

European pulse

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FOCUS OF THIS ISSUE

Has the Government fulfilled EU's conditions on corruption and crime

interview

President of the National Council overseeing implementation of the Strategy for Eradication of Corruption in Croatia
Dr Željko Joksimović

analysis

Lessons from the negotiations on the status of languages

region

Media autism



Foreword: **Fattening**

Vladan Žugić



Former German ambassador to Montenegro **Peter Platte** said on leaving Podgorica in mid-August that “much has changed in Montenegro since the EC’s opinion in November 2010, much more than in the previous two and a half years”.

That is hard to deny, if we only think back to the cases of **Šarić, Kalić** or Zavala, even if the latter was rather an outcome of internal party struggles rather than of anti-corruption strategies, or if we remember all the courts’ decisions to overnight free the media from defamation charges by the former Prime Minister **Milo Đukanović** and other ruling party officials, tycoons and criminals.

However, a month before the EC should decide whether to begin accession negotiations with Montenegro, while we’re waiting for the results of a slightly tragicomical epic on the status of the Serbian language in education and the electoral law, as the first condition for negotiations, we should ask whether the other six were fulfilled.

Does Montenegro deserve to begin negotiations, if the police is so incapable (or so enmeshed in the organised crime networks) that it can’t figure out who set the fire to four cars of “Vijesti” within one month, or realise that this is an attack on the freedom of the media? Do we deserve to begin negotiations, if the Government is toying with the rights of LGPB people?

Or, what happened to the announcement of the Supreme State Prosecutor, **Ranka Čarapić**, that another large case will be brought to the courts in early August, in addition to **Safet Kalić**? Is she waiting for the outcome of the electoral law, thinking that, if the law is adopted, she’ll process the case, to make sure fight against organised crime is not an obstacle for negotiations. And if not, we can leave the big fish to fatten a little more for the next phase of European integrations.

Calendar

09 - 10. August

Westerwelle: official visit / Every country which aims to become a member of EU ought to respect and guarantee the freedom of expression and the freedom of media. This is of crucial importance for Germany as a friend of Montenegro's European perspective. Germany will therefore continue to support Montenegro's internal reforms and its fight against corruption and organised crime”, said the German Foreign Affairs Minister **Guido Westerwelle** during his first visit to Montenegro, where he met with Montenegrin officials, as well as with the representatives of the media and the NGO sector.

15. August

French ambassador: opposition confused / French ambassador to Podgorica Dominique Gazuy said that the opposition’s demand to equalise the status of the Serbian and Montenegrin languages in the educational system as a condition for its support to the electoral law is Montenegro's internal problem, but that it’s time to stop confusing different issues.

15. August

Language negotiations / Prime Minister **Igor Lukšić** and leaders of the opposition began negotiations on the status of the Montenegrin and Serbian languages in the educational system. The agreement proposed by Lukšić is titled: “Political agreement on certain issues relevant for Montenegro's European integrations”.

22. August

More results in this year than in the previous two together / President of the Parliament **Ranko Krivokapić** called a session of the Parliament to discuss for the seventh time the law on electoral procedures, which was finally agreed and signed by the representatives of DPS, SDP, SNP, Nova and PzP. Nevertheless, the fate of the law is uncertain, as the opposition has conditioned its support upon equalisation of Serbian and Montenegrin languages in education.

Assistance to EU members in crisis is not a challenge for the budget, but for politics

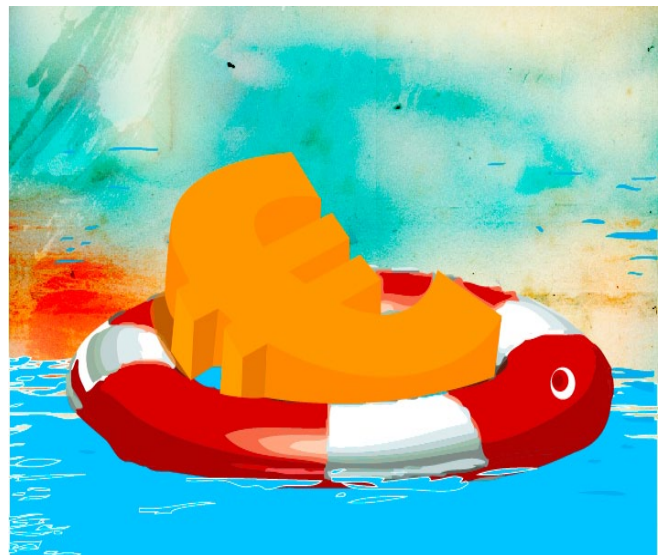
Euro is not in crisis



Yves Bertoncini

The author is Secretary General of the think-tank Notre Europe

The euro is not "in crisis": on the contrary, it is in very good shape as its exchange rate established itself at over 1.4 US dollars in this second part of the month of July - with the disadvantages (for the cost competitiveness of the European products) but also the advantages (especially in terms of energy bills) that this entails. So it would be preferable to refer to the other "crises" that we are experiencing, whilst being more aware that the way in which they are highlighted has very different impacts on the priorities appearing on the agenda of European decision-makers and on the perception of public opinions. If there is a crisis, it is rather an 'economic and monetary union crisis', for which the assessment up until 2008 was very creditable, but whose governance was ill-suited to cope with the stormy conditions in the marketplace. This governance suffered from its original imbalance, underlined by **Jacques Delors** and **Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa** many times, between a lot of emphasis being put on monetary integration, symbolised by the European Central Bank (ECB), and very insufficient economic integration, including in terms of respect for the 'Stability and Growth Pact'. This crisis is also and above all a public and private 'debt crisis', which goes well beyond the Eurozone, as shown by the major financial difficulties experienced by the US but also by the UK despite the devaluation of the pound. This debt crisis constitutes a test for solidarity in the EU, which is not primarily a 'budgetary test' as saving a country like Greece requires granting loans of a limited amount given the wealth of the EU, and the same can be said for the loans to Ireland and Portugal (6% of the eurozone's GDP to the three of them). It is a test of a political nature against a background marked by a hardening of public opinion and messages addressed to the public by national and European officials that are sometimes confused. This test has been passed with the creation of the EFSF, which makes it possible to save countries in financial difficulty and which will now have the option to buy back their debt or to help them in a preventative way. It goes without saying that



the sometimes excessive criticism of past slips by Greece and weaknesses of countries requesting aid from the EU will hardly have helped things. Nor would the overestimation of the costs of European recovery plans for national budgets, or the difficulty in pointing out that the recovery corresponds to the well understood interest of the countries helping out. It goes without saying that, in this sense, a lot will have to be done to smooth out the resentments between different countries before even thinking about going into deeper reflection about a possible pooling of national debts via the issuing of 'European bonds'. In addition, it is important to underline that the origin of the current difficulties is a financial crisis that came from the other side of the Atlantic in 2008, as some people sometimes seem to want to have that forgotten by insisting excessively on the 'crisis of the euro'. The current combination of several 'crises' should encourage us to use this word cautiously. It is not neutral to talk about the 'crisis of the euro' rather than using other more suitable words. Let us hope that heads of state and government can, in this sense, deliver the appropriate messages and responses in the coming months and that officials from the European institutions can do the same, starting with the President of the Commission **José Manuel Barroso**.
Source: EurActiv

Have Montenegrin authorities fulfilled the EC's conditions with regard to corruption and organised crime

Between a pass and a fail



Samir Kajošević

The results of the fight against organised crime and, especially, corruption, could be the greatest obstacle for Montenegro's chances to begin negotiations with the European Union – provided, of course, that the Parliament manages to adopt the electoral law and thus fulfil the first Brussels' requirement. The results of the judiciary and the police in fighting corruption and crime have come down to a handful of trials whose outcome is still uncertain, and a number of anti-corruption laws whose formulation suggests that the government is only willing to go so far as to satisfy the current demands from Brussels in this phase of integrations. This is why, in anticipation of the EC's October Opinion, the Government can be certain that Brussels and the member states will be in fact evaluating its (equally disputable) willingness to fight corruption and crime, and the regional context, rather than any concrete achievements.

