



FOCUS OF THIS ISSUE

**Draft Law on Forests
and whether it can be
implemented in practice**

INTERVIEW
**Director of
European
Integrations
Office in the
Government of
Serbia**
Milica Delević

DOCUMENTS
**Declaration of the
Parliamentary
Committee for
Stabilisation and
Association**

A VIEW FROM EU
**Roma – European
second-rate citizens**



DINOŠA

Ferhat Dinoša isn't homophobic. Saying that he now expects the 14 MPs members of the Montenegrin delegation in the Parliamentary Committee for Stabilisation and Association to "get involved in the Gay Pride and lead the procession", because they condemned his earlier homophobic statements together with their colleagues from the European Parliament is merely political marketing. Minister for Minority Rights is playing on irony against his direct political competitor – Forca – which stood in defence of the rights of LGBT population, in order to sway the conservative voters in the local elections in Ulcinj to support his Democratic Union of Albanians (DUA).

It was also tough for the opposition in Brussels. They had to keep quiet to make sure a nasty word doesn't slip out about the Government in front of their colleagues from EU, for fear that the government could accuse them in front of the voters of, say, sabotaging Montenegro's chances to get the candidate status or the date to start negotiations with EU. With media like this, the government could get away with it.

It's been a while that the Government is trying to compensate for failures at home with achievements on the European terrain. For every "First Bank", "Zavala", defamation case or beating up of journalists there's visa liberalisation, submission of the application, replies to the Questionnaire, congratulations from a European Commissioner... Just to make sure the voters know that this government is so much better than their enemies would make them out to be.

From the standpoint of political parties, European integrations are but another arena to win the votes.

But it is an arena where European rules of the game are in place and these can easily result in yellow or red cards.

Miodrag Vuković, official in the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) was the first to make the observation: "Regardless of his personal disagreements with Europe and such interpretations of freedom, if he stays by his hard line (on LGBT population), Dinoša will be hard pressed to keep the ministry of human rights and freedoms". **V.Ž.**

Government reports to EC (6 September) – Government of Montenegro submitted a detailed report to the European Commission on all activities implemented since the submission of responses to the additional questions in EC questionnaire before September. Minister of European Integrations **Gordana Đurović** said the report will be comprehensive and contain all the important recently adopted laws and other documents.

Government and opposition bury the hatchet for Brussels (14 September) – Representatives of the Government and opposition agreed in a closed meeting with the Speaker of the Parliament **Ranko Krivokapić** to jointly support the position that Montenegro should acquire the status of candidate country for EU membership as soon as possible and that accession negotiations should not be delayed. During the meeting with their EU counterparts, at the first meeting of the Parliamentary Committee for Stabilisation and Association between Montenegrin Parliament and EP, Montenegrin MPs will not "emphasise their differences". Parliamentary committee was established in June 2010 based on the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) between Montenegro and EU. The Committee consists of 14 members each from both parliaments, and it is supposed to meet twice a year, in Podgorica and Brussels.

Lack of legal harmonisation blamed on Ministers (17 September) – The real culprit who is to blame for the fact that some laws remain unharmonised with EU laws is the Government, i.e. the ministries. These were the conclusions of the seminar "Montenegro on the road to EU. Slovenian experiences in the accession process", organised in the Parliament of Montenegro as part of the twinning project. According to the experts who participated in the process of European integration of Slovenia, the parliament has the key role in the accession process because of the huge number of laws that need to be adopted. "In the process of EU accession the parliament is a voting machine, and the Government is the one who writes the laws", said **Gordana Lalič** from the Legislation Office of the Government of Slovenia.

Đurović: Negotiations to start in the second half of 2011 (20 September) – Minister of European Integrations **Gordana Đurović** said the accession negotiations between Montenegro and EU could already start in the second half of 2011. According to the minister, there should be no obstacles either in relation to independence of the judiciary or with regard to anti-corruption and fight against organised crime. She said the judiciary has already been adequately reformed, and the number of verdicts in cases of corruption and organised crime has been satisfactory.



Gordana Đurović

Parliamentarians adopt a declaration (27–28 September) – At the first joint meeting of the Parliamentary Committee for Stabilisation and Association (PCSA) between the Parliament of Montenegro and European Parliament the MPs unanimously adopted a Declaration expressing their expectations of a positive Opinion on Montenegro's application for EU membership. The Declaration was sent to the Council for Stabilisation and Association as well as to Montenegrin and EU institutions. After the meeting, European MPs and EU officials urged Montenegro to undertake more concrete activities to fight organised crime and ensure full freedom of the media, and criticised Montenegro for devastating the environment and violating rights of LGBT population.

A VIEW FROM EU

In defence of fundamental rights

Roma European citizens have the same rights as all other European citizens, and their rights must



by Lorenzo Marsili and
Niccolo Milanese

be defended, otherwise European citizenship means nothing. This fundamental principle of European citizenship has frequently been lost amidst the furore surrounding the condemnation by the European Parliament (EP) and by a member of the European Commission (EC) of the expulsion of Roma from France.

On 9 September the European Parliament called for a halt to the expulsions. On 14 September, following the leaking of an official document

The problem is not only in France. In Hungary the far-right Jobbik party runs explicitly on an anti-Roma rhetoric. In Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia organised attacks on Roma by hate groups, and anti-Roma marches throughout towns have become more and more frequent. In Germany, 12,000 Roma are going to be deported to Kosovo. Half of them children who speak neither Serbian nor Albanian, and who came to Germany to escape the ethnic violence of 1992. In Denmark and in Sweden, the Roma have had their rights to free movement curtailed

by the French authorities clearly targeting Roma encampments, **Viviane Reding**, the Commissioner for Justice and Human Rights, strongly warned France that if collective discrimination were found to be taking place in France, then the Commission would be forced to defend the right to free movement for all European citizens, and take France to court.

Since that time the French gov-

ernment, with the support of several other heads of state, has launched a considerable counteroffensive against Commissioner Reding for drawing parallels with the Second World War. Whatever about the appropriateness of Ms Reding's parallel, she and the European Parliament were right to stand up for the rights of European citizens.

It is true that there is considerable public mistrust of the Roma, just as it is true that the Roma have been one of the most discriminated groups in Europe over the past centuries, that many of them live in some of the worst poverty to be found in the EU,

Roma European citizens have the same rights as all other European citizens, and their rights must be defended, otherwise European citizenship means nothing

and that their literacy and educational levels are typically much worse than other European citizens. None of this is any justification for collectively targeting them or impinging their right to

free movement in the EU.

What is required is a real European programme for the Roma, which is applied at all levels of European society. The discourse and the actions of many member states are not setting the conditions for such a programme to succeed, and that is another reason why they are both objectionable and hypocritical.

The problem is not only in France.

In Italy, collective expulsions of the Roma are also taking place, and only a couple of years ago vigilante groups of citizens burnt down Roma encampments after politicians made speeches linking Roma with criminality.

In Hungary the far-right Jobbik party runs explicitly on an anti-Roma rhetoric. In Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia organised attacks on Roma by hate groups, and anti-Roma marches throughout towns have become more and more frequent. In Germany, 12,000 Roma are going to be deported to Kosovo in the coming years, roughly half of them children who speak neither Serbian nor

Albanian, and who came to Germany to escape the ethnic violence of 1992.

In Denmark and in Sweden, the Roma have had their rights to free movement curtailed. These actions have led to the European Network Against Racism warning that 'a culture of impunity for those who want to target the Roma is being created.' In such a culture, discrimination can only grow and the problems only get worse. For these reasons the European institutions must act to break such a culture.

For those of us interested in building a future European culture of equal rights and democracy for all, this must be a rallying moment as European rights will come under greater and greater pressure as the economic crisis bites. We must understand we are defending our own rights as well when we defend those of the most vulnerable – our rights as European citizens.

The authors are directors of European Alternatives

AFTER DECADES OF CHAOS IN MONTENEGRIN FORESTS, GOVERNMENT SEEKS TO HALT SALES OF ILLEGALLY CUT TIMBER

Logs with a bar code



Every shipment of timber to be sold on the national or international markets will



by **Mirjana Mirjačić**

from now on have to bear a unique bar code as a proof that it was acquired in a legal way.

This is one of the most important European rules to be incorporated into the new law on forests which recently entered parliamentary procedure.

After decades of fierce campaigns on behalf of environmental associations, EU members recently reached an agreement prohibiting sale of illegally cut timber by 2012. It is estimated that 20 to 40% of the world's timber industry is based on illegal sources, out of which 20% (1.2 billion euro) ends up on the EU markets.

Deputy minister of agriculture, forests and waters, **Miroslav Anđelić** said in the interview for European Pulse that the new law stipulates that before being cut every tree must be selected, marked and evidenced based on documents drafted previously by the officials of Forest Administration.

The same procedure is valid for private forests, but before cutting the owner ought to procure a permit from the public officials and submit a detailed report at the latest 15 days after the cutting is over.

"Export of wood and timber can only be done after the shipments

have been received and branded (marked with a bar code). Transportation to the temporary warehouses or to the final destination requires a proof of origin issued by the owner or beneficiary, in a form supplied by the relevant public official on the occasion of owner's request of a cutting permit. All shipments found without a proof of origin and a bar code will be considered illegal, Anđelić explained.

In accordance with European practice, the law introduces representatives of non-governmental organisations into the exchange, in order to allow all interested stakeholders to participate in managing forest resources.

