

European pulse

Electronic monthly magazine for European Integration – No 72, September 2011

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Foreword: **Bonuses**

Vladan Žugić

Ministers, MPs, and it seems also the directors of public agencies, local chieftains, and spearheads of justice, are to feel on their own pockets one of the greatest misconceptions of EU membership – that it brings, automatically, better living standards. First the European Commission force the Parliament to adopt amendments to the Law on the conflict of interests, ensuring that in the next few months all MPs should leave the managing boards of public companies, and choose between their offices as MPs or as mayors or directors of public institutions. In practice, this means that some 30 MPs of the ruling coalition will lose a few hundred, if not a few thousand euros per month, together with public influence and the ability to control employment in public administration... The elected representatives of the nation have evidently decided to at least make up for the financial loss by raising their wages to an average of 2 500 euro, supposedly as a reward for the adoption of the electoral law, the first of seven EC requirements. The next was a Government blow below the belt: it was announced that ministers will lose 900 euro bonuses they introduced in January 2011 for “anti-corruption purposes”, and to compensate them for extra work under the Action Plan for the fulfilment of EC’s requirements. Finally, the Speaker of the Parliament **Ranko Krivokapić** and the Prime Minister **Igor Lukšić** agreed it was time to reconsider the overall wage system in Montenegro, which are traditionally higher in certain branches of public administration, agencies and local governments. Behold the miracle of European integrations!

Calendar

08. september **Finally the electoral law** / Montenegrin parliament finally adopted the electoral law, after four years, with 71 votes in favour, and thus fulfilled the first of the seven conditions for the opening of accession negotiations with EU. The electoral law was supported by the MPs of the ruling coalition, SNP, PzP, Nova and HGI, while the MPs of the Albanian parties left the session, as they failed to push through an amendment which stipulated that they can keep separate ballots and guaranteed mandates in the areas where Albanians constitute a majority. The vote was preceded by the signing of a political agreement between Prime Minister **Igor Lukšić** and leaders of the opposition **Srđan Milić**, **Nebojša Medojević** and **Andrija Mandić** on the name of the school subject concerning the main language and literature, which was opposition’s condition for supporting the electoral law. The agreement says the subject will be called Montenegrin-Serbian, Bosnian, Croatian language and literature.
14. september **The next challenge: independent judiciary** / State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integrations **Slavica Milačić** said it is best to stay away from speculations on EC’s opinion on Montenegro’s progress, but that based on everything that was done so far there is reason to be optimistic.
20. september **Government optimistic about the date of negotiations** / State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integrations **Slavica Milačić** said all should refrain from speculations about the EC’s opinion on Montenegro’s progress, but that based on the achievements so far there is reason for optimism.
22. september **Civil sector in the negotiating team** / Montenegro will prepare an action plan whose basis will be the opening towards the civil sector, and the results should include gradual incorporation of the representatives of non-governmental sector into the future negotiating process with EU, said Prime Minister **Igor Lukšić**. He also announced harmonisation of the current Law on free access to information with the EU standards. The Prime Minister said that the Government will initiate these changes as part of its membership in the “Open Government Partnership”, an initiative of the US President **Barack Obama** and Brazilian President **Dilma Rousseff**.
28. september **Date for negotiations and new deadlines** / According to RTCG, Montenegro will get a positive opinion from EC on the fulfilment of the conditions for the beginning of the negotiations process, but also new deadlines to fix the outstanding problems.

Between two stairs



Amitai Etzioni

The reasons that the European Union has such great difficulty in dealing with the debt amassed by several of its members (and many of its banks!) run much deeper than it seems. The EU has been trying to act increasingly as if it were one nation—the United States of Europe—without developing the kind of loyalties and commitments only nations can elicit from their citizens.

Nations are particularly strong communities. The clearest sociological test for the national level of the communal bonds is that people are willing to die for their nation; no one is even thinking about dying for the EU. Another indication is the level of economic sacrifice one is willing to make for the community. The West Germans gave the equivalent of a trillion dollars to the East Germans in the decade that followed unification with little hesitation. “They are fellow Germans” was about all the explanation that was needed. However, the same Germans have a very hard time granting much smaller amounts to Greece and other EU nations that are in trouble.

The trouble with the EU is that, although it started like a free-trade zone, it is increasingly seeking to make EU-wide decisions on many economic and social policies—policies that benefit some members and cause much pain to others—without first building a strong community. This is essential in order for people to be willing to make significant sacrifices for “others.”

True, the EU tried to build shared sentiments. It fashioned a flag of its own in the form of a circle of stars, and its logo is displayed on car license plates and on the beaches. It also arranged for student exchanges and a few other such rather inane measures. The net result has been some, albeit rather limited, increase in a commitment to Europe, especially among the young—but not to the EU and its institutions. Worse, the EU made a move which cannot but

be considered a sociological bomb. It both expanded and “deepened” at the same time. Over the last decade, it has added twelve new members.

Long before these differences could be muted and strong, shared commitments could be developed, the EU also decided to move from what was largely a requirement for unanimous rule (which meant that every member, in effect, had a veto power) to a majority rule in many matters. It now compels those in the minority to make sacrifices of a magnitude they are not necessarily ready to make. Meanwhile, the EU faces challenges that arise from the large flow of immigrants from Africa that some nations (e.g. Italy and Spain) in effect admit into other nations (such as Germany, the UK and France).

