGRIN ENTREPRENEURS FACE NEW CHALLENGES

From expensive procedures to dumping prices

EVROPSKI REPORTER

Complex and expensive procedures relating to the circulation of goods, refusal of quality certificates, phytosanitary and veterinary documents, customs bottlenecks, non-recognition of technical standards and dumping prices are some of the main problems faced by Montenegrins entrepreneurs in implementation of CEFTA 2006 agreement.

This agreement, which envisages creation of a free trade zone in South East Europe is a particular test and a form of preparation of the countries of the region for the potential membership in EU. "Trade without customs tariffs is advantageous for customers, traders and those producers who import raw materials or components for their production to be distributed on the regional or wider markets. For the producers whose products are not competitive, CEFTA means

Filipović reminds that CEFTA constitutes "one third of Montenegrin trade in goods", but also that certain "non-tariff barriers" were identified within the trade area, "hindering its successful implementation"

exposure to tougher competition", says **Ljiljana Filipović**, vice president of the Montenegrin Chamber of Commerce in the interview for *European Reporter*.

Multilateral agreement on free trade area for the region of South East Europe CEFTA 2006 came into force in Montenegro in July 2007 and applies to all members of the agreement since November 2007. By acceding to this treaty, Montenegro, Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia, Moldova and BiH committed themselves to establishing a free trade area by the end of 2010, abolishing customs tariffs and duties for 90% of trade value.

Trade in industrial products will be completely liberalised while up to 10% of agricultural positions (products or group of products) may remain under a certain level of protection (tariffs or quotas).

After Bulgaria and Romania be-

came members of EU, with its remaining members CEFTA still covers a market of 30 million people. CEFTA trade agreement includes provisions concerning the elements of contemporary trade policy (services, intellectual property, public procurement, investments) as well as clear procedures for conflict resolution.

Filipović reminds that this market constitutes "one third of Montenegrin trade in goods", but also that certain "non-tariff barriers" were identified within the trade area, "hindering its successful implementation".

Montenegro exported 67.4 million euros this year to the joint markets of CEFTA members and imported 495 million euros worth goods from them.

"Since the multilateral framework came into force, as well as since the

establishment of bilateral trade agreements with CEFTA members, our export-import ratio is improving. This clearly indicates the need to intensify efforts to develop competitive products and remove non-tariff barriers", Filipović said.

May 2009 was the deadline for possible redefinition of trade relations (further liberalisation).

"Chambers of Commerce of the member countries collected the demands and proposals from economic actors and presented them to the state authorities. We expect the new decisions to be agreed upon at the next session of the Joint Committee, which is planned for the end of October and to come into force already early next year", adds Filipović.

Montenegrin Chamber of Commerce plans to organize a CEFTA Forum of Chambers at the upcoming CEFTA



Ljiljana Filipović

week in Podgorica in the last week of October, in order to analyse the results to date, business barriers and proposals for the improvement of mutual relations.

Asked why is CEFTA important for Montenegro's progress towards European Union, Filipović says that "doing business in a larger market means implementing internationally accepted business rules and tougher competition".