President of the Managing Board of CEMI finds that the current results in the fight against crime and corruption are "rather modest", and adds that the beginning of negotiations is not the end, but a new stage in the integration process. "Only then will the Government face the difficult task of fulfilling these demanding conditions".

President of the National Council for European Integrations (NCEI) **Nebojša Medojević** believes that the fight against organised crime and corruption is a task where the Montenegrin government did the least. According to him, in the course of the previous year there was not even pretence of political will to tackle this problem. Medojević therefore expects the EC not to turn a blind eye on Podgorica's weak performance. "We will get the worst grade for the achievements in fighting organised crime. In fact, there has been a clear message from the European centres that in this area there are



no visible achievements. They don't want us to adopt laws, action plans or trainings, the kind of measurable results they expect are arrests and verdicts", Medojević warns. Judging by the pace of implementation of the Action plan for the implementation of EC's recommendations, the last half year Lukšić's Government mainly focused on writing anti-corruption laws and strengthening the capacities of administration through seminars. Thus in the beginning of the summer, in spite of objections from DPS officials, the Parliament adopted amendments to the Law on the prevention of conflict of interests which forbids the MPs to be members of boards of managers of companies. Only after EC's intervention, another restriction was introduced, banning mayors and directors of public companies from membership in the Parliament. Yet, the Law did not make for a more transparent selection of members to the Commission for the prevention of conflict of interest, allowing party cadres to continue to head this body. There were also changes in the Law on political party financing which strengthens the control of money flows to political parties, but there was no regulation of the functioning of the State electoral commission, which is in charge of implementing this law. As before, the Commission will be lead by a representative of

Corruption gnaws the guardians

Medojević warned that thanks to long-term tolerance of public institutions the corruption became an enormous, structural problem which permeates the entire system. "If we say that Montenegro is a state-hostage, where special interests are guiding the Government's policies, laws in the Parliament and decisions of the judges, then there's nothing to be done to rescue it. Our social system is in a metastasis with regard to corruption. The best examples are the Commission for public procurement or the Commission for the prevention of the conflict of interests", Medojević said.

the ruling coalition. In late July the Parliament also adopted a Law on public procurement, the area most heavily ridden by corruption, and the MPs are still to vote on the laws on police, free access to information, public officials and employees and State Audit Institution. President of the Managing Board of Monitoring Centre (CEMI) Zlatko Vujović said that these laws have visibly improved Montenegro's record in fulfilling the EC's conditions, but that this is still not enough. Igor Lukšić's Government also made a huge step forward compared to his predecessor's cabinet by consulting the civil sector during the drafting process of the Action plan for the fight against corruption and organised crime. Yet, most of the provisions of this Action Plan have remained on paper. "Unfortunately, there was almost no progress in the implementation of the new Action plan. The reform of the institutional anti-corruption framework was postponed, so we can't expect the current institution, with the same personnel, to achieve any more significant results in fighting corruption", warned Vujović, who is also a member of the National Commission for the Fight Against Corruption and Organised Crime. The 4th and 5th condition set by the European Commission in late 2010 ask for "improvement of anti-corruption legal framework and implementation of the Government's Strategy for the fight against corruption and organised crime and action plan; establishment of a strong mechanism to monitor investiga-

The Police Directorate initiated seven financial investigations, while the Prosecution has begun financial investigations on Darko Šarić and Safet Kalić

tions, prosecutions and enforcement of verdicts, on all levels; strengthening of the fight against organised crime based on threat assessment and proactive investigations; strengthened cooperation with regional and EU partners; more efficient processing of criminal intelligence and increased capacities for law enforcement and coordination". President of the Managing Board of CEMI finds that the current results in the fight against crime and corruption are "rather modest", and adds that the beginning of negotiations is not the end, but a new stage in the integration process. This is why he expects that the EC will be mostly evaluating Government's commitment to the fulfilment of European criteria: "Only then will the Government face the difficult task of fulfilling these demanding conditions". The number of arrests and verdicts in cases related to corruption and organised crime clearly confirms that the Government is not planning any radical changes in this phase of integrations. The arrest of the high officials of the Municipality of Budva in the corruption-related case "Zavala", among whom **Dragan Marović**, brother of the vice president of DPS **Svetozar Marović** and the mayor of Budva **Rajko Kuljača** ended with their release from detention. Together with the DPS MP **Đorđe Pinjatić**, who in the meantime returned to the Parliament, they are still waiting for the



Electoral law a smokescreen for inertia of police and prosecution

According to Vujović, the whole uproar around the electoral law has served to push the discussion on corruption and crime into the background. This takes the public attention away from the more difficult conditions, while turning the question of the beginning of negotiations into political bickering and artificially created disagreements.

“The ruling coalition couldn’t have done it alone, they got a hearty support from the opposition, which uses these debates to rally its voters and distribute their numbers internally. As the time goes by I believe the passions will subside, and that with some intervention from the European officials we will get the necessary majority for the adoption of the electoral law, and subsequently the date for negotiations”, Vujanović said.

Unlike him, Medojević claims that Milo Đukanović’s close associates do not want the start of negotiations. This way, opposition can be blamed for obstructing the progress towards EU, while the question of corruption will remain in the background.

“I’m only asking to adopt the electoral law, in order to get to the results of the police, national security agency and prosecution. Then the EC could point out the real problems in the fulfilment of EU’s conditions”.

beginning of the trial in late September. In the meantime, the EU Delegation in Podgorica found that the Police has fair cooperation with their counterparts in other countries, citing cooperation with the police in Serbia and Italy (in the case of Šarić), as well as Germany and Spain (breaking up the drug trafficking chain). Apart from the arrest of Budva’s officials, the Police Directorate initiated seven financial investigations, while the Prosecution has begun financial investigations on **Darko Šarić** and **Safet Kalić**. Although 876 000 euro and 55 000 dollars have been “frozen” on the suspects’ accounts, so far there were no verdicts mandating confiscation of criminally acquired property. Medojević believes that the cases of Šarić and Kalić are excellent examples of how the “big fish” get away while the law ends up persecuting their associates and family. He believes that corruption