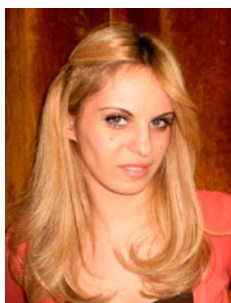
With all these dilemmas, the EU faces two basic choices. The first is to retreat to a much lower level of integration and become basically a glorified trade union, which combines a free flow of goods with the harmonization of numerous, largely administrative laws but allows each country to manage its own economy, borders and polity. This may well entail giving up the Euro and restoring national borders. This is the likely course to be followed. Or the EU could move to a much higher level of integration and create a union akin to that of the U.S., for which there is rather little support.

But the EU cannot remain standing between two stairs, as it is trying to do as it seeks to find its footing.

Source: National Interest

Two decades since Montenegro declared itself an environmental state:
How far are the EU standards?

Žabljak ever further from Brussels



Ana Manojlović

There is no specific action plan for the environment that would contain short-term and long-term objectives, list the available budgetary and other funds or the timetable for implementation of activities. There are no dedicated programmes in the field of research and development of the environment. There are no mechanisms to mediate the impact of environmental problems on the health of the population. These are all observations of the Government of Montenegro, listed in response to one of the questions in the last year's questionnaire of the European Commission, chapter "Environment". The same answer, to the letter, could be provided in September this year – twenty years after Montenegro declared itself an "ecological" state, in an official document produced together with the Constitution in the hilltown of Žabljak.

A nice idea – a state that would be "environmental" by the Constitution, remained a dead letter. It is worrying that at the moment environment seems to be one of the most difficult chapters for negotiations with EU. According to some rough estimates, together with agricultural legislation, it amounts to some 90% of the acquis. Even the

Hydro-plant on Morača an example to avoid

Marojević says that Montenegro needs to do a lot in order to reach the environmental standards present in the developed countries. "Unfortunately, it seems to me that Montenegro doesn't have a vision of its economic development, in spite of all the strategies adopted, and the path of development mostly follows individual interests. A fresh example are the hydro-power plants on river Morača, where half a century old plans are being implemented, with technical solutions long abandoned in Europe, without any data, with blatant violations of procedures, backed by powerful individual influence. It's an example we should learn never to repeat", Marojević said.



Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Justice **Duško Marković** (who, if he remains in office during the next term of the Government, will be largely in charge of the notorious Chapter 23, dedicated to justice and rule of law), indirectly admitted at a round table that he wouldn't want to be in the shoes of the Minister of Environment when the negotiations begin, given the current state of that field.

In its Opinion on Montenegro's application for EU membership, the European Commission took four pages to describe the state of the environment in our country – over the next five years Montenegro should make "significant efforts" in order to meet "minimum requirements" and join the European countries, taking care of its environment in the manner of developed states of the Old Continents. The EC noted that although Montenegro spent 165 million euro since the restoration of its independence on environmental programmes, the results are "less

Two-front approach through education and sanctions

According to the Government, another problem is that the citizens of the environmental state don't take the environment seriously. "Money is not enough to solve environmental problems, unless we all become more aware of the need to protect the environment in which we live. In order to achieve this goal it is important that we all make the effort, not only for ourselves, but most of all for the future generations. In other words, we ought to restore the environmental spirit and activism among the Montenegrin citizens, all in order to make the environment part of our everyday concerns, our way of life and individual culture. Once we adopt this way of life, the philosophy of a healthy environment and sustainable development will become the guiding idea of the future development of Montenegro, says Ivana Vojinović. The non-governmental sector agrees that the state should pay more attention to environmental education. "There are two important components here: a continuous educational campaign to tell the citizens that every piece of rubbish, anywhere, on land or in water, or in the air, is in fact going to end up in their plates. Another aspect, which is unavoidable, is the strict adherence to sanctions. Unfortunately, in Montenegro we only get occasional, ad-hoc educational campaigns, but we're missing long-term, well coordinated and targeted programmes. On the other hand, there is a complete lack of sanctions", Marojević explained.

than satisfactory".

"Harmonisation with EU standards requires significant administrative efforts in all areas, including the environment, and the main challenge to Montenegro in the upcoming period will be the strengthening of administrative capacities in all segments (legislation, implementation, inspection), and on all levels (state, local), as well as implementation of the existing regulations" says deputy Minister for Sustainable Development **Ivana Vojinović** in the interview for European Pulse.



An overview of the Government's responses to the Questionnaire reveals plenty of problems, and perhaps the only bright spot in this field is the legislative framework. On the other hand, there are, for instance, only 3 plants for treatment of waste water in Montenegro, with another 14 being planned.

"The problems of solid waste, waste, industrial and sewage water, existing industrial waste yards and lack of infrastructure are only some of the accumulated environmental problems. However, probably the biggest obstacle to the recovery of the environment is the selective implementation of laws, or even complete neglect for legal provisions in certain areas, says **Jelena Marojević** from NGO Green Home.