In accordance with European practice, the law introduces representatives of non-governmental organisations into the entire process – from the cutting to the sale of timber – in order to allow all interested stakeholders to participate in managing forest resources, says deputy minister of agriculture, forests and waters Miroslav Anđelić

"They will be involved in the process from the planning stage to the monitoring, cutting and sales", Anđelić said.

According to him, national representatives of timber industry are ready for the new rules, because they are also in their own interest.

"European agreement on the ban of sales of illegally cut timber includes raw timber as well as processed wood products, such as furniture and floorboards, and the customers will be very careful to screen their suppliers and rule out all risks if they have reason to suspect the origin of products. This means that customer companies will have to establish the origin of prod-



Miroslav Anđelić

FETIĆ: THE LAW IS GOOD, BUT THERE ARE SOME FLAWS



Director of the Forestry Institute **Adem Fetić** said the new law on forests is a welcome development as it improves the framework for the management of forests, one of Montenegro's most important resources.

"The law brings better valorisation of this resource, so that logs will cease to be the only product of our forests, and we will be able to put them to other uses, such as tourism. Further, the precise definition of the cutting procedures and renewal of forests will protect them from devastation. Also, there is a substantial improvement regarding the interests of the private owners", Fetić

said, adding it is a good thing that in the future local governments will also be able to participate more actively in the forest management, since the law allows for establishment of local councils.

According to him, one of the downsides of the law is that the definition of forests now only refers to larger areas.

"Until now, five acres under forest trees were enough to consider the area a forest. The new law sets the minimum at 50 acres. Montenegro is a small country and smaller areas should also be considered forests in order to be able to protect them better. Also, there should have been a clause that the state can also contract a company to cut forests on behalf of the state and sell the proceeds, instead of having to do this only on the basis of concessions. Finally, it remains unclear how much money is needed in order to speed up inventories in the private and public forests", Fetić said.

He also believes that the deadline three years for the accompanying regulations that will allow implementation of the new law on forests is too long, and that these should be as few as possible in order to streamline implementation.

ucts, including the country and location where the wood was cut, instead of simply checking suppliers' books, as was initially envisaged by the member states", Andelić said, adding that the state will have to improve its cadre and technical capacities for this complex work.

He could not give any details on the current state of affairs in Montenegro regarding illegal cutting and the amount of money it sends into grey circulation.

"I can only say that here, like in most member states, illegal cutting is within tolerable limits. Naturally, it is

essential to work towards raising awareness on the importance of forests. I believe that the new bar

European agreement on the ban of sales of illegally cut timber includes raw timber as well as processed wood products, such as furniture and floorboards, and the Montenegrin companies will have to be very careful in screening the suppliers and ruling out all potential risks

codes will have a decisive effect on suppressing such activities", Andelić said.

The new law also requires a National inventory of forests which would cover all forest holdings and

will be renewed every ten years.

"In this work we drew on the experience of Germany, and we are also copying their methodology in this respect. This means collecting data on the area, type and structure of forests, on forest reserves, renewal, cuttings, biological diversity and other indicators. We started working on the Inventory way before the law was drafted. We have measured the whole of Montenegro and I expect the work will be completed in about a month. According to the preliminary results, 50% of the territory of Montenegro is covered by forests, and more than 60% of the population depends on the villages and forest-rich areas", Andelić said.

Forest Authority, as defined by the law, will be in charge of monitoring forests according to the methodology of the International Cooperation Programme, involving a system of continuous analysis and monitoring of the state of forests, focusing on their vitality, health and biodiversity. Moreover, the owners and beneficiaries of forests who implement cuttings are also obliged to conduct the "necessary activities on forest renewal, depending on the type and extent of cutting".

"Owners of private forests will have a chance to use part of their forest for own production. This relates to non-wood products that the owners will have to mark clearly in cooperation with authorities. For the use and commercial sale of non-wood forest products the own-

ers will pay a fee based on a sales or lease contract, concluded between the owners and the buyers of forest products registered in the Central Registry of the Economic Court with the Forest Authority. Up

to 67% of the fee will go into the public budget and the remaining 33 into the coffers of the national association of private forest owners. The price list setting the fees will be adopted later this year. Buyers will have to keep a registry of pickers, localities, species and amounts of the non-wood forest products. Commercial buying of non-wood forest products is only allowed upon registration of the pickers", Andelić explained, adding that individuals and firms using forests for commercial leisure and recreation activities or tourism will also be subject to a fee based on the lease contract.

Another novelty in the law is that an owner of a private forest intending to sell the forest which is under protection or has special characteristics ought to first offer the land to the Forst Authority and if the reply does not come within 30 days, the owner can sell it to another entity, but not at a price lower than the original one.

According to Andelić, it will take several years to implement the law, because implementation will require additional regulations and adequately trained staff



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"We will have to ensure training for our employees for the purposes of rearing, protection and use of forests and other forest-related issues and activities, in line with the programme set by this law. European practice also requires that we produce a document containing a set of indicators for sustainable forest management. The development of these indicators will be controlled by an independent institution, a kind of auditor", Andelić said.

The law also asks for establishment of a National Forest Council, appointed for a period of four years and consisting of 10 members and a president, that will report to the Government once a year on the situation of forests.

Members of the National Council will be elected from the ranks of established public, scientific, educational and expert figures in the areas of forestry, environmental protection, representatives of the associations of forestry and wood-working, national association of private forest owners, local governments and non-governmental organisations from the field of environment and tourism.

MONEY TALKS

The new law on forests also introduces penalties for transgressors. A company that fails to take relevant steps towards recovery of degraded forests, re-registers land before building on forest grounds, fails to observe measures of protection of forests or begins cutting without the necessary permit will be fined between 50 and 250 times the minimum wage in Montenegro.

Further, cutting above the quota set by the annual plan of forest management, construction of any kind of edifice in a forest without permission of the Forest Authority, failure to register all cuttings and transactions with timbre, sells non-wood forest products without the appropriate contract, failure to maintain a register of pickers, localities, species and amounts of non-wood forest products are punishable by a fine between 20 and 200 times the amount of minimum wage.

Private individuals can be punished by a fine between five and 20 times the amount of minimum wage if they cut the branches or handle fallen leaves in a forest in a manner contrary to the law or if they collect non-wood forest products in the part of the forest set aside by the owner for own production.

GOVERNMENT AND THE OPPOSITION STRIKE A DEAL AHEAD OF THE MEETING OF THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE FOR STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION

Political elite matures for EU

How ever unbelievable it might sound, the government and the opposition in Montenegro



by Neđeljko Rudović

started to work together. Now they have a common goal: they even held a few meetings together to elaborate on the common strategy. And the goal is to lobby for Montenegro to acquire status of an EU member state as soon as the European Commission publishes the opinion on its readiness in November and, afterwards, to begin negotiations as soon as possible.

An ambitious plan, but not unattainable, since it's not the same whether it is backed up by the ruling circles or by the entire political elite of a country.

On the other hand, it is hard to avoid certain contradictions that could potentially confuse Brussels. One of them is the firm opinion of the leaders of opposition that Montenegro is in fact ruled by extra-institutional power centres which are beyond the laws of the state of Montenegro. In other words, the future candidate for EU membership is ruled by a mafia and it's best described as a place where "a mafia has a state", unlike other states which may or may not have a mafia.

It might be that such rhetoric is largely due to the election fervour, it might be that it's even largely true, but the fact is that, in spite of everything, the political scene in Montenegro is slowly maturing. For the first time there is agreement between the government and the opposition regarding the key national interests, which means that the Montenegrin politicians are starting to act more seriously and to understand

the weight of their responsibility for the future of the country. Should this agreement survive the test of time, Montenegro could soon improve its image with Brussels and the opposition itself earn more credibility. And if they continue with this attitude, they could perhaps even grow into a serious threat to the government in the next elections, whereby Montenegro would cease to be the black sheep of Europe which keeps the same party in power ever since the introduction of the multi-party system.

The tale of "unification" of the government and the opposition began with the first meeting between Montenegrin and European MPs on 27 and 28 September in Brussels, as part of the joint Parliamentary Committee for Stabilisation and Association (PCSA) between Montenegro and European Parliament. The meeting was crowned

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with a joint Declaration in which the MPs anticipate a positive Opinion by European Commission on Montenegro's application for membership in EU. Montenegrin delegation, led by the Speaker of the Parliament **Ranko Krivokapić**, spend days before that preparing a common strategy for the appearance in Brussels, and the members of the government and opposition parties agreed not to bicker in front of their colleagues from the European Parliament and instead join the forces to emphasise the importance of further progress towards EU membership.

However, even if they tried to avoid potentially explosive topics, these were precisely the ones that tickled the imag-

ination of MEPs, who insisted on straightforward explanations of the lack of achievements in fighting corruption, reasons for the limited freedom of the media and high fines for slander, environmental negligence...

The Declaration and accompanying recommendations adopted by the joint Committee in Brussels call for the strengthening of the capacities of Montenegrin Parliament, welcomes positive steps towards judicial reform and urges the Government to continue to improve responsibility and efficiency of the judicial system and strengthen its institutional capacities.

The Declaration "confirms" that Montenegro achieved progress in guaranteeing freedom of expression with the latest law on electronic media and calls on the Government to ensure that the public broadcasting service functions

according to European standards of objectivity and independence, and prevent the influence of the political elite on the media.