has become the glue that holds together the criminals with all levels of government, which makes it very difficult to break up the network of corrupt politicians, officials and public institutions. “It is clear that corruption has become a system of behaviour and that thousands of people in this network who are politically linked to DPs are profiting from it. This leaves no space for changes, even after a change of leadership, unless the new leaders want to arrest their party comrades”. Yet, Vujović believes that in spite of Brussels’ insistence on criteria, the beginning of negotiations won’t only depend on Montenegro’s achievements. European Union’s decisions are, according to him, not merely a result of technical application of norms, but also take into account the regional political context. He stressed that Montenegro has realistic chances to begin negotiations because of the situation of other countries of the Western Balkans which are also awaiting negotiations. “I believe that the regional political context will help Montenegro to get the date for negotiations perhaps more easily than we have hoped. After Angela Merkel’s visit to Belgrade and Germany’s positive interest in Montenegro it became clearer that the EU wants to use Montenegro as a positive example, and as encouragement to the countries in the region that Europe is still open to enlargement, in spite of stricter rules”, he said. The prospect of the beginning of negotiations next year could, according to NCEI’s president, bring some advance also in the fight against organised crime and corruption. Once the negotiations begin, he believes, the new, concrete demands would force the Government to enact real changes, even if this will be more difficult to implement. “This external pressure would produce, as in the cases of Croatia and Bulgaria, a new Government which is ready to make radical moves for the sake of European integrations. For starters, that would mean a change in personnel in key positions, such as the leadership of the Police Directorate, Agency for National Security and State Prosecution”, Medojević said.

Linguistic differences between the government and the opposition

Overripe political elite

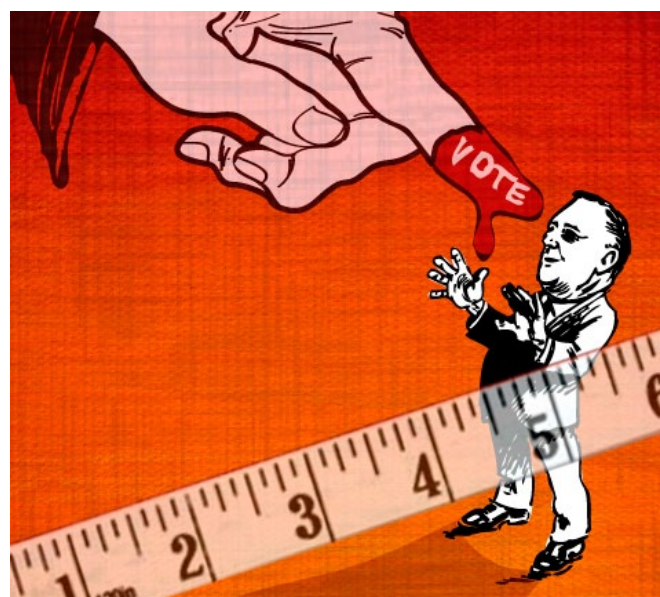


Neđeljko Rudović

Does Montenegro deserve to get the date for the beginning of negotiations with EU and thus make another step towards the membership in the Union? Looking at the Montenegrin “political elite”, it would appear that all Montenegro deserves now is an urgent, thorough political purge, a punishment squad which would painfully bring the so called party leaders and deputies to their senses, and make them learn that their job is not a child’s play but a serious business, and the outcome of it will decide whether the society they pretend to lead will remain in the Balkan bog or climb into the society of serious states where politics doesn’t mean the art of stubbornness, but the skill in finding solutions. The failure, or it seems the lack of interest in reaching an agreement on the status of the Serbian language in the educational system painfully stressed once more the incompetence of Montenegrin politicians, and possibly their lack of willingness to

Looking at the Montenegrin “political elite”, it would appear that all Montenegro deserves now is a punishment squad which would painfully bring the so called party leaders and deputies to their senses

make even the smallest efforts to help Montenegro join the family of European nations. They began serious negotiations on the electoral law only after a “warning” from the German foreign minister **Guido Westerwelle**, and the even managed to agree, but it all seems to be in vain as it now appears that without an agreement on the Serbian language the opposition won’t support the electoral law, providing the necessary 2/3 majority for its adoption. This means that Montenegro probably won’t get the date for the beginning of membership negotiations. Nevermind whose fault it was, and both the government and the opposition are to blame, what is obvious is that the Montenegrin politicians don’t have the slightest clue of their role and responsibility. Or, they are actively obstructing the interests of their voters and their country. The ques-



tion is, why? Is it ignorance, lack of vision, lack of political courage or simply the certainty that there won’t be any punishment? The latter seems the most likely explanation: the ruling DPS and SDP have nothing to worry about, since the last 13 years have shown that the current oppositional constellation can’t do them any damage, even once it became painfully evident that politics for them is just another way to greater incomes and privileges. The opposition also has nothing to worry about because they believe that, regardless of their blunders and failures, they will remain in politics, because there is no serious new political structure that could bring them to their senses and that would start doing politics with the sole goal of delivering a better, more honest government to the country. What would be the punishment squat that would bust the self-importance of these leaders and deputies? Do we need a new party that would take Montenegro forward and for who politics won’t just be the easiest way to make money? Or do we need new leaders and new visions for the existing parties? Are they at all capable of producing them? So far there are no answers to this question, but they should better come up soon if Montenegro really wants a European perspective and a status of a modern, economically prosperous and well-governed country. Else, we don’t deserve membership negotiations, nor the membership, nor EU.

President of the Council for oversight of implementation of the Strategy for Eradication of Corruption in the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia, Željko Jovanović

Verdicts and confiscations ure against corruption cancer

Fines for parties whose officials engaged in corruption

“I would like to add that we also have the law on criminal responsibility of legal persons, which means that if, for instance, there is a positive verdict against the former prime minister and president of HDZ Ivo Sanader for corruption and “black funds” of his party which sucked out the money from state-owned companies, then there is also a question of criminal responsibility of HDZ as a legal person. In this case, HDZ could be fined by 5 million kuna and is liable to pay back all damages it did to the public companies, whose money it abused to finance the needs of the party, as well as personal needs of Sanader and his closest collaborators in HDZ”, explains Jovanović.



The first cases tackled by the National Council for oversight of implementation of the Strategy for Eradication of Corruption, a body of the Croatian Parliament, were those of corruption in Customs Authority and treasury of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). The body forced all state-owned companies to adopt action plans, and their thematic sessions on corruption in economy, media, health and the University have done a lot to raise the citizens' awareness of the need of active participation in the fight against corruption, said the president of the National Council, dr Željko Jovanović, in the interview for *European Pulse*.

The Council was established by a decision of the Croatian Parliament in early 2006. It consists of MPs, representatives of employers, trade unions, NGOs dealing with corruption issues, as well as representatives of the academic community and the media. National Council has a President who is appointed from the ranks of the opposition and ten members. Opinions of the Council are adopted by a ma-

jority vote, and presented to the public by its president.

The 2006 Resolution on European Integrations of the Parliament of Montenegro already contained the initiative to establish a similar body in Montenegro. However, the ruling coalition keeps refusing opposition's proposals, insisting that such a body would overlap with the parliamentary Defence and Security Committee or the National Commission for the fight against corruption and organised crime, where the Parliament has only two representatives, and whose sessions have only recently been opened to the public.

» How does the National Council work? Does it have the right to organise control or consultation hearings, how does it cooperate with the police, prosecution and other actors?

National Council is a Parliamentary body whose task is to oversee the implementation of the national Strategy for Eradication of Corruption, which includes active cooperation with the law enforcement bodies through analyses of the periodical reports of the police, State Prosecutor of the Republic of Croatia (DORH), as well as other actors relevant to the implementation of the strategy.