Waste management is the most striking example of the overwhelming environmental problems of the environmental state. Montenegro does not know how much waste it accumulates every year, because there are no statistics on it. There is no data on the amounts of community, industrial or construction waste, or even for medical waste. Most municipalities do not have scheduled areas for construction and medical waste. In its answers to the Questionnaire, the Government admits that there are "no significant recycling

Five black spots

Five black spots, which have been around for much longer than the idea of the environmental states, constitute the Achilles' heel of the country. These are KAP (basins of red mud and deposits of industrial waste), Željezara Nikšić (industrial waste deposits), shipyard "Bijela" (industrial waste – grit), coal-based power plant Pljevlja (deposits of ash and dross "Maljevac") and Gradac Pljevlja ("Šuplja stijena"). It took 20 years to rehabilitate another "black spot" – waste deposits of the plumb and zinc mine "Brskovo" in Mojkovac. "The Government considers the problem of management of dangerous industrial waste and recovery of sources of industrial pollution to be a priority. Accordingly, in cooperation with the World Bank, we began the "Industrial waste management and Cleanup Project". The project involves rehabilitation of these five environmental "black spots", and deciding on a unique location for deposition of dangerous industrial waste for the whole country", Vojinović said. The preparation phase of the project will be completed by the end of the year, and will be followed by a public tender for a company that will take charge of rehabilitating the sources of environmental pollution..

capacities – they only exist in Podgorica, Herzeg Novi, Budva and Kotor".

"There are no specific regulations regarding the emissions of industrial polluters into the air, water and land. Instead, the issue is regulated by separate provisions for air and water. There is no specific document regulating emissions from large boilers. There is no official register of chemicals available on the market. So far, there are not even rules on classification, packaging and labelling of chemicals. There are no procedures for the collection and data and risk assessment of chemicals in line with the requirements of the European legislation" – and this is only the beginning of the list rapped out by **Dejan Peruničić**, editor in the daily "Vijesti" and a long-term reporter on environmental issues. To date, the state had also failed to regulate the

emission of gasses from mobile sources – cars, trucks, busses – nor are there any checks on the quality of gasoline, diesel or mazut.

Marojević agrees that there is little money in Montenegro to regulate the environment properly. "But we shouldn't be looking for excuses – it has been twenty years, and if there was any intention and political will to work on it, much could have been accomplished. Simply, enforce the existing laws, create a list of priorities and have the determination to accomplish the objectives. All that, however, requires much political will and support, which is lacking", Marojević adds. Peruničić is adamant: "It would have been more honest to erase the adjective "environmental" from the Constitution. Of course, it doesn't mean we should forget the lies of the authorities, and the fact that they failed to do their job in all these years".

The task of fulfilling the seven conditions set by the European Commission took precedence over many other areas which definitely require more attention. Irresponsible approach to the environment has fortunately not lead to major damage so far – Montenegro still ranks among the top European states with regard to biodiversity. If we continue the same way, however, not much is likely to survive. The hope lies in the negotiations, and later in the membership in EU, where the environment is more than a dead letter.



Is everyone in power eagerly awaiting negotiations with EU

Battle for Montenegro



Neđeljko Rudović

Montenegro still has a chance to maintain a satisfactory pace of integration into European Union, Prime Minister **Igor Lukšić** narrowly escaped the disaster and the beginning of the end of his political career, but on the other side cracks have been appearing in the ruling coalition, which could put everything under a question mark. This could be a conclusion of the September agreement between the government and the opposition on the name of the subject to be taught as the main language in schools (Montenegrin-Serbian, Bosnian and Croatian language and literature), which resulted in the adoption of the electoral law. With this, the country fulfilled the first EU condition for the beginning of membership negotiations. In combination with slim results of the Government and judiciary with regard to the other six conditions, most importantly the fight against corruption and organised crime and strengthening of the independence of judiciary and administration, all information from the diplomatic circles nevertheless suggests that this could be enough for a positive opinion from the European Commission and, consequently, a decision in the Council of EU to take the relations between Montenegro and the “elite club” to the next phase. On the other hand, it is unclear whether everybody on the top of the ruling party in Montenegro is absolutely in favour of such developments. The sequence of events before Lukšić’s agreement with the leaders of the opposition party, and the subsequent “last supper” of the heads of DPS and SDP **Milo Đukanović** and **Ranko Krivokapić** with some 20 public figures, all known as staunch defenders of the Montenegrin national identity, suggests that there is a growing dilemma as to whether Lukšić has sufficient support from DPS leaders to lead Montenegro ever closer to EU. First of all, Lukšić did not get Đukanović’s support to conclude the agreement with the opposition on the name of the subject. According to unofficial sources, Đukanović wasn’t in favour of the final compromise, but did not say anything, as Lukšić warned that he will announce to the public the lack of support from his party superior, shifting onto him the blame for the failure of negotiations and a slow-down in Montenegro’s progress towards EU. Đukanović’s resistance to the agreement was already evident when