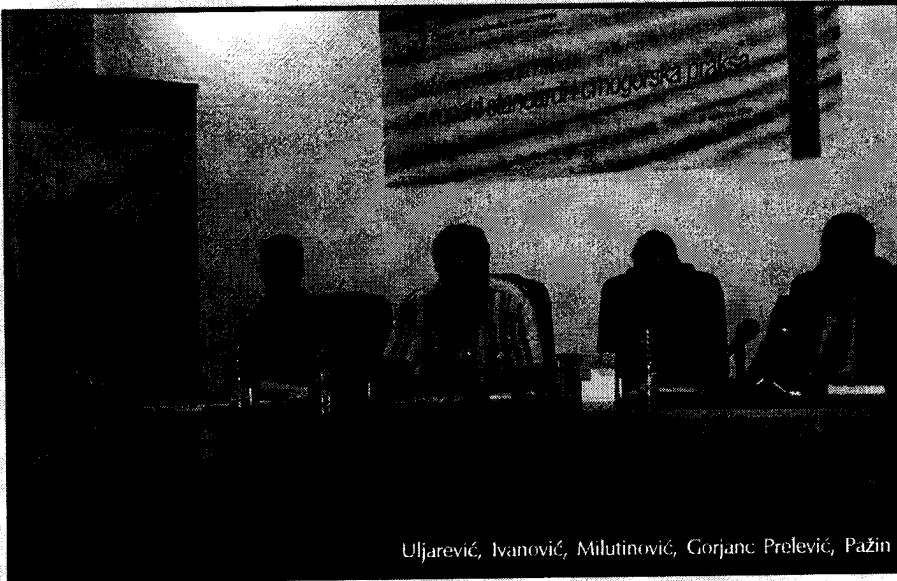
"It's a form of training for broader integration, which was one of the key goals of the previous CEFTA agreement. For Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Slovenia, Romania and Bulgaria, it represented a successful transition to EU integration", reminds Filipović.

In order to strengthen product competitiveness, emphasise quality as the main attribute in conquering larger markets and promote the best Montenegrin products which can realistically compete on international markets, the Chamber of Commerce started the project "Good from Montenegro".

"The Chamber continuously organises educational events where foreign and local experts inform entrepreneurs about the latest practice and demands of international business. Numerous prizes for our producers at international fairs are the proof that we can expect greater competitiveness and a better trade record in the upcoming period", Filipović said.

Mikan MILOŠEVIĆ

Standards and practice



Uljarević, Ivanović, Milutinović, Gorjanc Prelević, Pažin

Centre for Civic Education (CCE) in cooperation with Friedrich Ebert Foundation organised on 30 September 2009 a panel discussion on the topic "Freedom of Expression and Media: European Standards and Montenegrin Practice".

The participants were: temporary editor in chief of the daily Dan **Mladen Milutinović**, executive director of independent daily *Vijesti* **Željko Ivanović**, programme editor of Action for Human Rights **Tea Gorjanc-Prelević** and Montenegro's agent in the European Court for Human Rights **Zoran Pažin**. The discussion was moderated by **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE.

The goal of the panel was to introduce important principles and standards which aid the process of democratization and professionalization of media and judiciary, as well as the general functioning of the society in line with democratic principles, by problematising different views and attitudes towards determinants and limits of freedom of expression.

In Montenegro, cases of libel charges and court verdicts against the media are becoming ever more frequent, begging the question of the balance in observing constitutionally guaranteed rights and European standards in this field.

The topic proved to be a basis for a dynamic discussion which tried to answer some of the important questions, such as: What is freedom of expression? Are there limits to it? Why are there charges against the media? By whom? What is the relevant practice of the European Court for Human Rights and Freedoms? What is gained or lost by verdicts against the media? What is the role of the media in the democratisation process? Does freedom of speech also entail certain responsibilities and obligations? What are the rights and duties of media and judiciary? Does Montenegro have a culture of freedom of expression?

Common determinants of the conflicting views expressed at the panel, both by the speakers and by the numerous participants, were that free media are among the most important pillars of a genuinely democratic society and that they must be guaranteed freedom of expression which, on the other hand, should not be abused. Also, Montenegrin courts ought to rely on the European Convention of Human Rights and practice of the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, which sets the standard which Montenegro must comply with on its road to EU, and which was certainly not the case with the practice of the Montenegrin courts so far.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL
ORGANISATIONS IN
EUROPEAN UNION



EUROPEAN
ASSOCIATION OF
SERVICE PROVIDERS
FOR PERSONS WITH
DISABILITIES (EASPD)

EASPD is a non-governmental organisation active in promoting high quality service for people with disabilities. EASPD represents over 8000 social services and their umbrella organisations across Europe.

The main objective of EASPD is to promote the equalisation of opportunities for people with disabilities across Europe.

EASPD plays a key role as a mediator between disability service providers and policy-making European institutions, working to make European societies more inclusive.