National Council follows systematically the work of the police and DORH, organises thematic sessions on all issues relevant to the fight against corruption, and insists on greater cooperation between police and DORH in process-

ing all corruption-related cases as quickly as possible, from investigation to the verdict.

The only effective cures for the cancer of corruption are court verdicts and confiscation of all property acquired through corruption.

Partly thanks to our work, Croatia today has an action front consisting of the police, state prosecution and corruption courts, and I believe that the legal and institutional framework guarantee more success in the fight against corruption than ever before.

However, the results are still not visible, as there is still not a single verdict in a case of high-level political corruption.

» The decision on the National Council says that it also reviews complaints of individuals and companies. How often do you receive such complaints? Can these complaints be anonymous?

The National Council has to consider all complaints, whether submitted by the legal persons or citizens, and we also take into consideration anonymous complaints, which in accordance with our competencies we forward to the relevant bodies and ask them to act according to legal provisions.

National Council does not conduct investigations or issue verdicts, but its authority has helped to initiate processes on numerous corruption affairs in state-owned companies.

The Council has received compliments on its work from President Ivo Josipović as well as from the European Commission, whose reports on the Croatia's fulfilment of requirements of accession emphasised the driving role of the National Council in advancing the fight against corruption. On average, we get at least one complaint per day.

» What would you single out as the greatest achievement of the National Council in fighting corruption?

The National Council was the first to point out the shortcomings of the Strategy which did not envisage any action plans, e.g. for Kalmeta's Ministry for Sea, Transport and Infrastructure which was up to its neck in corruption. We insisted that all state owned companies should adopt anti-corruption action plans, and

we were the first to open up the case on the treasurer of HDZ and director of Customs Authority Barišić and talk about the Customs Authority as the nest of corruption. Our thematic sessions on corruption in the economy, media, health and the University helped a lot to raise the citizens' awareness of the need of active participation in anti-corruption fight. Today the National Council is an active participant in the drafting of all strategic and action anti-corruption initiatives in Croatia.

» Does the Croatian Law on the Prevention of the Conflict of Interests contain provisions that regulate confiscation of property acquired through such conflicts, or is this matter regulated by another act? I am asking because Montenegro recently adopted amendments to the Law on the Prevention of the Conflict of Interests, as demanded by EC, but the Government refused to include a provision to block or confiscate illegally acquired property. The Government's explanation was that such provisions already exist in the Criminal Code.

The creation Law on the Prevention of the Conflict of Interests is more or less in line with EU regulations, and is primarily a tool for prevention, not repression.

It envisages fines for all officials found in the situation of conflict of interest, while sanctions against corruption which is a consequence of the conflict of interests are provided for in the criminal code.

Legal provisions that regulate confiscation of property whose origin cannot be established are a huge step forward in dealing with all those who made fortunes by illegal means in the last 20 years in Croatia.

» Does the Croatian legislation contain provisions that allow annulment of contracts and other acts created during the conflict of interests? That was another suggestion of the Commission which our Government refused, explaining that it would be retroactive in nature, which is contrary to the Constitution.

Every damaging contract concluded against the legal regulations can be annulled, and the person which concluded such a contract will be held responsible.

Thank you, SKOJ!*



Brano Mandić

Listening to José Feliciano, like a grandma, resting my brain and limbs, I'm on a painfully earned holiday, but the deadlines descend even when you think you've escaped them. The worst is when you don't feel the need to write, but somebody expects you to deliver a brilliant opinion on the dot. This week, unfortunately, I don't have that problem. This week, one kid did something that should make anyone who ever touched the pen sit down and write. Even something short and urgent, anything to make sure that the crime in Nikšić is not covered up in silence.v

The kid stabbed 40 times a man who could be his grandfather. He took out his left eye, burned his hair, and drew a pentagram on the wall with a message. Let all the fucking Montenegro see what I've done. The murder of **Laza Tripković**, a composer, chansonnier and a children's poet, is probably the most monstrous one in this country since the war. The crime happened in Nikšić, the second largest city in Montenegro, in the neighbourhood Rastoci, with rows of unfinished buildings with gray facades. Behind these walls there are often flats of the former workers of the Nikšić Steel plant, living from one day to the next and wondering what they did wrong. There's another Montenegro, which rarely appears before the television cameras.

Of course, whatever ominous poverty and heavy air transpires from the streets of Rastoci, we can't have an entirely "social" explanation of the young man's horrendous crime. Such an approach would be a sociological escape into the sphere of ready-made solutions and simple conclusions – the kid didn't get a chance to do better. We don't know how he went mad. But it doesn't mean that part of the problem isn't in the fact that the young people in Montenegro are treated more or less like pensioners. They don't have the right to participate in anything, except perhaps to get a few euros to put up some election posters. They turn to alcohol, especially in Nikšić. They can play small-pitch

football and that's about it. Or maybe there's some church hawk trying to recruit them for the right thing. Apart from that, they're on their own. Their voice can't be heard on the TV, no news desk in any paper writes about issues important to them. There's no place for them in party youth committees unless they want to be castrated, so their only chance is the university, and our universities are not exactly the top of the European education, to put it mildly. Just check how many betting agencies are in Nikšić, where the people walk around the streets with rolled-up sports betting bulletins instead of newspapers. When we see all that, we can say we have a wonderful youth, given that they haven't slaughtered us all yet. Or, we have terrified, semi-educated little cogs who are getting old without deviating from the system they inherited from their fathers. Either way, it's hard to imagine the murder in Nikšić in different circumstances. For instance, it's almost impossible to imagine it done by somebody who was not born in the 1990s. In this specific case, 1994, which we skilfully suppressed but, as we can see, it hasn't forgotten us.



* Youth Communist League of Yugoslavia (Savez komunističke omladine Jugoslavije, SKOJ)

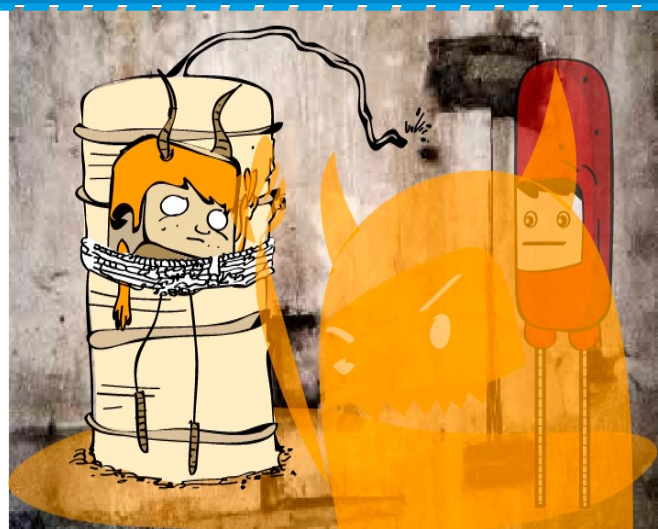
2.