In the meantime, during the debate, the MEPs also raised questions about the granting of Montenegrin passport to the runaway Thailand Prime Minister **Thaksin Shinawatra**, follow-up on the attack of the mayor of Podgorica **Miomir Mugoša** on an editor of "Vijesti", the entry of A2A in Montenegro and its links with Prime Minister **Milo Đukanović**, Government's involvement in rescuing the First Bank etc. These are not the kind of questions where the Government and the opposition are likely to reach a consensus.

DIRECTOR OF THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATIONS OFFICE IN THE GOVERNMENT OF SERBIA MILICA DELEVIĆ

Cooperation with neighbours doesn't solve problems at home

Director of European Integrations Office in the Government of Serbia **Milica Delević** is optimistic about the upcoming meeting of the Council of EU ministers which already announced that it will give the green light for the Commission to draft the opinion of Serbia's application for the status of EU membership candidate.

"The very fact that there is a consensus to talk about Serbia's application in October is a sign of an improved climate in the Council of Ministers that will, I hope soon enough, bring about some progress in the process of Serbia's integration", said Delević in the interview for *European Pulse*.

- The Council of EU ministers already advised speeding up Serbia's integration process, in order to create incentives for a dialogue between Belgrade and Priština. Do you believe that Serbia can acquire candidate status in 2011?

Experience taught me to look at what is happening inside my own house and what I can do to improve the situation. It also taught me that the awareness that you did some-

IT'S IMPORTANT THAT WE ALL JOIN EU

- Do you support the "flying geese" principle with regard to the accession of the West Balkan countries?

For me, the most important thing is that eventually the entire region joins EU, regardless of the timing of individual countries.



Milica Delević

Croatia offered its own documents, which was an important gesture that facilitates and shortens the procedure for us, but there is still the task of legal, technical and language editing in order to adjust these translations to each national context

thing always bears fruit. Not immediately, but eventually.

It is up to Serbia to make this possible through additional effort and commitment. I hope this will happen as soon as possible.

- Are you afraid of political conditioning?

The question of Kosovo is not a precondition for European integration, but it often influences the direction of political context of integrations. At home, in Serbia, as well as in EU.

- Last month we could hear announcements from some members

of the European Parliament and officials of some member states that the enlargement process in the Western Balkans will be halted after Croatia's accession. Are you concerned about this possibility?

I don't think the enlargement process will be halted, but I do think that the circumstances of the accession process will be more difficult, because an EU with 27 members isn't the same as an EU with 12 or 15 members.

Also, the economic crisis is a huge challenge to preserve stability within the member states as well as

solidarity among them.

The EU is facing all these problems and the institutions established by the Lisbon Treaty are yet to become fully functional.

There are new challenges also in the international environment, which means that the circumstances of enlargement will be more difficult, but neither we nor the EU entered this process purely out of idealism, but because of mutual interests. This is also a reason to continue the process.

● **What do you make of the Eurosceptical arguments in the Western Balkans that warn that, because of the current developments you just described, there might be no EU by the time we fulfil all the membership conditions?**

I don't believe the EU will disappear but it will certainly change – this is not a stationary target. Paradoxically, for instance, this crisis might lead to even closer integration in order to avoid instability.

The question of EU's survival is not coming up for the first time – it

The process of answering the Questionnaire in Montenegro gave us some idea on the importance of the transparency and inclusiveness of the process

was just as acute when the European constitution failed in national referenda and during negotiations for EU 2007–2013 budget, but as we can see, all these challenges have been overcome.

● **What is your opinion on the cooperation between West Balkan countries in the process of European integrations?**

Cooperation with countries of the region will not solve the problems at home. There are concrete opportunities for cooperation, like in the case of translations. Croatia offered its own documents, which was an important gesture that facilitates and shortens the procedure for us, but there is still the task of legal,

FOR CITIZENS OF SERBIA EU MEANS BETTER FUTURE

● **What do you say when people ask what the benefits of European integrations are for the citizens of Serbia?**

If you ask the citizens themselves, in all opinion polls they usually say that they are looking forward to a better future for their children, which is a very rational answer and reveals that they know the benefits will not come overnight.

The citizens also believe that EU will bring them better living standards and freedom of movement, travel, as well as opportunities to improve things at home.

Personally, I would emphasise the concrete economic assistance from EU since the beginning of the transition, which comes up to over two billion euro in projects related to infrastructure, energy etc.

Other benefits are that we are forced to work on improving our legal framework and that we have a chance to travel to EU countries without visas.

technical and language editing in order to adjust these translations to each national context.

● **What are Serbia's next steps towards EU?**

It is important to keep up the pace of reforms, to prepare for the next steps, such as the Questionnaire. We are already preparing for this with the help of questionnaires received by Montenegro and Albania, because some of the ques-

crime and corruption, these cannot be solved overnight, but Serbia already did a lot in the last year to suppress organised crime, and to cooperate with law enforcement services in the region and world. I think the EU will also appreciate these efforts.

● **One of the key problems for all countries in the region is that the newly adopted laws harmonised with European standards are simply not being implemented. How to ensure their implementation?**

I often quote the former Croatian minister for European Integration who, when told by the European Commission representatives that all the EU cares about are "three things: implementation, implementation, implementation", replied "well, ok, we've done the first two". When we are through the first two, that will be some improvement.

EU doesn't need to see us adopting new laws, but that these new laws are being implemented and certain old practices changed. But this is a process that will come about only gradually. I don't expect us to be perfect at everything from the beginning, but it's important that we are heading in the right direction.

tions for Montenegro and even more relevant for us, such as the issue of succession, cooperation with ICTY and the beginning of negotiations.

● **Are you ready for the Questionnaire?**

I do not expect any surprises – if the requirements are the same, the questions will also be similar. The process of answering the Questionnaire in Montenegro gave us some idea on the importance of the transparency and inclusiveness of the process. I hope that the speed and quality of our responses will confirm EU's assessment that Serbia has sufficient administrative capacities to speed up the accession process.

As for the fight against organised

Vesna RAJKOVIĆ

THE SECOND RISE – INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND VICTORY OVER THE WORLD

How the steam engine started globalisation

The Industrial Revolution was a period from the 18th to the 19th century where major changes in agri-



Prepared by: Miloš Vukanović

culture, manufacturing, mining, transport and technology had a profound effect on the socioeconomic and cultural conditions. It started in the United Kingdom and subsequently spreading throughout Europe, North America, and eventually the world. The Industrial Revolution marks a major turning point in human history; almost every aspect of daily life was eventually influenced in some way.

Starting in the second half of the 18th century there began a transition in parts of Great Britain's previously manual labour and draft-animal-based economy towards machine-based manufacturing. It started with the mechanisation of the textile industries, the development of iron-making techniques and the increased use of refined coal. Trade expansion was enabled by the introduction of canals, improved roads and railways. The introduction of steam power fuelled primarily by coal, wider utilisation of water wheels and powered machinery (mainly in textile manufacturing) underpinned the dramatic increases in production capacity. The development of all-metal machine tools facilitated the manufacture of more production machines for manufacturing in other industries.

The first Industrial Revolution, which began in the 18th century, merged into the Second Industrial Revolution around 1850, when technological and economic progress gained momentum with the development of steam-powered ships, railways, and later in the 19th century with the internal combustion engine and

electrical power generation.

The effects spread throughout Western Europe and North America, eventually affecting most of the world, a process that continues as industrialisation. The impact of this change on society was enormous, and its impact on the human environment unprecedented in history. Until 18th century only London and Paris had more than a several hundred inhabitants, while in the 19th century several cities grew to above one million.

Roads, railways, tunnels and steel bridges connected different parts of states and continents and reduced the travelling time from days to hours. Steamships shortened the overseas trips dramatically and the once large and unknown world became small.

Scientific and technological achievements multiplied the production of agricultural and industrial goods by several hundred times, leading to a corresponding population growth. Expansion of the population and the inability of states to

adequately respond to this problem led to population migrations from the Old to the New World. This migration drive, which intensified between 19th and early 20th century, remains the biggest population movement in the history of mankind.

However, not everybody profited equally from the benefits brought by Industrial Revolution. Industrial bourgeoisie replaced the landed class of nobility and gentry, and a new class appeared of millions of poor workers. But the social changes didn't take centuries, like in the past. Development of technologies, rising levels of general education and flourishing of communication (press), led to philosophies and ideologies which demanded not only better standards, but also political empowerment of the majority of the population, a concept that was unimaginable only half a century earlier. But even before ideologies came trade unions – associations of organised labour campaigning for higher wages and better working conditions. All these movements will result in improved

Development of technologies, rising levels of general education and flourishing of communication (press), led to philosophies and ideologies which demanded not only better standards, but also political empowerment of the majority of the population, a concept that was unimaginable only half a century earlier. But even before ideologies came trade unions – associations of organised labour whose fight eventually resulted in improved living standards in Europe



living standards in Europe, longer life expectancy, better access to education and, gradually, the general suffrage. Education, health, taxes and legal systems were gradually reformed under the pressure from workers, but also from the bourgeoisie which believed that improving national goods will result in a stronger state. The fight that seemed to be won when the right to vote was extended from a wealthy minority to the entire population will continue with repeated encroachments on the rights of the citizens by the state whose hand was directed by the same wealthy minority. Unfortunately, this problem which is the heritage of the 19th century won't be resolved in some countries even in the 21st century.