the head of DPS staunchly refused even the formulations which were in principle accepted by both Lukšić and the opposition (mother tongue and literature). Lukšić nevertheless managed to overcome this opposition, rescuing his undermined authority. Without the agreement and the date for negotiations he would have no concrete results to show and could already start packing from the office. A few days later, according to unofficial sources, at the “last supper” Đukanović talked about the situation in the EU and the region, offering his views that the EU itself is in an extremely difficult situation with the crisis of the euro, and that the outcome is highly uncertain. In other words, perhaps the EU will never be the same again, let’s step back and see whether we should really hurry there. He already said in July that the EU is not so close to his heart any more, especially since it turned out that as soon as it reached the end of negotiations Croatia arrested the former Prime Minister **Ivo Sanader**. This was the first time he publicly distanced himself from the official policy of the Government, saying that Montenegro’s progress towards EU does not only depend on its internal reforms, but also on the situation in the EU itself, and warning that Montenegro won’t make any sacrifices to Brussels. This was his response to the demand that Montenegro must arrest some big players in order to demonstrate visible results in fighting crime and corruption. Everything suggests that, in spite of benevolent attitudes of the European capitals, Montenegro could be held up until it turns out whether Đukanović is still the most powerful figure in the country, or if Lukšić, with support of the progressive forces and Western allies, can stand up to him. If there is such a showdown, it could be one of the most important battles for a European Montenegro.

President of the Group of States Against Corruption (GRECO)
of the Council of Europe Drago Kos

Make a single strong anti-corruption institution



I believe no other country in the region has so many corruption prevention bodies as Montenegro. The question is why should there be so many, if there are barely any visible results

President of the Group of States Against Corruption (GRECO) of the Council of Europe Drago Kos says that in order to successfully fight corruption Montenegro ought to put together all corruption prevention bodies into a single institution with broader competencies.

In the interview for European Pulse, Kos said it was very difficult to say whether Montenegro made enough progress in fighting corruption to make the European Commission happy and get the date for negotiations. “Generally, Montenegro did a lot in terms of legislation, which is quite in line with European standards. As for the institutions, Montenegro has the repressive bodies, but also a host of preventive bodies. The question is why there are so many of them, when there are hardly any visible results. Long ago I suggested that the country should instead merge all these preventive institution into a single body with broader competencies in order to make some progress on the anti-corruption front. It is quite typical that all these measures, in legislation as well as in institutional terms, are still without much impact in practice. The practice does not

indicate that Montenegro is trying very hard to combat corruption. Simply, all these legislative changes and new institutions should ensure that the citizens, all people in Montenegro, feel that the institutions are working, that all are subject to the same laws regardless of their name or position and that the law is equal for all”, Kos said.

» **Concretely, which institutions should be merged?**

There is the Commission for the Conflict of Interests, Directorate for Anti-Corruption Initiative, Ministry of Finance and the Government itself have at least another two anti-corruption commissions (Directorate for the prevention of money –laundering, Commission for the control of public procurement...), none of which is independent. GRECO has clearly asked its member states to establish an independent prevention body to be in charge of anti-corruption strategy.

All the elements of the system are there, they should just be put together and linked as a whole. Such an independent institution could be trusted with the necessary competencies.

» **We have seen the ruling coalition adopt some anti-corruption legislation, like the law on the prevention of the conflict of interests or on the financing of political parties, and then change them from one year to another, gradually adding concessions to EC’s demands and EU standards. To what extent is the current Montenegrin legislation harmonised with the EU standards, and should we expect further demands from EU?**

When the European Commission begins negotiations with a country, at the beginning



In Europe, the conflict of interests is defined in a way that incorporates nepotism. Any private interest of a person in public service must be removed.

it always formulates very general requirements. These are then refined, and eventually they come down to the issues or cases which seemed quite irrelevant in the beginning. I already said that Montenegro did a lot in terms of legislation, but much remains to be done.

You mentioned the laws on political party financing and the conflict of interests. As for the first, this is something that the politicians in all countries are loath to accept. It is a direct intrusion in their financing, and it is quite natural that those who wish the party financing to become more transparent have to face tough resistance. As for the conflict of interests, there are no general standards in the EU, so this area is likely to be shaped directly through EC's demands and interests.

» Montenegro has a lot of issues with nepotism. How do we fight against it? Is there

any country in the world with a law against nepotism?

Nepotism is nothing but a specific form of the conflict of interests. I know that Montenegro is a small country, where people know each other and have plenty of connections between them, and it's easy to find yourself in the conflict of interest. However, you don't need a law on nepotism, it should all be solved through the mechanisms for the prevention of conflict of interests.

» How?

In Europe, the conflict of interests is defined in a way that incorporates nepotism. Every private interest of any person in public service must be removed. For instance, if an individual whose job is to decide on a public interest has any private involvement, business or personal, including family relations, he or she ought to be removed from that particular decision-making situation.

» Did you have any contact with EC representatives in the last few weeks to exchange opinions on Montenegro's progress in fighting corruption?

We had no contact with EC representatives, but I know that they often read our reports and use them for their own reports on the accession countries. There is certainly space for improvement with regard to corruption, especially after Croatia, where the EC kept insisting on some very practical aspects of anti-corruption. The same is true of Serbia, where the EC has been demanding very specific measures. I expect they will ask the same of Montenegro.

V.Ž.

Montenegro needs regulation impact assessment (RIA)

The road to “better laws”



Milica Dragojević

The author is a project
associate in Institute
Alternative

As a country candidate for membership in European Union Montenegro is obliged to harmonise the entirety of its legislation with the EU acquis. This means a great number of existing laws ought to be changed, and also that a host of new laws ought to be adopted. The public administration is therefore facing comprehensive reforms. One of the mechanisms that will play a huge role in lowering the administrative burden is the Regulation Impact Assessment (RIA).