Today I was in Bar, the third largest city in Montenegro. Boys and girls have money for clothes. Everything is sparkling with high heels, white trousers and tight shorts. Around midnight, they all move to a certain bar. To have fun. What does fun look like? Alcohol, monotonous music and looking around the bar. The point is to look carefully and wait for something to happen. I did it myself, just to remind myself what it's like to be a teenager or a student in Montenegro. They're all in uniforms, dressed alike. Nearly identical hair-styles, the way the couples kiss, the way they say hello... And so on, every evening, until the bottom of the bottle of deodorant. In the days of old, such events used to be called village "sittings". Culturally, there is hardly a change. Except now the sittings are every evening, and the excitement is low. Everything has to be powered by the fire-water, in order to sometimes touch the meaning.

In Bar, like in Nikšić, there is no theatre, cinema, students' cultural centre. They keep the fancy clothes for the next summer, for the same tables and the same DJ. In Montenegro the government is always hard to overthrow, so in every smaller city there's a crowd which entrenches itself behind the mixer, and the opposition smokes up in parks. God help them. The biggest difference I ever saw between Montenegro and European Union countries is in their parks. Here the parks are for rejects, there they are for dispensable foil barbecues and stylish blankets for lying down and reading some fat book as becomes to pretentious age of spiritual development.

3.

The lack of any clear strategy for youth can lead to an apocalyptic scenario. When they grow old, the young will become perfect copies of their parents. Because the time doesn't stand still, all stagnation means falling behind. I think we're already on this path and nobody cares. We'll blame the sects for murders, we'll blame the West for drugs, and we'll blame Darwin for the little DPS



zealots. And we'll be fine, like I feel better when I see a new bend here and there and that not everybody is perfectly fit for the brave new world that awaits them. Yet, even those can't be trusted. Here's a true story:

They have their first video, they're making their first album, from high-school concerts towards serious production. They have a few rebellious songs. They're scrambling and fighting in a country where rock'n'roll failed to appear when it should have. One day, the base player writes an article for a newspapers about a guy who is abusing the situation and organising concerts in a way that usually leaves the bands out of the picture. Boys and girls from the bend gather to discuss the text. A committee, man! They immediately decide to fire the base player, because he is endangering their business plans and career development. Then they go into the studio to record a song about freedom. That's how it goes in Montenegro, where you never know which Stalinist purge might take you. And that's why we have the rock'n'roll and the opposition that we have. Economic crisis can only sharpen the focus and confront the society with its inability to create new values. We wish all the best for the graduates of Montenegrin universities which are mushrooming on every corner, in step with the betting agencies. It is, after all, the task of the parents to do their best, and try to send their children to spend their student days somewhere else. Somewhere where they won't be seen as a social phenomenon, but asked to come up with some contribution and even get money for it.

Sarajevo based organisation Popolari tries to understand what can BiH learn from Croatia in the process of European integrations

Good neighbours



What can Bosnia and Herzegovina, a country which together with Kosovo tags at the very back of the line for European integrations, learn about this process from Croatia, the first country of our region to officially become the 28th EU member state in 2013? In cooperation with European Stability Initiative (ESI), Sarajevo-based think tank Popolari tries to answer this question in its project “Good neighbours”.

According to Popolari, if there was to be an opinion poll among the politicians in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the only thing they would all agree on would be the BiH's future in EU. Without analysing in detail what exactly they mean by that, it is quite impressive to find the elite in Bosnia and Herzegovina so firmly agreeing on an issue. There is hardly a leader in the country who has not declared that for BiH there is no alternative to membership in EU.

However, in spite of the unanimous support for EU integration, the country is yet to begin tackling the enormous load of requirements it has to fulfil before it reaches the goal. The gap between the commitments undertaken by politicians and BiH and the real situation on the ground is often enormous. For instance BiH is still the only country on the Balkans (apart from Kosovo) which has not submitted an official membership application to the Council of EU. Bosnia and Herzegovina began the accession process in 2008, when it signed the Stabilisation and Association Agreement.

Food Safety, Veterinary and phytosanitary policy

Milk production is considered a strategic segment of BiH's agricultural sector. Involving cattle, sheep and goats husbandry, milk production is the most common form of agricultural production. About 100 000 farm households keep cows, and approximately 33 000 of these produce milk for commercial purposes. In 2010, BiH exported 38.6 million litres of milk to Croatia, accounting for 53% of total milk export. “Good Neighbours” project will follow with special interest the ways in which the new procedures, harmonised with EU standards, influence the dynamic of milk production.

On the other hand, the neighbouring Croatia finished the official negotiations process in June 2011 and will most probably become the 28th EU member state in July 2013. As the first country in the Western Balkans to complete this process, Croatia faced a unique challenge – even to begin all the necessary reforms was a novelty and a challenge. Given the complex structure of *acquis communautaire* which continues to grow, Croatia would have been grateful for any help at the time it began negotiations, but very little help was forthcoming.

“We had nobody to tell us something about this experience, at least nobody from the region”, says **Mira Medić**, member of the Croatian team for accession negotiations.

Fortunately, this is not the case with Bosnia and Herzegovina. In light of improved regional co-operation, ten years later, BiH is in a much better position. While they are still in the last phase of the accession process the Croatian experts can certainly help Bosnia and Herzegovina a lot to accelerate the pace of this process by exchanging relevant knowledge.

Aware of this potential, Populari initiated the project “Good neighbours”, which aims to shift EU-related debates in BiH, currently saturated with politics and ideology, into an arena where practical steps and concrete solutions about the tasks required for BiH's European future are addressed. “In collaboration with the European Stability Initiative, we wish to take advantage of the opportunity to employ Croatian know how, through opening a forum for discussion about the practicalities of EU Accession”, explains the organisation.

Using concrete stories from Croatia, the Good Neighbours project will examine useful segments of Croatia's negotiation and accession processes, with a specific focus on the Food Safety and Environment acquis chapters. As the Croatian experience demonstrates, the implementation of EU standards has a direct impact on citizens' lives in both of these sectors. The two areas not only paint a larger picture of what needs to be done in BiH, but also where it stands at the moment.

In a similar way, we in Montenegro can also see what has been done in Montenegro and where we stand at the moment. For more information, visit the section “Good Neighbours” at the www.populari.org. According to the organisation, the website will be regularly updated in the course of the project in order to provide as much information as possible.

Environment

Accession to EU means better services for citizens, more recycling, adequate waste disposal, sanitation, inspections, procedures. This complex chapter of acquis contains more than 200 legal acts aimed at the protection of the environment based on principles of sustainable development.

Between 2007 and 2011 Croatia secured 96.7 million euro of EU assistance for environmental projects.

As for BiH, the latest EU progress reports points out that there is still a significant gap between the legislations in EU and in BiH, especially with regard to recycling in priority waste channels.

Happy Danes, happy Greeks

In spite of the economic and debt crisis, two thirds of Europeans feel happy and content, according to the results of a Hamburg based Future Foundation. The study indicates that Danes are the happiest Europeans – 96% of the respondents said they were happy. In spite of the profound crises in their countries, Greeks (80%) and Italians (79%) are right behind, while the Germans are the biggest pessimists – only 61% said they were happy. The only ones worse than the Germans are the Poles, with 50% “happy” respondents. In all the countries surveyed women were on average happier than men, inhabitants of villages happier than those living in cities, and the youth was the happiest part of the population in all these countries.