Industrial revolution and the technological rise of Europe brought, in addition to an increased production of goods and population growth, the new wave of technological superiority of this continent vis-a-vis the rest of the world. Although Europe was at the forefront of European civilisation since the 16th century, now the conditions were ripe for it to subdue the rest. The last corner of the world was already discovered by the 19th century and now technology and medicine also allowed it to be conquered. Incessant expansion of industries and people demanded a constant inflow of new resources, and colonies offered excellent resource base. This was the main drive of the European powers' desire for colonies, but also a source of future conflicts, including the world wars.

From the early attempts at colonisation Spain, Portugal, United Kingdom, France, Netherlands and Russia fought for the dominance in other continents. After the initial successes in Latin America, Spain and Portugal only succeeded in slightly enlarging their colonies in Africa and Asia. After the general economic, military and cultural collapse in the 17th and 18th centuries these powers soon also lost the industrialisation race. National revolutions in the Americas and expulsion from other continents will turn the Iberian countries into second-rate powers. After the fall of Napoleon the French were soon expelled from the North America and India, although this process had already started earlier with a flawed colonial policy. Having lost the control of



In only a few decades technological development accelerated Europe's military dominance into total subdual of the African and Asian populations. They imposed their social system and language on the conquered peoples, building European culture into the foundations of the future political formations. Migration to and from colonies led to amalgamation of cultures which did not leave Europe untouched

the seas they turned to the nearer colonies and occupied large parts of Eastern and Central Africa, as well as the Middle East and South-East Asia. The Dutch, starting with the Golden Age of the 17th century and fuelled further by massive industrialisation never undertook large-scale conquests, although they possessed large estates in Indonesia and the Caribbean, but rather turned to the British model of controlling the trade routes, which brought them into direct competition with the government in London. Russia, deprived of access to the warm seas, directed its colonial policy towards the immense lands of Siberia and Central Asia. Other European states, such as Belgium, also acquired colonies, but it was all small fry compared to the commonwealth of the British Empire.

Colonial empires were mostly established by the end of the 19th century by the countries whose national status and governing arrangements were completed by the end of 18th or 19th century this was not the case with Germany and Italy which only coalesced into nation states after 1860. However, their industries and ruling elites weren't satisfied with the crumbs that were left for them in Africa. By the end of the 19th century German industry overtook not only France, but also UK and was needed ever greater

access to the resources and markets of the colonies. Together with new ideological and national differences, as well as by some old strife, this created the powder keg that will explode in a major conflict between European powers.

Industrial Revolution accelerated Europe's development to previously undreamed perimeters.

In only a few decades technological development accelerated Europe's military dominance into total subdual of the African and Asian populations. They imposed their social system and language on the conquered peoples, building European culture into the foundations of the future political formations. Migration to and from colonies led to population flows from Europe to Americas, Africa and Australia, Africans to America and Europe, and from India to Africa and America. Migration itself brought amalgamation of cultures which did not leave Europe untouched. Technological progress and colonisation accelerated the flows of peoples, culture and knowledge and shifted gears on the process of globalisation which, according to some historians, already began with the discovery of Americas.

The author is a programme associate in Centre for Civic Education

Youth that stinks

by Brano Mandić

1.

Why is N. Dragičević, student of the Department of Law in Podgorica important here? Is it ethical to get somebody into the papers before he even graduated and made his family proud with a diploma?

Helas, he is important here, because he announced, loud and clear, in the RTCG show "Replica" that Albanians in Montenegro have "too many rights".

Thank God for Telecom and hail the rewind button: three times in a row my eyes bulged out and I screamed like a football fan "Ecce homo!"

Let's first think about what the young maverick really said, and then we can move on to a lamentation about today's youth and its achievements.

Because, if Albanians have too many rights, like the kid said, it means that some of them should be taken away. If something is too much, then there's a flaw in the system where everything ought to be divided fairly, including political rights. The future lawyer, ergo, advocates levelling of the constitutionally distributed rights, which runs against the widespread stereotype that this country's youth isn't in favour of profound social changes.

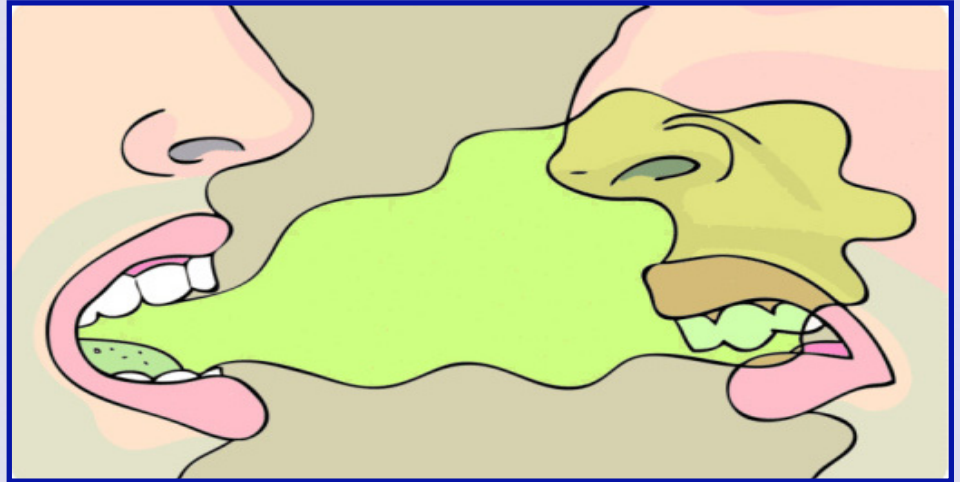
The said "excess of rights" which happened to Albanians, as a minority, can be enjoyed only at the expense of the majority and other minorities. That leads us to a conclusion which follows from the young man's expose: the

The young are, in fact, the biggest losers in a society which doesn't care to look any further from the neighbourly bickering with Serbia which is at the moment politically the most profitable undertaking

majority and other minorities are threatened by Albanians!

Seriously?

As far back as I can remember Albanians have been treated as second-



The story that the youth is always a special part of our society, a priori oriented towards progressive values and emancipation stinks, and it always has. It comes back like a series on RTCG: weren't the students foaming a few years ago that all homosexuals should be closed into a pen, because they're against the good old in-out model of reproduction, which had been handed down to us by the Supreme Bearded Being himself

rate citizens in the colloquial discourse. In every cohort of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), in the late eighties, according to the survivors' testimonies, the Albanian minority had the exclusive right to clean the toilets.

In Montenegro, in the nineties, the word "šiptar"* acquired a semantic connotation of a badly dressed person, or an individual suffering some kind of flaw. Let's just remember the "šiptar sneakers", outmoded white and blue tennis shoes that were only good for the PE classes. And I recall the story of a friend of Albanian nationality who was ridiculed

ago, mistreated people because their surnames don't end on "ić". And added, already a hundred years ago, "ić" to Albanian surnames in registry books to relieve them of misunderstandings with the forces of law and disorder in some far away future.

If possible, let us also recall a famous Albanian judge of the Constitutional Court, an editor in a paper or TV, director of a public company or an anchor in some popular TV show. And let's not forget the wise counsel of the former minister Kalamperović who urged Albanians to celebrate Kosovo's declaration of independence in a secretive circle of the closest family. And so on...

Nothing that the youth does can surprise me, ever since my own days as a student in Nikšić where one student leader vented his disgust with mixed marriages in the face of foreign donors. The story that the youth is always a special part of our society, a priori oriented towards progressive values and emanci-

by the kids from the neighbourhood whenever his mother called him in for lunch in their own language.

Then came the mountain bullies disguised as policemen who, not so long

* A distortion of the word "shqiptar" (meaning Albanian person in Albanian), is used in a derogatory fashion in several Slavic languages.

pation stinks, and it always has. It comes back as a series on RTCG: weren't the students foaming a few years ago that all homosexuals should be closed into a pen, because they're against the good old in-out model of reproduction, which had been handed down to us by the Supreme Bearded Being himself.

The young are, in fact, the biggest losers in a society which doesn't care to look any further from the neighbourly bickering with Serbia which is at the moment politically the most profitable undertaking. The trite lamentation that the students in Montenegro never raised in protest has been so heavy on the minds of the well-intended that they managed to read the end of the regime even in a strike of high-school students in Cetinje.

Waiting for the Big Bang of political change, the educational system has not managed to educate a critical mass of free minds, liberated of the nationalist



a hundred thousand euros to gather up journalists, those willing to be ethnically engaged.

Is there a more painful idea than a TV that defines its target audience as a national entity? Why stop there? Wouldn't it also be great to have a radio

There is also a Serbian TV coming up. As if Serbs in Montenegro didn't have the satellite TV and a host of Serbian channels where they can get information about their culture, traditions, and all that with very decent production standards and for little money. This way we are getting one expensive toy which, if the experience with the Serbian News is any guide, will only serve as a political tool ready to hammer out the worst nationalist slogans that we already forgot and left behind in the war years

burden of their parents. And so young Dragičević gets to express his sadly limited thoughts, without anybody's warning, on a public TV financed out of Albanians' pockets.

2.

While the state is paying for the Serbian News. And Serbian News are paying **Milijana Baletić** and **Momir Vojvodić**. That means: Milijana and Momir are being paid by the Government of **Milo Đukanović**, the same one who together with **Hašim Tači** and in cooperation with the Albanian mafia stabbed in the back every honest Serb who reads the Serbian News with a spyglass, trying to figure out what Milijana and Momir are trying to tell him.