Regulation Impact Assessment (RIA) is a method that helps to harmonise the laws and acts in the pre-legislative phase, based on a clear assessment of the material consequences of the new regulation

RIA is a method that helps to harmonise the laws and acts in the pre-legislative phase, based on a clear assessment of the material consequences of the new regulation. The role of RIA is to help the decision makers to formulate, implement and monitor the legislative changes, assisting them in evaluating whether a certain issue requires a new regulation. The analysis includes a clear overview of the costs of implementation, as well as an analysis of the consequences of the new regulation on all interested parties. The implementation of RIA should result in efficient and effective (economical) laws. Efficiency in this context means attaining all the envisaged objectives, while effectiveness means keeping the costs of attaining them to the minimum. Laws complying with these two criteria are usually known as “good legislation”. RIA also enhances public debate and consultations with all relevant actors, stakeholders, business associations, groups of citizens, non-governmental organisations. The mechanism should not be considered an alternative to decision-making, but rather a method to support this process.

RIA is not simply a quantitative cost-assessment method. It also has a qualitative component assessing the impact on the environment, social groups, gender equality and society as a whole.

Speaking about Montenegro's experience in implementing this method, it is important to note that the regulatory reform began in December 2009 with the Government adopting the Action plan for regulatory reform and improvement of business environment. The Council for regulatory reform and improvement of business environment envisaged three pillars of the regulatory reform: a “regulatory razor”, reform of the ease of doing business and introduction of Regulation Impact Assessment. The “regulatory razor” which preceded the RIA was conceived as ex-post analysis of regulations, so RIA will apply only to the laws adopted after the introduction of this mechanism in the Montenegrin system. The “regulatory razor” will eliminate all laws which are considered “detrimental” to the business environment,

The very fact that in 2010 the Parliament of Montenegro adopted 154 laws emphasises the importance of RIA for the Montenegrin system

thus constituting a form of Impact Assessment of the existing regulation. The implementation of RIA began with capacity building for the implementation of regulatory reform, i.e. with establishment of the Department for the Improvement of Business Environment within the Ministry of Finance. The Department gives its opinion on regulatory proposals from the point of view of their impact on the business environment, assists the work of the Council for regulatory reform and improvement of business environment, cooperates with international institutions interested in improving the business environment, as well as with the pub-

RIA improves consultations with all relevant actors, business associations, groups of citizens, NGOs... RIA is not simply a quantitative cost-assessment method. It also has a qualitative component assessing the impact on the environment, social groups, gender equality and society as a whole.

lic sector. A practice similar to RIA is already in place, in the guise of opinions of the Council for regulatory reform on the legislative proposals. The opinion is mandatory, but not binding, which means that the Government can decide whether to adopt it or not.

RIA will become a mandatory procedure from early 2012 onwards, and from 1 July 2012 the bodies formulating new regulations will also have to submit a RIA form with it. Bearing in mind the experiences of EU countries as well as some of the neighbours, it will be necessary to keep a close check on the implementation of this mechanism in Montenegro and ensure the necessary support for it. This should ensure that RIA is not seen as yet another formality, but as a document that genuinely contributes to “better legislation”. In countries which already use RIA, all information related to the regulatory impact assessment procedures is published on a dedicated website, which is still not the case in Montenegro. RIA’s implementation will be greatly facilitated if the relevant information is made accessible, pooling together the information about RIA, a RIA Handbook, laws adopted with the assistance of RIA, news related to the implementation of RIA and similar information of interest to the stakeholders. At the same time, it is necessary to ensure that the citizens can comment on the laws via Internet, in order to make the participation of stakeholders in the law-making process easier and faster. In Montenegro RIA will only focus on the assessment of economic impact of the laws and legal acts, unlike in other countries where

it also analyses the effects on the environment, social situation of the citizens, gender equality, citizens’ rights, socially marginalised groups... the Government believes that Montenegro’s economic competitiveness vis-à-vis its neighbours and EU members is the priority, and that the country lacks the necessary capacities for a full RIA procedure. Nevertheless, administrative capacities should gradually be built up in order to facilitate full implementation of RIA.

This will ensure that the mechanism produces the best possible results. This points to the need for continuous, intensive training of the employees. The training can be done in cooperation with various international institutions or organisations which are experienced in implementation of RIA. Unlike other countries of the region, Montenegro will also apply RIA on secondary legal acts, as the bulk of business barriers is contained in these secondary acts. The very fact that in 2010 the Parliament of Montenegro adopted 154 laws emphasises the importance of RIA for the Montenegrin system. A detailed, profound analysis of the laws to be adopted will produce a correct assessment of the necessity of individual legal acts. Consultations with the citizens, NGOs, entrepreneurs and consumers are the best way to successful RIA. The implementation of RIA varies from one country to another, depending on administrative capacities, legislation and general knowledge of the benefits of the mechanism. Nevertheless, its significance is similar, as it assists in adopting “good legislation”, improving the transparency of the Government, enhancing dialogues, and often in preventing adoption of laws that would be “harmful” to the economy, environment, or population as a whole. The mechanism will benefit all citizens of Montenegro, as well as the Government itself, giving the citizens better laws and restoring trust in the Government which involves them in the law-making process.