Precious “hallo” in Sofia

European Commission warned the Bulgarian commission for telecommunications to take measures against excessively high prices of mobile telephony, which are higher for the inhabitants of the poorest EU member than for anybody else in the Union. Bulgarian regulatory commission reduced the prices to 6.64 eurocents/minute in July 2010, after the Commission already sent a similar warning in early 2009. In January 2011, the average price of a minute in EU was already at 4.91 eurocents and continuing to fall. Regulatory commission threatened the telecommunications companies with fines, but the fines seem laughable compared to the profits, as they are set between 25 and 500 euro per week.

Homophobia the Czech way

One of the closest collaborators of the Czech President **Vaclav Klaus**, **Petr Hajek**, called the first Gay Pride in Prague, on 13 August, a “political demonstration of perverted values”, and the homosexuals “deviants”. Hajek asked the mayor of Prague **Bohuslav Svoboda**, who allowed the Pride to happen, to leave the Civic Democratic Party of the Prime Minister **Petr Nečas**, which was originally founded by Klaus. The Prague branch of Klaus’ and Nečas’ conservatives condemned this attack. Hajek already became notorious for his theories that smoking is not bad for health, and he is doggedly refusing Darwin’s theory of evolution because he doesn’t believe that he himself could have come “from some monkey”. So far there was no Gay Pride in Prague because of all the post-communist countries Czechs are in fact the most tolerant towards sexual minorities. Without any public demonstrations, they managed a few years ago to legalise same-sex marriages, and they have a stable support for it of around 68% of the population. The only right the Czechs would deny to same-sex couples is the right to adopt children.

Poland opens its borders

Polish President **Bronislaw Komorowski** signed on 26 August the law on amnesty illegal immigrants in Poland, whose number is estimated at 50 to 70 000. This decision is an exception in the EU which has been facing increasing resistance to migration due to economic difficulties and inflows of a large number of illegal immigrants in some member states. The amnesty applies to those foreigners who are illegally residing in Poland since before 20.12.2007, as well as those who have been refused the refugee status before 01.01.2010, but who remain on the Polish territory. Illegal immigrants in Poland, or those who illegally overstay their permits, usually come from Ukraine, Georgia, Chechnya or Armenia, but also from Vietnam or the Middle East

Media reporting on neighbouring countries as a reflection of their relations

Media autism



The media sometimes they are just not interested in the processes in the neighbouring countries, treating them as events in some far away countries. At other times they are biased, zooming in on scandals in order to portray the neighbour in a negative light.

Media reporting on neighbouring countries among the former members of a common Yugoslav state is in some ways a reflection of their relations. In spite of the proclaimed goal to reinstitute good neighbourly relations for the sake of European integrations, after the traumatic experiences of the 1990s, tensions are still common, and some fundamental problems still unsolved, making the normalisation of relations in this region more difficult. This is also reflected in the ways in which the media report on events and processes in the neighbouring countries. Sometimes they are just not interested, treating them as events in far away countries, and other times they are biased, zooming in on scandals in order to portray the neighbour in a negative light.

SERBIA: According to some journalists and media experts, Serbian media's reporting on events in the neighbouring countries is fairly simplistic and sketchy. These are either formal reports on political elites or attentive dwellings on scandal-like events. Between these two extremes, Serbian citizens have very little insight in the lives

of ordinary people in their near neighbourhood, their needs, attitudes or opinions. Velimir Kazić, director of Ebart media archive lists Kosovo as the most flagrant example of this media approach: "Apart from the conflicts and incidents between Serbs and Albanians, their leadership etc, we can find very little about the life of an average citizen of Kosovo, whether a Serb or an Albanian". In absence of quality, reliable information on the lives of the neighbours in our region, Serbian citizens have a chance to find out about them via a small sample of foreign newspapers and electronic media available through cable networks. According to the experts, media reporting on the neighbours is very much in line with the behaviour of their political elites. The influence of politics on the media is obvious, with the direct consequence that the public has no realistic picture of the situation in its neighbourhood. According to Rade Veljanovski, professor at the Political Science Department of the University of Belgrade, it is worrying that once again we are facing a rapprochement between editorial policies with the politics of the ruling elites – a picture chillingly reminiscent of the times of the breakup of former Yugoslavia.

This rapprochement, according to Veljanovski, helps the media to survive: "It is well known that in both Serbia and the region the media is still not genuinely free and independent and that their existence is closely tied to the opinions of the politicians or their tycoons, resulting in a very detrimental symbiosis with journalists and editors, even those who opposed such trends in the 1990s. But most of our journalists are still unable

to break away of negative tendency to follow the politics in their country”, Veljanovski said.

BiH: Events and news from the neighbouring countries are almost inevitably treated as regional phenomena in Bosnia and Herzegovina, often with repercussions for the political developments inside the country. The exposure of some event in a neighbouring country to media attention also depends whether the TV, radio or newspaper in question is based in this or that part of the country, carefully divided along the borders of entities. Still, generally it seems that news from Serbia, Croatia and Montenegro are much more and more frequently present in BiH than the other way around. Because of the difficult financial situation in this country, there are fewer and fewer media with permanent correspondents in the neighbouring countries, so the information mostly comes through exchange or through news agencies. Such news is categorised as “regional interest” and has a very important place in the oldest BiH daily “Oslobodenje”, says the editor in chief Vildana Selimbegović. An opinion poll showed that less than 20% of the population believes that the media are doing their job professionally, while more than 50% of the respondents said that the media are somewhat professional. According to the same study, almost 90% of the respondents said that the media are always propagating one political option, and fuelling national tensions.

CROATIA: According to the analysts, Croatian media are less and less interested in foreign affairs, and they only report on the region when the event has to do with Croatia. Croatian media report on the neighbouring countries much like the neighbouring media report on Croatia – little or not at all, says media expert and professor at the University in Zadar, Stjepan Malović. “Everything comes down to top-level political protocol, if there are some official visits, or to scandals and sensations in line with the good old habits of contemporary media. What goes on in the real life, what happens in Ljubljana which is an hour and a half away from Zagreb, or Belgrade, which

The report on the water levels in Croatian rivers begins with their levels on the Croatian borders, even if the river comes from Slovenia and flows into Danube somewhere near Belgrade, and we have no idea what are the levels in Slovenia or Serbia. That’s a kind of blindness, autism.”

is also not that far, or in Sarajevo or Podgorica – we only find out through some other channels, not through the media. To me that’s a kind of autism”, says Stjepan Malović. Professor Malović illustrates this media autism through the news on water levels in Croatian rivers on the Croatian radio: “Analysing the media I noticed that the report on the water levels in Croatian rivers begins with their levels on the Croatian borders, even if the river comes from Slovenia and flows into the Danube somewhere near Belgrade, and we have no idea what are the levels in Slovenia or Serbia. That’s a kind of blindness, autism.” Foreign affairs are generally neglected in the Croatian media, says the president of the Croatian Association of Journalists, Zdenko Duka. “Austerity” resulted in elimination of correspondents in many world centres, as well as in all countries of the region, except BiH. With rare exceptions, says Duka, they only report on the events which are somehow related to Croatia or Croats in the neighbouring countries: “Some things we know about, as in the case of the yacht which was confiscated from a Serbian TV mogul. What happened there? I can hardly find out if I only read the news from a single country. All of them have different versions, justifying this or that side, but that’s not journalism, that’s advocacy”, says professor Malović.