There is also a Serbian TV coming up. The state paid Dr **Momčilo Vuksanović** and the Serbian Council which deposed the Diocletian Academy,

for Bosnians, a department store for Albanians or an entertainment park for the Roma?

Warmongers of the past are now getting to look prim on the new television at the expense of taxpayers. It screams of the rulers' longing for the old troubadures, for measured against them they appear to themselves as true civic giants.

It's a mystery how the passion and hatred of other nations always goes so well with political pragmatism. In this case, they are the scarecrows, the TV scarecrows, meant to illuminate the advantages of the civic concept of power.

The government can say: here, we are democrats, we are letting Momir and Milijana on TV, and do remember, dear other minorities, how they treated you utewnty years ago. Nowadays they're a curiosity, back then they were almost mainstream.

The game is freakishly transparent.

Like it's very suggestive to headquarter Serbian rebels with pockets bulging with several hundreds of taxpayers' euros right where DANU used to be, the avant-garde of the Montenegrin hard core. It almost makes you feel sad, when you think of all the other uses this money could be put through, how many holes are already gapping open, even without us opening up new ones.

As if Serbs in Montenegro didn't have the satellite TV and a host of Serbian channels where they can get information about their culture, traditions, and all that with very decent production standards and for little money. This way we are getting one expensive toy which, if the experience with the Serbian News is any guide, will only serve as a political tool ready to hammer out the worst nationalist slogans that we already forgot and left behind in the war years. Now the young, such as the above mentioned Dragičević, will also have a chance to scoop up fresh water from the well of wisdom and take in the third-rate poets and writers whose only identity based connection to reality is the touching fixation that the white men banded together to erase the thousands years of Serbian traditions. Let's see if I'm wrong. It will be a true blessing in the media skies which, at the moment, have s a sufficient capacity to handle one decent TV and one daily paper. Then again, we wanted pluralism, and even democracy – and here's the price.

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

TRANSPARENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN PUBLIC PROCUREMENT IN MONTENEGRO OR THE LACK THEREOF

Corruption paradise

In the course of 2010 Institute Alternative conducted a study on public procurement practices in Montenegro, focusing on trans-



by Stevo Muk

parency and accountability. The research was part of a project "EU Matrix – Monitoring European Integration Processes with a Focus on Implementation of the National Plan for Integration of Montenegro into EU". The project is implemented in partnership with the Centre for Monitoring (CEMI) and European Movement in Montenegro (EMiM), with support of the Foundation Open Society Institute, Regional Office in Montenegro (FOSI ROM).

Public procurement consists of all activities undertaken by the public sector in order to procure economically goods, services and works. In 2009, Montenegro spent 433 million euro on public procurement. Large amounts of public money that are involved in these transactions are a high-risk corruption factor, indicating the importance of the strengthening of transparency and accountability in this area. The 2006 law on public procurement in 2006 improved the legal framework substantially, but was nevertheless only partly harmonised with the relevant EU directives. The legal framework concerning public procurement is currently under review and should be completely harmonised in the near future.

TRANSPARENCY

The law on public procurement obliges the customer to adopt the annual plan for procurement before the end of the previous year if the value of planned procurements exceeds 100 000 euro. The customers must clearly define the subject of public procurement, required funding, amounts and period during which the procurement will take place. An outline of the every procurement order should be posted

on the webpage of the Directorate for Public Procurement (Direkcija za javne nabave, DJN).

In practice, in spite of the legal provisions some customers do not adopt such plans, while others, who do not fall within the legal criteria, do so. In 2007 and 2008 State Audit Institutions (Državna revizorska institucija, DRI) found that public procurement without prior plans was a widespread practice. Moreover, the plans that are made available to the public contain no justification of procurement, which makes it very difficult to evaluate their legitimacy. This practice violates the principle that the public sector should only buy what is necessary, in amounts and at the time when it is absolutely needed.

Access to information and documentation in the public procurement process

DJN announces its calls for interested parties regularly, on its webpage and in the national dailies, as well as the decisions on the selected contractors, except when the item in question is of small value when the transaction can be based on direct agreements. However, the level of transparency of public procurement processes is limited by the secrecy of contracts on public procurement, their annexes and reports on the implementation of these contracts.

The discipline of public entities who conduct procurement in submitting reports on these contracts has been on the rise. Nevertheless, a number of institutions do not submit a direct report if they belong to another institutions, which makes it difficult to identify the amounts spent by each institution. This is especially the case with public enterprises founded by the municipalities, and schools which are under the authority of the Ministry of Science and Education.



After the contractor has been selected

The most frequent violation of the principle of transparency is modification of the requirements listed in the call or tender-related documentation, by changing the clauses of the final contract or by changing the contract later in the process. This is a clear case of abuse of authority and constitutes indirect discrimination against the applicants whose offers were rejected.

Law on public procurement regulates the procedure up until the decision on the contractor is taken and it does not contain mechanisms to guarantee that the final contract and terms of procurement are in line with the initial requirements. Similarly, there is no mechanism that regulates subsequent changes of the contracts, and the control of implementation is entirely beyond the purview of this law. This is especially important in the case of public works, where there is a wide practice of extending the contracts to additional or support works without prior opening of a public tender. Additional works are those which have not been stipulated in the initial version of the project or the original contract, but which become necessary due to unforeseeable circumstances and cannot be technically or economically separated from the main contract without causing greater difficulties to the customer. Such contracts can only be concluded with a contractor who was chosen for the main procurement activity, and the total value of such contracts for additional works or services cannot exceed 25% of the value of the main contract. Instead of serving the rare and exceptional cases, which was its original purpose, this clause has been widely applied, compromising the entire process.

ACCOUNTABILITY

"The message ought to be: the state as formulated clear regulations governing public procurement and it intends to implement them rigorously; transgressors will be punished by the law; civil servants involved in corruption will be fired; applicants who violate the rules will be punished, put on a black list and excluded from all future tenders".

This was how the Directorate for Public Procurement described Governments'

institut alternativa

approach to legality and accountability in public procurement in February 2010. There is no doubt that the strengthening of mechanisms of control and accountability is one of the key ingredients of the fight against corruption, but the real commitment of the authorities can only be gauged through practice of establishing disciplinary and criminal responsibility of transgressors.

Disciplinary responsibility

Civil servants i.e. employees are responsible, among other, for legal and expedient allocation of public resources entrusted to them in their work. According to the law, "irregular allocation of entrusted funds, abuse of office or overstepping competencies, failure to act which prevents a citizen or a legal person from realising their rights, supplying incorrect information that affects the decision" are all considered heavy infringements of work discipline.

Nevertheless, even when the auditors found irregularities or violations of procurement procedures there were no disciplinary measures against the responsible persons and public employees. According to the Central Register of Cadres, there were only four heavy infringements of work discipline, concerning cases of non-action or reckless, untimely or careless execution of duties. This suggests that in practice there are no sanctions against officials and public employees responsible for public procurement, i.e. that the practice of disciplinary accountability in public procurement has not been developed.

Procedural responsibility

The law on public procurement identifies fourteen events which constitute violations of procedure and sets financial penalties for the entity responsible for procurement, but only one of them targets individually the person responsible for the violation. Contrary to anti-corruption declarations contained in the law on public procurement, there is no procedural responsibility for violations of principles of the conflict of interest and anti-corruption rules.

In practice, the question arose whether DJN has the authority to initiate a procedural process or whether the wronged party needs to turn to the court. The law on procedural infringements stipulates that the

process can be initiated on request of the responsible authority or of the wronged party. Among other, the requests can be submitted by the "administrative bodies" and complaints by the persons whose interests have been wronged.

According to the law on public procurement, DJN "shall inform State Audit Institution and submit complaints to other authorities in cases of infringement of procedure of public procurement it discovers in the course of performing its duties".

In the second half of 2009 DJN submitted 19 requests for initiation of infringement procedures to the regional courts, but these have usually been rejected on grounds of being submitted by a non-competent entity, while some of them were rejected because of irregular and untimely action on the part of DJN. President of the Council for procedural infringements and president of the regional body for infringements in Podgorica believe this was a consequence of a "mistake" in the law on public procurement which fails to clarify competencies for initiation of the procedures. Ministry of finance never submitted any complaints in this regard.

The lack of coherence between the two laws and practice is best illustrated by the fact that the law on procedural infringements stipulates that "Ministries and other administrative bodies... are in charge of infringement procedures entailing financial penalties, which is true of all cases envisaged by the law on public procurement. However, the Ministry of finance does not have a single employee who could preside over a case of procedural infringement in public procurement. It is also worrying that the regional bodies for infringement procedures never declared themselves incompetent in such cases, probably for very different reasons.

Even if everything was in perfect order with regard to authority for initiating and conducting processes against procedural infringements and the parties found guilty, the penalty would be quite ineffective. The law on public procurement stipulates that the penalty should be paid by the commissioning institution, and the law on procedural infringements states that the money from the penalties should go into the Budget of the Republic of Montenegro.

When the transgressors are public companies, such solutions are meaningless and do not have the weight of a real sanction.

It is clear that different interpretations of the two laws, the lack of coordination between relevant institutions and passive approach on the part of DJN resulted in neglect of the provisions on procedural infringements and lack of accountability in this regard.

Criminal responsibility

The criminal code envisages a series of punishable offences related to abuse of office which could also be applied with regard to public procurement.