How can we describe the attitude to the public of professors, academics, patriots and a ruler who congregate without ever publicly disclosing the conclusions of their meeting?

Night guard



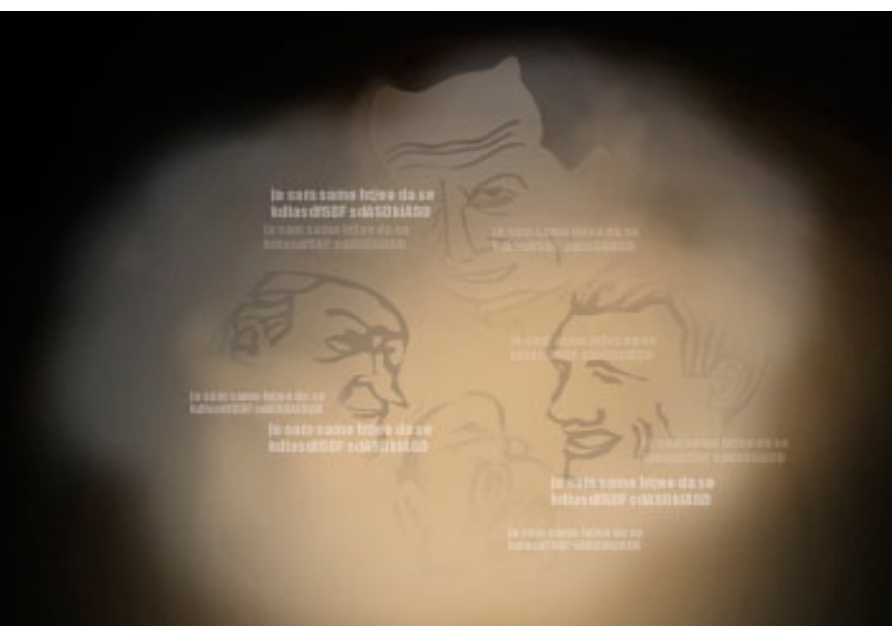
Brano Mandić

There's Apollo the god of Sun, after whom they named the apollonian art, based on the ideal of proportion. It is in fact a matter of reason and pure perspective. On the other side we've got Dionysius, a god of wine and cubism, orgy-goer with four hoofs and a tail, a satyr forever pouring some booze and getting a man into trouble. These two divinities or energies have been ruling through millennia: sometimes they meet, as in Jackson Pollock, but usually they stay off each other's turf and we're all happy and cozy in our divided personalities.

One rules by day, the other is infatuated with sleepwalkers, which has been so well understood by the common man that he forged a proverb: morning is wiser than the night. It is, if you think about it, there were the Walpurgis Night, the Kristallnacht and the Night of the Witches... Only a vampire can handle the night, not getting carried away into some cliché after the third glass: the lunar drive ain't for the mortals, my brothers, like the sun of Podgorica ain't for the white men. And yet, it might be just that scorching heat that made the Montenegrin intellectuals gather in Villa Gorica – at night. Either way, I don't like it when they meet by night. Leave the night to us fools, get your soft-boiled eggs and your Habermas, a bit of the gym until the first meeting and a lecture at noon. The school too starts in the morning, obviously that's the best time to think. The brain is programmed like that, you can't think well under the light of torches, candles, halogen lamps or chandeliers. Leave them to the poets and investigators. Hitler knew it too, that's why he called his meetings in twilight – he didn't need any thinkers at his meetings. All resemblances are incidental, nonetheless, I wonder why our best minds took to night-time swings: they discussed identity issues, wasn't it more logical to set up a matinee at Ivanova Korita? Instead, they slithered along the dark alleys of Gorica towards Blažova Villa; the flashes of photo-reporters clashed with the lights of the



limousines, inside we saw bulging eyes of some people – who they were and what they talked about, I haven't the faintest idea. A newspaper report said that an informant who attended the meeting (and naturally declined to be named) said that the atmosphere that night was full of "patriotic charge". Creepy, it really makes you feel like we're readying for a war. The night, anonymous sources, black limousines! What an ambience to shit your pants! I hope that in addition to patriotic there was also some sexual charge around, that they took a break from identity for a sambuca with a coffee bean to keep them awake. Did Milo sit at the head of the table, is there any way to find out, I'd pay for the tip. Perhaps they put on some cloaks and spoke to each other in Latin. Not even Latin, they called good evening in Aramaic, they breathed deeply and prayed half an hour for Montenegro before they took part in the discussion. I do not, at all, find this funny. The guys are on a wild trip, and as we mostly got to know their capacities well, we can guess where it's going. I just hope it's benign and that



they're preparing no more than a few new letters for the first graders, but I have a fear of night-time meetings in suits and there's nothing I can do about it.

2.