KOSOVO: Media in Kosovo are mostly focused on events in Serbia, Albania and Macedonia, primarily because of their influence in Kosovo itself, and because of the Albanian population living in these countries.

Source: Radio Free Europe

Why is there no European Union team

Sport takes money



The European Union gained competences in the field of sports by the Lisbon Treaty. EU sports policy is administered by a dedicated sports unit working under the auspices of the European Commission's directorate-general for education and culture, meaning that funding is handled by that department too

Annual funding for the EU's sports policy must increase dramatically in order for the results to improve, an independent evaluation has concluded. Total EU funding for the bloc's nascent sports policy amounts to €25.5 million for the period 2009-2011, or three times less than recommended by the study. This autumn, European Commission will decide how much money to allocate to the sports, ahead of the expected launch of a fully-fledged programme in 2014. The European Union gained competences in the field of sports by the Lisbon Treaty, which came into force on 1 December 2010. Article 165 of the agreement gave the EU the task to develop special sports programmes to be financed from the EU budget. In a document titled "Development of European dimension in sports", published on 18 January 2011, the European Commission offered a detailed proposal for the sports policy. However, the document remained in the background of the worries among the EU politicians on the amount of money available for the financing of new sports programmes in the Union. According to a study conducted

in the first half of 2011, an annual budget of at least €20 million is required if the EU is to reap the full benefit of its actions in the field of sport. The evaluation – designed to assess the relevance, effectiveness and added value of actions taken by the EU – was carried out in the first half of 2011 by a consortium of companies led by Italy's Economisti Associati and including pollsters Ipsos-MORI. Most funding so far went to transnational projects, funded by the European Commission, which were broadly successful in providing policy support, spreading best practice, testing the viability of networks and strengthening the European dimension of sport, the researchers found. Transnational projects have the greatest potential for achieving EU added value across the range of priorities reflected in EU sports policy and as such should receive the majority (75%) of funding, their report concluded. Other so-called 'preparatory actions' included campaigns, brochures and conferences to raise awareness of the EU's new powers in the field of sport, the establishment of networks and forums for exchanging best practice on EU sports policy, and budgetary contributions to sports competitions like the Youth Olympics or Special Olympics. But it was difficult to translate project outcomes into tangible lessons for policymakers given the short timeframe involved and their experimental nature, the researchers found. Also, "it was difficult for projects to claim EU-level relevance, for example when mapping activities were carried out in a limited sample of coun-

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tries," their report concluded. EU sports policy is administered by a dedicated sports unit working under the auspices of the European Commission's directorate-general for education and culture, meaning that funding is handled by that department too. **Dennis Abbot**, spokesman for **Androulla Vassiliou**, the EU commissioner responsible for sport, told EurActiv that "this is an independent report for the Commission which provides a useful contribution to its work". "The Commission is currently working on a proposal for a sport sub-programme which would be part of the future programme for education, training and youth (2014-2020)," he explained. Preparations for the launch have long been marred by concerns about how much funding will be available for EU sports policies after sweeping budget cuts in European capitals led to pressure for the Brussels budget to be slashed. Article 165 of the Lisbon Treaty, on which the EU's competence in the field of sport is based, provides only a legal basis for action and makes no specific promises of funding. "An in-house impact assessment is currently being carried out to prepare the future programme. The proposed amounts for the sport sub-programme will be decided by the Commission in the autumn," Abbot said. Meanwhile, the researchers found that networks function better if workload is shared equally between partners. Similarly, financial responsibility should lie with more than one actor. The report recommended doing more to emphasise the EU added value of projects, even in activities aimed at the general public at local level. Transnational projects should run for longer – up to three years, in line with similar initiatives supported by other Com-



mission programmes – and funding should be increased to around €15 million per year from the current €8.5m, it argued. This would allow policymakers to pursue more ambitious objectives and activities, and boost the projects' cost effectiveness, it concluded. The most successful such projects were designed to facilitate cooperation and exchanges of best practice between sports organisations in Europe so that discrepancies between different sports from one EU country to the next can be addressed. As for special events, organisers should be required to justify financial support with tangible evidence showing that it provided EU added value, the researchers argue. But formal reporting requirements must be accompanied by timely and constructive feedback if they are to be tolerated. EU support for sports events should be slightly increased to €4m per year and should focus on the young and people with disabilities, where the Commission can most easily achieve visibility, the report argued. Meanwhile, annual funding of €0.65m for studies, surveys and conferences should be increased to €1m to cover a wider spectrum of activities, it said. The report calls on policymakers to consult sports stakeholders on potential topics to be addressed by studies, surveys and conferences. But it remains to be seen how much money will be allocated to the fully-fledged EU sports policy when it is launched in 2014.

Source: EurActiv

Government Decree on organisation of decentralised management of IPA funds

Loads of work for IPA coordinator

Montenegrin Government recently adopted the Decree on organisation of centralised management of the Instrument for Pre-Accession (IPA) funds of European Union. The Decree defines organisation and responsibilities for decentralised management of these funds for the period 2007-2013. Among other, it introduces the position of a National IPA Coordinator, as well as an officer in charge of accreditation and a strategic coordinator for IPA components III and IV, national officer for certification, and another one in charge of certifying programmes. There are also new offices for a high programme official, national fund, operative structures for each IPA component/programme and a manager of the operative structure. "National IPA coordinator is in charge of all coordination within the IPA, and responsible for the partnerships between the EC and Montenegro and relations between the general process of Montenegro's accession to EU and access to pre-accession funds in the framework of IPA. The national IPA coordinator can be a head of another body or a leading figure in public administration", states the Directive. At the same time, the Government adopted the Information on readiness and availability of human resources in the preparation process for decentralised management of IPA components. The Government concluded in the first quarter of 2011 there was "substantial progress" in the introduction of decentralised management system for IPA funds, and reminded that in February a group of EC auditors visited Podgorica in order to assess the situation with Component I (assistance in transition and institution building) and Component I (cross-border cooperation). After incorporating a number of comments and suggestions from EC, the Government adopted the national Road Map and Action Plan, which contain the overview of activities, responsible persons/institutions, timeframe for the realisation of activities, as well as an overview of indicators. The deadline for the national ac-

ADMINISTRATORS BUNK CLASSES

"During the analysis of the capacity of IPA bodies in Montenegro, it was noted that the employees of the Unit for project implementation did not always attend the trainings, or there were different people attending them, which detracts from continuity in the process of capacity building. In that sense, the Ministry of Finance will organise a test of knowledge of all actors and structures involved in the IPA Components I and II, threatened the Government.

creditation (which precedes the accreditation by EC) of the national structures involved in the management of IPA funds in Components I and II is the first quarter of 2012", says the Information. The government admits that with regard to components III (rural development) and IV (human resource development) Montenegro is still "at zero". "The main precondition for the next phase is to complete the institutional framework of the public bodies involved in this process" states the Information, adding that technical assistance project, whose main beneficiary is the Ministry of Finance, will be of decisive importance for the overall process. The project started in November 2010, and was directed, among other, to the training of public officials involved in programming and implementation of projects financed from IPA projects. The seminars that took place so far were dedicated to procurement contracts for goods, services and public works, twinning contracts, and additional trainings are expected for donations (grants). The document stresses that earlier evaluations of independent experts have pointed out, as one of the main findings, the need for additional staff.