From the standpoint of discovering criminal offences in public procurement, cooperation between DJN, Commission for the control of public procurement procedures, DRI, Police Directorate and the Supreme State Prosecutor is of vital importance. However, DJN and the Commission have no record of having submitted such complaints, there is no cooperation between the Police and DRI, DRI never submitted a case to the Supreme State Prosecutor, and the Police submitted altogether three cases of criminal offences in relation to public procurement over a period of three years, on suspicion of abuse of public office in public procurement procedures. None of these cases resulted in a valid court verdict.

Thus, in spite of the fact that public procurement constitutes a very fertile ground for numerous offences, the number of cases in this area has been negligible, indicating low level also of development of criminal accountability in the Montenegrin public procurement system.

Political accountability

There is no information on anybody having to bear political consequences because of irregularities in public procurement. In the course of 2009 the Government demonstrated some recklessness also in the process of appointment of members to the Commission for control of public procurement procedures. After the previous Commission finished its term in office, the Government took almost a year to appoint new ones or renew the mandates of the old members, and the Commission continued to function illegally. Because of this attitude on the part of the Government, a large number of Commission's decisions have been overruled by the Administrative Court in 2010.

The author is president of the Board of Managers of Institute Alternativa

WHY DO I WANT TO BE A CITIZEN OF EUROPEAN UNION

Into the future with a clean past



The idea to create a big European family where all of its members will be better off than they were within their own fences has

by Mirela Rebronja

been received in Montenegro with open arms. Membership in the European Union (EU) is seen as the "promised land" and an act that will allow us all to live better, without us having to struggle for it too much. What worries me the most is the belief that one day all of our problems that we haven't been able to sort out for decades will just vanish into thin air, and so we're waiting for somebody else to do it. It might be tempting but is, unfortunately, impossible.

There are many reasons I want to be a citizen of EU. At the moment, I want it the most because of the road it makes us take in order to achieve our goals. This road is what will make Montenegro into an EU member, not the official act of accession, but that is something that is often forgotten. We have not moulded ourselves into European standards, even if we adopted laws which are in line with European ones. We adapted, even if the laws have only been implemented and observed for a few weeks or months, as is the practice in Montenegro. I want to believe that we will fulfil all the requirements set up by Brussels. And I don't think we should rush, because only if we do every step correctly and resolve every task placed ahead of us can we say that we have become part of the European family. Else, we will be asking ourselves – what has really changed? The formal status of the country we live in? That won't mean much to me.

Recently I had a chance to hear a twenty-year old, Eurosceptic, talking about why he doesn't want to be a citizen of EU. Even if his arguments were fairly superficial, it made me think. Speaking at a gathering he asked the participants why they all wanted to join EU if that means giving up on their freedom. He also asked why should he go somewhere where he "won't

be allowed to ride a motorbike without a helmet or a car without a safety belt" or where he will have to queue instead of giving the official a 20 euro bill and getting things done quickly".

At that moment, I asked myself whether it is possible that one young man cannot see all the possibilities offered by this community? Not only does he not see them, he isn't even curious about finding out and learning about them. Then I realised that he cannot want something else if he is perfectly happy with what he has, if he thinks it is right to "ride a motorbike without a helmet" or "pay the officer 20 euro not to wait in the line". It is a little defeating to learn that this is what some people call freedom.

This is why I want EU! Hoping that, on the way to it, peoples' attitudes will change, that they will understand that it isn't all that difficult to respect the rules, that we don't

The essence of the EU accession process isn't in the formalisation of our status, declaration of membership, if it has not been founded upon profound social changes

have to wait for hours in the line only to be sent elsewhere to wait again and get things done only if we're lucky, and that we should feel responsible, personally and as a society for everything we do or fail to do when it should be done.

Speaking about responsibility, I have to note that it's an institution that possibly suffered the most over the twenty years of transition, and has faded away almost entirely. As time goes by and we supposedly implement reforms on all levels of social development, responsibility for the past (mis)deeds should come to the fore. This is, however, hardly the case. One of the ever-present examples is confrontation with the past and responsibility for what happened

here during the war years, almost an entire decade.

It is not enough to just admit that something happened. It is necessary to take the responsibility and make sure nothing similar happens ever again. It is necessary to tell the truth, to the present and all future generations. It is irresponsible and unfair to leave this burden of the past for others to bear, something that is all too common here. I, who was almost unconscious during the 1990s, feel today a victim of these events. And I will think of myself as one until I know the full truth and until all who are guilty aren't brought to justice for their crimes. And as long as those who were not even born in these years are still spreading nationalism and hatred because they were not told what really happened.

Among other, this is also what the EU is asking of all countries in the region as part of the integration process. The EU does

not want to inherit the burden of the past of the West Balkan countries. Simply, it does not want to take on other people's responsibilities. And we don't want to be thought of any more as an unstable area best known for bloody conflicts. The interest is mutual.

All the above makes me think the EU is more than necessary and I want to be a citizen of this European community, the healthier, more progressive one, where respect for human rights and freedoms are taken for granted and where the citizens of Montenegro can also embrace some new, different values and with them the "rules of the game", aware that they're doing it mainly for themselves.

The essence of the EU accession process isn't in the formalisation of our status, declaration of membership, if it has not been founded upon profound social changes. As a nation, we should be most concerned with things which are not even directly part of the accession process: most of all, changing the rules and principles of behaviour and general attitude of our citizens.

The author is an associate of Centre for Civic Education (CCE) and coordinator of Coalition for RECOM in Montenegro



Information on EU unclear

European Parliament (EP) criticised equally the European institutions, national governments and the media in a report on the media coverage of EU topics.

The report, prepared by the Danish liberal MEP **Morten Lokkegaard** says that the problem is not shortage of information on EU and its institutions but that there is too much information, "without any prioritising", even when they are published via social networks such as Facebook and Twitter.

"Information is often too vague or insufficiently attractive or understandable, often because they rely on overly technical vocabulary which alienates the people who are not well versed in European topics", states the Report.

According to the MEPs, the official EU website should also use more accessible language to explain the role and function of EU institutions.

MEPs also expressed their concern

with the fact that EU funds 2011 earmarked for the training of journalists have been reduced and urged European Commission to "strengthen communication policy and place it higher on its list of priorities".

At the same time, EP is worried about falling numbers of correspondents from Brussels and called onto the EU institutions to be more open towards journalists.



ADSL for all Europeans

European Commission proposed a package of measures that would allow access to fast broadband Internet to all Europeans, including those who live in rural, isolated or sparsely populated areas.

EC wants everybody in the EU to



have access to broadband Internet such as ADSL by 2013.

Last year already 94% of Europeans had ADSL, but the percentage is lower in rural areas – 80%. In some countries, such as Greece, Poland, Slovakia, Bulgaria and Romania, it can even be lower than 50%.

The importance of ADSL is sufficiently justified with a single example – internet connection of over 50 mb/s allows the user to conduct diagnostic "distance" searches. This connection offers the best possible technical support even to doctors who happen to be on house visits to the patients in remote areas. The Commission proposal will be discussed by the Council and EP.

Obligatory quota for women?

European Commissioner for Justice and Fundamental Rights **Viviane Reding** said in the interview for *Die Welt* that the EU could introduce obligatory quotas for employment of women if the percentage of women in high positions does not increase.

The goal would be that by 2015 women make up at least 30% of members

of managing boards, with their number growing to 40% by 2010, writes *Die Welt*.

"If we don't see any changes happening until the end of 2011, we will have to consider legally binding quotas", Reding said.

In Germany, for instance, only 13% of leading positions in large companies are occupied by women.

Millions lost on language

This year's European Language Day, celebrated on every 26 September, was dedicated to the importance of fluency in foreign languages for small and medium enterprises.

It is estimated that 11% of small and medium enterprises lose business opportunities worth hundreds of millions euros because of the lack of knowledge of a foreign language, which also has adverse consequences for the jobs.

There are 23 official and more than 40 regional and minority languages in EU, which makes it a unique multi-lingual community. European Language Day was established in 2001 in order to celebrate this diversity.

No sugar in juices

European Commission adopted amendments to the Directive on Fruit Juices which forbids adding sugar to fruit juices, in accordance with its policy of promoting balanced diet.

Adding sugar would only be allowed in nectars and some very specific products, and the products would have to be clearly marked.

The other suggested change is to put tomato on the list of fruit used for preparation of fruit juices. The proposal will be sent to EP and the Council according to the usual procedure.

Bee Care

European Commission approved all 27 member states' national programmes for the improvement of production and sale of bee products for the period 2011 to 2013, increasing subsidies by almost 25%, from 26 to 32 million euros.

In the last few years the producers registered very high mortality among the bees, making their work more uncertain and possibly threatening biodiversity.

TO WHAT EXTENT ARE THE EU MEMBERS' ANTI-CRISIS POLICIES PROTECTIONIST

EU and economic nationalism



Industrial policy has long been a euphemism in most parts of Europe for economic



by Elie Cohen

nationalism. The German and French governments have been scrambling to save their automobile and truck industries through big fiscal injections, making it clear that within much of the EU industrial policy has become a central plank of national governments' decision-making. In this inhospitable climate there is a pressing need for EU co-ordination, but national interests will still decide which industries get support.

During the course of last year, French, German and other EU leaders worked against rather than with each other when putting their industrial policies in place. The results were disappointing; certain European industries got undue protection while others were squeezed out of the market. The lesson is clear. EU governments must work together when implementing industrial policy, but they also need to do much more to promote innovation and competitiveness.