This horror story of the greatest minds of a country in the 21st century secretly meeting its political chieftains has, of course, a PR side to it which we shouldn't overlook. How can we describe the attitude to the public of professors, academics, patriots and a ruler who congregate without ever publicly disclosing the conclusions of their meeting? The whole thing was purposefully left to hover in the air like some 19th century echo while we try to guess which cup they have drank from and whether they got anything female into the upper rooms, onto the felt sofas. The meeting itself wasn't secret, only its content. That's exactly the bait: the public chariots couldn't approach the entrance alone, the media was of course informed that the greatest minds will have a little get-together, but there was a limit to where we could go and what we can learn. The meeting was, in fact, secretive, in a rather passé trash genre, not at all secret. Nor is it the first time: the president of our state once ran away via the back door of that same Villa Gorica to avoid being photographed with the bishop of the hateful Montenegrin Orthodox Church. I remember, a kid

from his suite came up to me, a poor reporter, to trick me: the President has already left and all, there's no point in waiting for him, we're practically crazy we came in the first place. His eye didn't blink. Now the kid is the mayor of Cetinje. That's the cadre we need, guardians of the secrets of Villa Gorica, sworn never to reveal the password, to stay alert in case there's Tom Cruz peering under a mask, like in that movie when they caught him spying on major bacchanalias and devil-work. But let us go back to our keepers of traditions. Is it possible that the motherland is in such trouble that we can't even know what it's about? What movie are we living now, don't tell me it's the '48 coming back?

On the contrary, we are living in times of great economic uncertainty. The money is short, I wish they talked about that, but they say they didn't. There issued different directives, which should save us from different evils. Or, they didn't conclude anything, they just agreed to meet again; or they set up a mailing list to keep discussing it – the uncertainty is killing me. Now there will be discussions on why Igor Lukšić or Filip Vujanović weren't at the meeting, what were Đukanović and Krivokapić doing there... plenty of reason to worry and analyse, we're bracing for a great journalistic battle for information more. And finally, as an editor of a news portal, I just got an e-mail for an upset reader, with the following comment:

"When sending comments to the Vijesti news portal, comments in Montenegrin language are never published, while identical comments not containing our letters were published. Is it possible that one independent, free daily exercises such discrimination? If the people who speak and write the official language of Montenegro aren't wanted on your portal, please let me know so I can stop visiting it".

Identity issues. I should have answered in identity terms. But I didn't, I politely said that all letters are equally dear to me, and that I'll check if there isn't a technical bug. I'll check in the morning, I really can't deal with identity by night.

The rise of Turkey in the Balkans

From soap-operas to geo-strategic control



Over the past decade, Turkey has carried out a multi-dimensional and multi-regional foreign policy. With its EU membership prospects in limbo, the country has not only looked to the east, but also towards its "near abroad" in the Balkans. EU regional player Greece's increasing social-financial problems provide ample room for Turkey - whose economy now ranks twelfth in the world, with a GNP of \$10 000 per person - to take control of the regional rudder. "After Yugoslavia's disintegration, Turkey's strategic interest returned to the Balkans, also a former Ottoman territory. This time around, the influence is economic and cultural but it soon will become geopolitical," said military-political analyst Petar Škrbina, adding that "(Turkish Prime Minister) Erdogan knows that Europe needs Turkey and not the other way around. The main networks of gas and oil pipelines will go through Turkey."

The Balkan countries, primarily Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), but increasingly Serbia as well, have achieved significant political co-operation with Ankara. In the past several

EU regional player Greece's increasing social-financial problems provide ample room for Turkey - whose economy now ranks twelfth in the world, with a GNP of \$10 000 per person - to take control of the regional rudder.

years, the economic ties have strengthened as Turkish investors eye the opportunity to secure a foothold in the Balkans marketplace. Analysts are unanimous that the pan-European corridor No. 10, which will connect the Balkan countries with the rest of Europe, will command the economic attention of Turkey. The corridor's left wing will secure a transportation connection between Turkey and the Balkans, and Turkey and the EU. Though Turkey is keen to develop bonds with Muslim communities in the Balkans, it says it aims to engage all ethnicities and religions in an effort to increase stability in its neighbourhood. "Turkey has no imperialist ambitions but is trying to help the neighbouring countries as it can," Turkish Ambassador to Serbia Ali Riza Çolak said, answering charges that Ankara is interfering in Serbia's internal affairs after a senior military delegation visited Novi Pazar, in Serbia's Muslim-dominated Raška (or Sandžak) region.

Raška remains a source of tension in Ankara-Belgrade relations because the Serbs widely believe local Muslim leaders try to obtain autonomy with the help of Turkey, and many Muslims there identify with BiH. In response, Ambassador Riza Çolak says "Sandžak is the bridge for co-operation between the two countries, and Belgrade must understand the sensitivity of the people in this region." Turkey-BiH relations are particularly important for the region. Erdogan's election victory statement last month, in which he said his AKP's victory would benefit Sarajevo as much as it would Istanbul, triggered harsh reactions in Republika Srpska.

The Serb member of BiH's tri-member presidency, Nebojša Radmanovic, said that such statements would cause political problems between BiH's two entities and could lead to new divisions among the three constituent peoples. "While Bosniak authorities in Sarajevo see a positive effect from Turkey's role in BiH, Serbian politicians there are reserved and do not accept any political role by Ankara in the Balkans," Škrbina said. "Erdogan's open ambitions to spread the 'Green Diagonal' [spread of Islamic influence through a set of connected countries with Muslim populations] in this space have their own limits. Neither the illegal government of the Muslim-Croat federation will help him to do that nor the political pressures on Croats in central Bosnia," RS Vice President Emil Vlajki said. Despite any lingering Serbian nationalist suspicion, Turkey has been playing a constructive moderator role by bringing together the presidents of BiH and Serbia to encourage a policy of dialogue and regional security. The most recent example is the July 6th visit of Serbian President Tadić to Sarajevo, which was secured at a summit among all parties in Istanbul last April. Serbia now pledges to guarantee BiH's integrity and wants to close all open questions.