Long road to Europe



Milana Bojović

The author is a volunteer in the Centre for Civic Education. She graduated from the Department of Political Science of the University of Montenegro.

My childhood were the nineties. The Balkan people would understand. For those who a little further geographically, and worlds apart from all these factors which characterise an unstable society, a little explanation: dissolution of a country, collapse of the economy, parents losing jobs, war news from the region in the headlines, international isolation, deep internal political divisions or obstacles to getting a job and everything else that was being distributed “from above”, dodgy businesses, wealth acquired overnight, growing inequalities among the citizens. As a teenager: a bit more of the war, but now we understood it better, a few bombs, a lot of fear and anxiety, worries about the friends and family in Serbia, economic stagnation, failed privatizations, then awakening divisions between the Serbs and the Montenegrins, referendum tensions, referendum itself and its aftermath...

And so came my twenties. Narrowing divisions and political passions, “us” and “them”, we’re all talking about EU... We had enough of divisions, it’s about time we join something again. And I’m full of optimism for this European adventure, because I hope that there, there will be stability. After so many changes, general collapse and meanderings, it’s a great desire of mine to be in a stable, orderly and happier society. We are doing a lot to fulfil the membership negotiations, things are moving, changes are visible and European priorities are way above everything else. We’re talking about democracy, human rights, integration, globalisation, rule of law, transparency, civil society etc...

I expect the EU to respect our nearly obsessive need to become a part of it.

I want to be a citizen of EU because that framework would give our lives a meaning. In these conditions, that would more or less mean the following: to solve the problems of the struggling workers and collapsed privatised

companies, to give the educated ones a chance to advance, to diminish the impact of political and family ties, to see the rule of law prevail, to make sure those employed can live from their work, to give those socially disadvantaged a more humane treatment, to have our pensioners spend their old age travelling around the world, to regain a sense of security.

I want a more reliable future, a possibility to make plans, to commit myself to higher needs of life, not to have the worries about the mere survival limit my youthful optimism and will to live. I don’t want to spend my entire life imagining the life elsewhere, I want other people to want to come and live in my country! Now that all the important political players finally agree that our main goal is the road to Europe, now that the divisions and tensions have abided, I think the time has come to become more disciplined and work on creating a stable society.

I don’t expect a fairytale. I know that there are also strikes in the EU, that there’s crime, unemployment, discontent, terrorism and other problems. We are too small to play an important political role. We are participants in an experiment directed by EU, we are changing and adapting and some experts out there will rate our progress. There is still a lot of work before we can join the European family. And even when it happens, there will be a host of obligations and a period of adaptation. More tangible improvements will probably be felt only in a few decades. In the meantime, I want to believe that it will be better, that we can have a different, happier and better functioning society, for most of us! Maybe we are not yet as close as they tell us, but my generation has decided and told Europe: Wait for me, I’ll certainly arrive, just wait for me (long)!

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We invite the candidates to apply who wish to contribute to development of democracy and civic society in Montenegro. All candidates are welcome, regardless of age, gender, nationality, religion or personal convictions, with the priority given to the activists of the political parties and non-governmental organisations and all individuals who can demonstrate a high level of social activism.

Professor Dr Radovan Radonjic will be the main moderator of the School and in addition to him a number of eminent domestic and foreign lecturers will be working with participants.

All interested candidates should submit their application with a short biography no later than 15 September 2011, to:

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(for "Democracy School")
Njegoševa 36, I sprat, 81 000 Podgorica
Tel/Fax: 020 / 665 112
E-mail: info@cgo-cce.org
www.cgo-cce.org

Forum Alpbach “Justice-responsibility for the future”



Between 18 August and 3 September eminent experts from the worlds of politics, economics, science and business, as well as a large number of students and young people, gathered at the European Forum Alpbach, which has been taking place every year for the last 65 years in the Austrian village of the same name. Under the slogan “Justice-responsibility for the future”, the participants of this year’s Forum had a chance to discuss various issues and listen to the opinions of experts from different fields, as well as to exchange their own experiences and knowledge and thus contribute to realisation of ideas propagated by the Forum, which are reflected in the creation of a united, tolerant and peaceful Europe.

Within this year’s Forum there was also a three-day political symposium, between 28 and 30 August, where there was more discussion on current affairs with regard to the creation and implementation of the international law. An especially important question, which was at the heart of the discussion among the renowned politicians, researchers, journalists and activists, was that of global justice and the possibility to make the world economic order more just. Also, the participant discussed the problems that arise from historical conflicts in European countries and whose consequences continue to haunt them, as well as the position of each country in the community and their mutual relations and responsibilities.

As an invitee of the Austrian Defence and Sports Ministry **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of Centre for Civic Education from Podgorica, also participated in the symposium. During the Forum, she also attended a series of other meetings organised by the Ministry for Sports and Defence with Austrian officials working in the sphere of European integrations and security.

On the perspectives of policy development

Between 21 and 26 August on the Croatian island of Vis the second Green Academy took place, organised by Heinrich Böll Foundation together with several partner organisation, under the title "Crisis of political imagination and the transformative potential of green policies".

More than 180 activists, scientists, journalists, cultural workers and politicians from Croatia, the region, Germany, Austria etc. participated in the Academy. Some of the participants came as students of the Academy, and some as lecturers and panellists. It was a unique gathering, in one place, for full 6 days, of a large number of people who for years, even decades, have been leaving a visible imprint in their fields, and this makes the Academy one of the most important civic and social events of the year, when it comes to conference and education activities of non-governmental organisations.

The participants talked about a wide range of subjects, from the widening of Schengen borders and EU accession to anti-corruption practices, war crimes and confrontation with the past, perspectives for direct democracy, urban cultural policies, new media, gender as the new field for exclusionary policies, energy issues and climate change, current social events in the former Yugoslav countries, as well as in the Arab world, unrests in the UK etc.

Daliborka Uljarević, executive director of the Centre for Civic Education also presented at the Academy, within the panel on "The state, the market and civil society in the Western Balkans – a search for emancipator potential".

This year's Green Academy also had a chance to host two lectures, followed by discussions, of the UK historian of Pakistani origin and one of the world's leading thinkers **Tariq Ali**, who spoke about the Arab protests and their outcomes and lessons, but also on many other issues of interest to the Academy's participants

Corruption in education

Centre for Civic Education (CCE) and Centre for Monitoring (CEMI) began in August the third phase of their multi-annual project "Corruption in Education", supported by the German Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

The general goal of this project was to contribute to the fight against corruption in Montenegrin educational system. Specifically, the project aims to encourage monitoring mechanisms and implementation of existing anti-corruption measures in the sphere of higher education.

Oak Fellowship

The annual fellowship offers an opportunity for one prominent human rights activist to take a leave from front-line work to spend the fall semester (September – December) in residence at Colby College in Waterville, Maine. Obligations to the college are minimal; the fellow is expected to teach one seminar on his or her area of expertise, and interact with other students, faculty and staff. Following the period of the award, the fellow is expected to return home to continue human rights work.

For the application please visit <http://web.colby.edu/oak/files/2011/08/2012-Oak-Application.doc>.

Deadlines: by early September - Online application submission is available, by November 1, 2011 - Nomination deadline and by December 15, 2011 - Application deadline

<http://web.colby.edu/oak/files/2011/08/Oak-2012-Brochure-.pdf>

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