The French and German governments intervened last year with capital injections to replace deserting shareholders. They buttressed slack demand by subsidising sales, stimulating research into cleaner technologies and protecting jobs. These

recovery schemes put national interests first, using the argument that taxpayers' money must be put to work in defence of the nation's companies and the nation's workers.

The French authorities have now taken this approach a step further with the creation of a Fonds stratégique d'investissement (FSI), which aims to protect domestic capital from the predatory designs of foreign investors. This wholesale return to the "industrial policies" of yesteryear, and governments' concomitant reluctance to let even uncompetitive

ment models that rely on external growth, exports and foreign indebtedness are not only unsustainable but are also at the root of "global imbalances". Trade balances that are systematically either in surplus or in deficit are also problematic. For countries with trade balances in surplus, domestic consumption is insufficient so there is a danger that the investment of excess reserves will be risky, as has happened in Germany. For countries with trade balances in deficit, excess consumption and debt coupled with fragile exchange rates

Trade balances that are systematically either in surplus or in deficit are also problematic. For countries with trade balances in surplus, domestic consumption is insufficient so there is a danger that the investment of excess reserves will be risky, as has happened in Germany. For countries with trade balances in deficit, excess consumption and debt coupled with fragile exchange rates have a tendency to jeopardise economic stability, as the UK recently had a chance to find out

companies go to the wall because of the crisis, should be cause for widespread concern.

It is still not clear whether this economic nationalism is only temporary, or whether it's a long-term response to a new post-crisis economic order. But already a major lesson of the crisis is that develop-

have a tendency to jeopardise economic stability, as the UK recently had a chance to find out.

In principle, it is to some extent logical that market regulators and the competition authorities should take the lead when an economy is stable and that industrial policies should be implemented in times of crisis. But unfortunately European governments didn't respond to the crisis with common policies, nor did they seize the opportunity to strengthen the powers of authorities in the euro-zone. Instead, each EU member state opted to fend for itself.

The mainstream European media paid scant attention to these protectionist manoeuvres, because for the most part journalists were more interested in covering the co-ordi-



nated Sarkozy–Brown plan for overcoming the crisis, meetings of the G20 and the co-ordinated economic stimulus plan, which together gave the impression that Europe was unit-

The mainstream European media paid scant attention to these protectionist manoeuvres, because for the most part journalists were more interested in covering the co-ordinated Sarkozy–Brown plan for overcoming the crisis, meetings of the G20 and the co-ordinated economic stimulus plan, which together gave the impression that Europe was uniting to tackle the crisis. However, the fact that almost all EU members reached for the same arsenal of measures – deposit guarantees, re-capitalisation of banks, guarantees for inter-bank loans and the purchasing of toxic assets – doesn't mean that these constitute a common response. In the meantime, the interventionist measures taken by member states have in fact created distortions and irregularities right across Europe

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In the meantime, the interventionist measures taken by member states have in fact created distortions and irregularities right across Europe. Selective and diverse approaches to bank re-capitalisations, led to a hotchpotch of fragmented and re-nationalised, but still deeply inter-dependent financial systems.

National competition authorities were silenced, and when the European Commission's DG-Competition warned that it had little option but to block state aid because of the harm it is causing to the overall EU competitiveness, it was quickly made to capitulate in the face of vociferous national protests.

Luckily, the relative weakness of the EU's competition watchdogs was short-lived. Once the storm passed the Commission found itself back in the driving seat. Banks like Royal Bank of Scotland (RBS), Dexia or ING that had been saved by public funding had to submit their restructuring programmes to the Commission. The

aim was to lessen the harm that their emergency funding might cause to free and fair competition.

The Commission's handling of the GM Europe issue was an excel-

lent example of industrial intervention. Initially, the Commission gave the German government free rein, but instead of assisting Opel, Berlin sought to protect German jobs by supporting Magna, the prospective

European Union needs policies that will promote standardisation and innovation, and member governments must learn to avoid micro-managing and instead work as part of an EU-wide approach

Canadian-Russian owner, even though this risked having detrimental effects on Opel's Belgian and British workforces. The Commission's threatened to bring the case to court and after the last German elections, the incoming government withdrew support from Magna, and the responsibility for restructuring was transferred back to the original owner.

A number of recent studies, particularly those by the World Trade Organisation (WTO), show that governments have generally avoided trade protectionism, so that only 1% of international trade has been affected by such measures. But this takes no account of financial protectionism. Investments by sovereign wealth funds could limit the mobility of capital and give undue protection to national capital. The difficulties being faced by EU governments in managing the financial crisis are raising serious questions about whether

national industrial policy in the EU and the Union's competition rules can co-exist side by side. They probably can, but only if Europeans give up the political directives of yester-year and instead promote innovation and more competitive environmental policies. It isn't possible to plan for innovation, of course, but it is possible to get the conditions right. Innovation clusters, independent universities and well-funded innovative companies all create the right environments for innovation. It is also possible to promote innovation and technical change in biotech industries and the renewable energies sector, while at the same time avoiding national monopolies. In a global and regionally integrated economy, competitive environmental policies that create research infrastructure or provide tax and regulatory incentives for innovation can

have significant knock on effects.

The global economic crisis, together with the growth of emerging markets, is putting Europe's long-standing overcapacity problems firmly in the spotlight. To prevent the EU's single market from going bust, national policymakers must implement industrial restructuring policies in tandem with one another. This is particularly true of the automobile sector – if the various European authorities do not move to address overcapacity in the automotive sector, we will surely see a revival of protectionism.

Competition policies that allow global players to emerge may well reshape the structures of European industry and economy. European Union needs policies that will promote standardisation and innovation, and member governments must learn to avoid micro-managing and instead work as part of an EU-wide approach.

DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE FOR ASSOCIATION AND STABILISATION

European and Montenegrin MPs for decriminalisation of libel

European and Montenegrin MPs called on the authorities to undertake further steps to decriminalise defamation, expressed regret at the deplorable statements by the Minister of Human and Minority Rights Ferhat Dinoša about LGBT population, welcomed the progress so far in the reform of judiciary and reduction in the backlog of court cases, but also urged Montenegrin government to put more effort into ensuring the independence of judiciary and prosecution from political interference.

In the Declaration and recommendations for Montenegrin and EU institutions members of the Parliamentary Committee for Stabilisation and Association said they are "looking forward to the positive Opinion of the Commission on Montenegro's application for membership in European Union".

The first meeting of the Parliamentary Committee for Stabilisation and Association, consisting of 14 members from the majority and opposition in the Montenegrin parliament and European Parliament took place on 27 and 28 September in Brussels. Apart from the MPs led by Ranko Krivokapić and Eduard Kukan, the meeting was also attended by Gordana Đurović and Štefan Fule on behalf of the Government of Montenegro and European Commission.

Parliamentary Committee noted with satisfaction that IPA assistance works well in Montenegro, but at the same time encouraged both the government and the Commission to simplify the administrative procedures for IPA funding, with the aim of making it more accessible to smaller and non-centralised beneficiaries

The Committee discussed the state of play of EU-Montenegro relations, process of capacity building of the Montenegrin Parliament and in particular strengthening of

its scrutiny functions, improving the functioning of the rule of law in Montenegro, reform of the judiciary and



The Committee regretted deplorable statements by the Minister for human and minority rights regarding the LGBT population and recalled that all minorities, including the LGBT group, have to be protected by strict implementation of the anti-discrimination law

the fight against corruption and organised crime,

The MPs also talked about regional cooperation, protection of human rights, in particular freedom of media, and economic developments in Montenegro with par-

ticular view at sustainable development of tourism and transport system while ensuring protection of the environment.

The joint Declaration and recommendations also "noted with satisfaction that IPA assistance works well in Montenegro".

At the same time, the Committee "encouraged both the government and the

Commission to simplify the administrative procedures for IPA funding, with the aim of making it more accessible to smaller and non-centralised beneficiaries".

The MPs welcomed the progress made on judicial reform with the adoption of legislation such as the Criminal Procedure Code and the reduction in backlogs of court cases.

"Nevertheless, Šthe CommitteeĆ calls upon the Montenegrin authorities to continue to improve the accountability and efficiency of the judicial system and to focus on ensuring independence of the judiciary and prosecution from political interference, and continues to encourage the Parliament and the Government to address the issue of conflict of interests", states the Declaration.

It adds that the committee has taken careful note of the steps taken towards the

SORT OUT THE ISSUE OF DUAL CITIZENSHIP WITH SERBIA

The Parliamentary Committee acknowledged "the important and constructive" role of Montenegro in fostering regional cooperation and good relations with other Western Balkan and neighbouring EU countries.

The Committee "congratulated the Montenegrin Parliament for having been the first chamber in the region, to adopt a resolution on the Srebrenica genocide in coherence with the Resolution of the European Parliament of 2009 and for commemorating this year's anniversary with the opening of an exhibition about mass graves in Bosnia and Herzegovina", states the document in the section on regional cooperation.

However, the Committee reminded Montenegro and Serbia of the need to find solutions on outstanding issues such as the issue on dual citizenship in the interest of the citizens of both countries.

relevant legal and administrative framework to fight corruption and organised crime and observed with interest recent achievements in the strengthening of institutional capacities of law-enforcement.

"We encourage the ruling coalition to take further actions in this field and closely monitor developments in the strengthening of institutional capacities of law-enforcement; we welcome the Government's submission of the 2010–2014 strategy and the action plan to fight organised crime and corruption to the Commission at the beginning of August 2010 and expect concrete results from the implementation of the proposed measures.