Knowing that 50% of national legislation comes from the EU, EASPD wants to significantly influence European policy affecting socio-economic status of persons with disabilities by having a permanent presence in Brussels and by lobbying and close cooperation with EU institutions and similar organizations in monitoring issues relating to persons with disabilities and improvement of their status in the European societies.

The principles of EASPD are aiming at high quality of services facilitating full participation and inclusion in society in an appropriate way for persons with a disability. To achieve this EASPD is committed to:

- User participation in the development and delivery of services to improve their effectiveness
- Lobbying for the inclusion of EASPD's solutions into the national and European policies regarding persons with disabilities
- Active life long learning opportunities for the staff of service providers
- Focus on accessibility, availability, affordability and adaptability of services

EASPD has a consultant status in the Council of Europe, European Economic and Social Committee and is a full member of the coalition of social NGOs "Social Platform".

More information on EASPD's numerous activities and projects can be found at: www.easpd.eu

Prepared by: **Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ**

A civic road to Europe

German Federal Agency for Civic Education, Robert Bosch Foundation, Institute Ivo Pilar, MitOst and Erste foundation organised a conference in Zagreb between 11 and 13 September on "Challenges and Perspectives of Civic Education in Central and South Eastern Europe"

The three-day conference also included two panels and three workshops with presentations by participants from the region and EU member states, who shared their experi-

ences and lessons learned on the topic of democratic citizenship. **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of Centre for Civic Education also presented at the conference, speaking about the concept of the civic through the lens of Montenegrin formal and informal educational system.

The conference is a part of an ongoing NECE programme which aims at building up a network of activities related to civic education which contribute to Europeanisation.

New generations

Centre for Civic Education completed the enrollment of the VI and VII generation of Human and Minority Rights School and Democracy School. The Schools are to begin in October and the courses will last until the end of 2009. Lectures will be organised twice a week, each lasting 2h, and will be held at CCE. Lecturers are renowned experts on human rights and democracy.

Centre for Civic Education received four times as many appli-

cations as there are places for each of the Schools, which made the selection process very difficult, but also demonstrated that the quality of CCE's programmes is recognised in the most diverse segments of the society.

A total of 52 participants, 26 per generation, will attend the two generations of Human and Minority Rights School, organised with support of the Commission for distribution of profit from fortune games Democracy School, organised

A long process of facing the past

Coalition of non-governmental organisations who are working on the establishment of RECOM (Regional Commission to establish facts on war crimes and other severe violations of human rights on the territory of former Yugoslavia) requested, through its members in Montenegro, from RTCG to commemorate 18 years since the attack on Dubrovnik by showing the documentary "War for Peace" by **Koča Pavlović**, and to organise a debate on this very important aspect of Montenegro's process of facing the past by inviting adequate guests.

Also, the Independent Association of Journalists of Voivodina organised on behalf of the Coalition regional consultations on 26 September in Novi Sad. Among the participants were also representatives of the Montenegrin media – editors and journalists of dailies *Dan* and *Vijesti*, RTCG, TVIN, TV Vijesti, BBC and Beta.

with support of Friedrich Ebert Foundation, will have 30 students.

Montenegrin chances and challenges

Embassy of the Republic of Germany and German Society for South Eastern Europe organised an international symposium in Podgorica on 9 September as a part of a study visit to Montenegro. The eight day long study visit was organised with the aim of introducing members of the Society to developments of the Montenegrin context and broadening their picture of Montenegro.

The symposium was opened by

the German ambassador in Podgorica, **Peter Platte**, and it involved numerous representatives of public institutions, independent media, political parties, non-governmental sector and diplomatic corps, as well as the participants from Germany.

Among the speakers at the symposium were head of the European Commission Delegation in Podgorica **Leopold Maurer**, MP in the Montenegrin Parliament **Raško**

Konjević, representative of the World Bank **Jan-Peter Olters**, head of the Government Office for Cooperation with NGOs **Danka Latković**, director of the Centre for Civic Education **Daliborka Uljarević**, director of the daily *Vijesti* **Željko Ivanović**, former correspondent for Central and South Eastern Europe in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* **Karola Kaps** and member of the board of the Society for South Eastern Europ **Dietrich Schlegel**.

FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:



5TH MMCP DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT TRAINING JAMBOREE

Applicants may apply to attend one of three modules:

- 1: Ethnic Diversity and Conflict Management
- 2: Global and Regional Minority Protection Norms in Local Governance
- 3: Inter-cultural Skills in Local Government

Date: December 10–14, 2009

Location: Budapest, Hungary

Application deadline: October 15, 2009

Selection notification: October 22, 2009

Every year, LGI's Managing Multiethnic Communities Program organizes a major training event that brings together 50–70 trainers, experts, activists, and practitioners to exchange and discuss about diversity issues. These Diversity Management Training Jamborees offer exceptional opportunities to combine capacity building, experiential learning, as well as building professional networks at individual and institutional level.

The five-day Jamboree program is centered around parallel training workshops led by internationally recognized diversity experts and trainers. The workshops are based on a methodology developed

for target audiences to improve the efficiency and impact of their work in ethnically and socially diverse communities. MMCP's network of Jamboree alumni has grown to over 200 active individuals since the first Jamboree in 2006. By joining the MMCP alumni network, participants benefit from continuous mentoring, collaborative project development, access to resources, and other opportunities. More information could be obtained at http://lgi.osi.hu/documents.php?id=2815&m_id=9

THE WEIDENFELD SCHOLARSHIPS AND LEADERSHIP PROGRAMME

The programme is managed by the Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD), a London-based policy organisation; for contact details, see below. The scholarship is tenable only at the University of Oxford. Applicants must be able to demonstrate that they aspire through their professional work to contribute to the public good in their country or region, or on a global basis. Applicants must be able to demonstrate a connection between their subject of study and their longer-term career objectives.

Location: Oxford University, Britain

Application deadline: January 15, 2010

Selection notification: May 2009

Launched in 2007, the programme aims to cultivate the leaders of tomorrow primarily from Eastern Europe, Central Asia, Russia, the Middle East and North Africa. It provides outstanding university graduates and young professionals with the opportunity to pursue graduate studies at the University of Oxford.

Scholars also participate in a comprehensive programme of leadership-skills development, long-term mentoring and networking (including work-placements, pro-bono projects and involvement in a high-level speaker and seminar series).

More in information via e-mail

student.funding@admin.ox.ac.uk, or web page www.admin.ox.ac.uk/io/funding/weidenfeld.shtml)

INTERNATIONAL WINTER SCHOOL ON FEDERALISM AND GOVERNANCE

The Winter School analyzes the phenomena of federalism, regionalism and multi-level governance from a legal and a political science perspective.

In the first edition in February 2010 the focus will be on the role of local government in federal and regional systems. The programme includes multi-level-governance – local government in international, supranational and comparative perspective – local self-government – regional government – intergovernmental relations in compound systems – policies in multi-layered systems – fiscal federalism.

Date: 1–5.2.2010. i 8–12.2.2010.

Location: Bolzano, Innsbruck, Italia, Austria

Application deadline: October 26, 2009

Selection notification: mid-November 2009

The Winter School welcomes participants from all over the world, young researchers or academics with focus on comparative federalism, post-graduate or undergraduate students with basic knowledge of federalism, multi-level governance and constitutional issues, civil servants from a local, regional or national government, employees of international organizations or NGOs dealing with regional and local development.

Participants will have the opportunity to present a working paper during the Winter School. The best papers will be considered for publication, and successful participants of the 10-day-programme are awarded 10 ECTS credits (European Credit Transfer System). The working language is English.

More information at winterschool@eurac.edu, <http://www.eurac.edu>

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Technical Editor: Blažo Crvenica; Language Editor: Milena Milunović;

English Language Editor: Maja Mugoša; Translation: Vera Šćepanović

Njegoševa 36/I; Tel/fax: +382 20 665-112, 665-327; E-mail: ep@cgo-ccc.org, info@cgo-ccc.org

EIC Bulletin – European pulse can be downloaded at the www.cgo-ccc.org