The Committee called on the Montenegrin authorities to continue to demonstrate their commitment with a view to ensuring that the media sector operates without political interference and that the independence of regulatory bodies is guaranteed; encouraged the competent authorities to proceed swiftly with resolving the pending case concerning attacks on journalists and expressed the hope that this will not be repeated in future

We consider it necessary to strengthen the investigative capacity and to improve inter-agency cooperation" states the joint document of Montenegrin and European MPs.

It further notes that the Parliamentary Committee acknowledged that Montenegro has taken steps to ensure freedom of expression in the media through the adoption of the Law on Electronic Media and amendments to the Criminal Code, but invited the authorities to take further steps in order to decriminalise defamation.

The Committee "called on the Montenegrin authorities to continue to demonstrate their commitment with a view

to ensuring that the media sector operates without political interference and that the independence of regulatory bodies is guaranteed; encouraged the competent authorities to proceed swiftly with resolving the pending case concerning attacks on journalists and expressed the hope that this will not be repeated in future; underlined the importance of promoting ethical and professional standards through strengthening media self-regulation; called on the authorities to ensure that the national and local public broadcasting services live up to the EU standards of objectivity, independence and pluralism".

The committee expressed satisfaction

that, in the area of human rights and protection of minorities, Montenegro is broadly in line with European standards and welcomed the recent adoption of the

The MPs expressed their concern that the Law on Gender Equality has not yet resulted in mainstreaming gender equality policy across the public administration, including the Parliament and ministries

Law on anti-discrimination and the Law on protection from domestic violence.

"We call upon the Montenegrin authorities to ensure that the relevant legal provisions including the Law on minority rights and freedoms are thoroughly implemented and encouraged them to deploy

further efforts in raising awareness of any type of discrimination; encourages the Montenegrin authorities to continue to fully support the implementation of its Action Plan for resolving the status of displaced persons; regretted deplorable statements by the Minister for human and minority rights regarding the LGBT population and recalled that all minorities, including the LGBT group, have to be protected by strict implementation of the anti-discrimination law", states the Declaration.

The MPs welcomed the implementation of the action plan for gender equality (2008–2012), but expressed their concern that the Law on Gender Equality has not yet resulted in mainstreaming gender equality policy across the public administration, including the Parliament and ministries.

"The Committee encourages Montenegro to intensify the efforts in this field".

The MPs also stressed the importance of implementing the constitutional provisions on the official languages in use and invited the Montenegrin authorities to implement these provisions in all areas and particularly in education.

The committee welcomed improvements in the functioning of the Parliament of Montenegro and noted with satisfaction the increased level of involvement of the Committee for International Relations and European Integration on

European integration issues.

However, the Committee "reiterated its recommendations aimed at increasing

Parliament's administrative resources as well as expert support, in order to provide it with sufficient means to exercise effectively its scrutiny functions", states the document of the Parliamentary Committee.

This joint body of the Parliament of Montenegro and European Parliament is concerned that the amendments to the electoral law have yet to be passed; it

called on the Parliament to adopt them without further delay and invited all political parties to find a common position in line with the OSCE-ODIHR recommendations.

v.ž.



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European youth forum is an independent youth organization gathering more than 90 member organisations among which ten of them are national youth councils and dozens of NGOs acting independently or as some kind of federations or associations. Forum is a meeting place for a great number of young people from across Europe and a kind of representative body advocating the interests of youth before the EU institutions

Basic principles of the functioning are democracy in inner relations, independence from the political parties, openness for inclusion of youth regardless their belonging.

Vision of the Forum is to be a voice of youth from Europe before the institutions engaged in creating youth policies on national and European level with the aim to enable young people to be accepted as equal citizens with the full capacity to be included in political and social life.

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The main objectives of the organisation are:

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- pressing the decision makers in the area of youth policies to recognize youth organisations as partners in their work;
- promotion of the concept of youth policies as a part of overall political concept of social development;
- facilitation of the youth participation through the development of sustainable and independent youth organisation on national and international level;
- promotion of the necessity of the establishment of equal opportunities for young people all around Europe.

More information could be found:
www.youthforum.org

Prepared by: **Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ**

Coalition for RECOM supported by the European Commission and European Parliament

Delegation of the Coalition for RECOM presented the Initiative for RECOM to the European Commission and European Parliament on 29 and 30 September in Brussels. Representatives of the Coalition met with **Pierre Mirel**, director for Western Balkans in the EC Directorate General Enlargement, as well as with the heads of teams for Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Albania and Croatia, with whom they talked about the idea of establishing a regional commission for truth-finding about war crimes and other violations of human

rights during the wars on the territory of former Yugoslavia. Once again, Mirel emphasised the importance of and need for Initiative for RECOM, expressing his full support for further activities of the Coalition.

In the European Parliament, representatives of the Coalition had a chance to speak before the Human Rights Subcommittee. **Eduard Kukan**, head of the Delegation for relations with Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo said during presentation of the Initiative for RECOM that this

is "a unique initiative which deserves long-term support of EP and EC".

Initiative for RECOM was also supported by other MEPs, among them Heidi Hautala, head of the human rights subcommittee. All agreed that this was the first time that such an important initiative came "from below" which makes it all the more deserving of full support of the European Parliament.

Daliborka Uljarević, executive director of CCE, was part of the delegation of Coalition of RECOM which presented the initiative in Brussels.

Confronting the past, creating the future



Gorjanc Prelević, Mračević, Uljarević, Vuković, Milošević

On behalf of RECOM coalition, Centre for Civic Education (CCE) organised on 14 September 2010 in Podgorica National Consultations with representatives of local authorities and communities on the Initiative for Regional commission for truth-seeking and truth-telling about war crimes and other violations of human rights in former Yugoslavia (RECOM). Participants in the consultations expressed their full support for the Initiative and emphasised that all efforts to establish truth about the victims of the wars of former Yugoslavia deserve support.

"We will fully support this project and participate in all positive activities to

uncover the crimes of the past" said the mayor of Bijelo Polje, **Tarzan Milošević**, at the opening of the consultations.

Vice-president of the municipality of Herceg Novi, **Vladimir Mračević** also said that "This initiative should be supported by all social structures and public in all countries of the region, because there is no national interest that would justify crime, and we must not allow similar events to happen again, because by confronting the past we will create our future".

The participants discussed the reasons for and importance of establishing RECOM, but also the contents of its

Statute drafted by the Model Working Group.

Journalists **Dragoljub Vuković** spoke to the representatives of the local authorities and communities about the reasons for establishing RECOM, and the draft statute was presented by **Tea Gorjanc Prelević**, member of the working group that created the document and director of Human Rights Action. After presenting the next steps of RECOM and reminding participants of the recent, important meetings, the consultations were closed by executive director of CCE **Daliborka Uljarević**.

XVI Generation of Democracy School

On 27 September 2010 in Podgorica XVI generation of Democracy School started the programme, organised by CCE and Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

The School is one of the oldest CCE programmes, dedicated to understanding of the idea of democracy and ways in which this idea can be implemented. The programme offers insights into theoretical discussions, comparative practices as well as the techniques and skills of implementing democratic principles in everyday life, and especially in the political sphere.

FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

THE ERASMUS MUNDUS MASTER COURSE IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH

The Erasmus Mundus Master Course in Economic Development and Growth–MEDEG is a full–time masters programme organized by a consortium including three top–class European Universities: Universidad Carlos III Madrid – Spain (coordinating institution), University of Warwick – United Kingdom and University of Lund – Sweden.

MEDEG lasts 2 academic years, includes 120 ECTS (60 ECTS/year), and consists of 14 or 16 course modules (depending on the two different mobility schemes available) delivered through a combination of lectures, classes, tutorials and essay writing with individual supervisors. Another key component of the programme are a 8.000–word research dissertations to be written at the end of the first year and a 15.000–word dissertation to be written at the end of the second year, on subjects chosen by students in consultation with supervisors.

Students are mandatorily required to study in two different universities of the consortium. In each university, they have to remain for one year and complete 60 ECTS.

Deadlines: first – 30th of November 2010 for students from Third Countries, second 15 of January 2011 for students from European countries.



More on programme could be found on http://www.uc3m.es/portal/page/portal/postgraduate_studies/masters/Master_in_Economic_Development_and_Growth

THE EUROPEAN MASTERS IN SPORT AND EXERCISE PSYCHOLOGY PROGRAMME

The European Masters in Sport and Exercise Psychology programme (EMSEP) is a joint programme organised by 4 leading European universities in the field: the University of Jyväskylä, Finland; the University of Leipzig, Germany; the University of Thessaly, Greece, and Lund University, Sweden. The 2 year full–time EMSEP programme is taught completely in English and it offers education opportunities for students of all nationalities. EMSEP provides you with high–quality teaching in a

truly international environment, study abroad period, valuable hands–on experience through internship, networking with fellow students and experts, and a double degree.

The EMSEP consortium offers scholarships for both European and non–European students. The scholarships are funded by the European Commission and will be awarded to the best students on a competitive basis.

Admission Requirements: Bachelor's degree with good grades in Sport Sciences, Psychology, Social Psychology or other relevant field; proof of English language proficiency; proven interest in the field of sport and exercise psychology and basic knowledge of research methodology.

Deadline for applications: 10 January, 2011

More on programme could be found on <http://www.jyu.fi/sport/emsep>

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