Turkey has also expressed its desire for BiH and Serbia to enter the Euro-Atlantic community through membership in the EU and NATO. Although several political issues remain an obstacle to better relations, both Ankara and Belgrade aim to smooth over political differences through greater economic co-operation and interdependence. For example, Belgrade offered Turkish Airlines a meeting in July to chart a strategic co-operation plan to address long-standing problems facing JAT Airways. Turkish economic activity extends throughout the region. The Turkish company TAV has already invested 200m euro in rebuilding Macedonia's airports. Since March 1st, the Skopje and Ohrid airports are under TAV control for the next 20 years. TAV's executives view Macedonia as a Southeast European hub and have announced they will build a new airport in eastern Macedonia. In addition, Turkey's

The Balkan countries, primarily Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), but increasingly Serbia as well, have achieved significant political co-operation with Ankara. In the past several years, the economic ties have strengthened as Turkish investors eye the opportunity to secure a foothold in the Balkans marketplace.

Şişecam company has announced its interest in a strategic investment of 150m euro in two factories in Macedonia to produce glass. Politically, Turkey will continue to be Macedonia's steadfast supporter in Euro-Atlantic integration, advocating membership under Macedonia's name despite the longstanding dispute with Greece.

But the relations have a deeper cultural and historical context in Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of modern Turkey, who spent his youth in Macedonia and was educated at an Ottoman military school in Bitola, adding an emotional dimension to how Ankara - and the Turkish people - view Macedonia. A joint celebration of Atatürk's life and achievement is now held annually in Bitola. Such events contribute to increased tourism in both directions. Turkey's summer destinations and Macedonia's mountain and nature potential are attractive to both peoples, and there has been a large increase in tourist agency activity in the past decade. An important element of Turkey's "soft power" is the increasing number of soap operas and other TV shows that have conquered audiences throughout the Balkans. In virtually every Balkan state, Turkish shows are breaking records, as well as the long-held prejudice against Islam. "They are very professionally produced, and they promote not luxury and glamour, but also traditional Islamic customs during marriage and funerals. The series are the cheapest but most effective approach to spread Turkish influence in the region," Škrbina said.

Source: SETimes

Is there an alternative?



Damir Nikočević

The author is a student at Political Science Department and editor of the first student portal in Montenegro – Tragom

European Union – an ideally managed organisation or an artificial creation made to serve the interests of the “big players” in the West? Is EU a compromise between permanently warring sides, the same ones that waged the two world wars? EU is far from ideal, but it is the only worthwhile collective system which unites Europe politically, economically and culturally. EU has enormous problems, from its monetary policy on, but at the same time it is consider the only one that can solve them.

For a student of Political Science, my experience of EU begins and ends with travels. Not frequent, not sufficient to get a good picture of a system which, in spite of all the shortcomings, promotes the values of freedom, human rights, peace, tolerance. The borders disappear, at least those in our heads. The problem of my generation are precisely the borders in the minds, narrow horizons and second-hand opinions. The problem of my generation are the names, family names and other irrelevant information spouted continuously by the semi-free media. It is enough to tell a colleague from Slovakia, Malta or Denmark that the official language of my country is Montenegrin/Serbian, Bosnian, Croatian language and literature. We are in many ways in a worse position than a fellow student in, say, Poland, who can write his or her thesis in an area of social sciences without it being contested on the basis of whether it contained the letters š or ž.

For years now, it looks like we're running a 100-meter run with a goal in Brussels. The main competitor is Croatia – they have jumped their obstacles by arresting the big fish from the nets of organised crime. They did what the rest of us haven't. Next in line is Montenegro, a champion in putting up its own obstacles. Obstinacy of our political elites evidenced most recently in the case of the new electoral law are an excellent proof that we are not yet ready to be part of civilised societies whose main political motto

is consensus. Serbia is facing the largest obstacle, the need to confront the past, and within it Kosovo. Bosnia and Herzegovina is a complete outsider: its nationally coloured and blood-thirsty elites, and therefore its most powerful parties, seem to think they're in a marathon, not in a sprint.

The rope we occasionally inadvertently tie around our own necks is a sign that we're unable to catch up with reality. The goal is not to be like somebody else, the goal is to be ourselves. Which means to be free. The downside of our European road is that we need to lose everything that makes us special. Although I'm not a conservative, I am also not a fan of everything globalisation brought to us. Montenegro – itself, but a modern country. And yet, the moments when we're ourselves are so rare, and we are certainly far from modern. It sounds paradoxical to say that we want to “join Europe”, when we're already part of it – an unfortunate media cliché, you'll admit. It is also paradoxical that the former Yugoslav republics are being dictated the rules by the countries that have been lagging behind them for centuries. It is equally paradoxical that we are so desperately striving towards EU, which for its part is looking quite unstable and facing a fairly uncertain future. It is, however, a fact that we don't have a better system than EU, and the question is – have we ever thought of the alternative?



Corruption devours 120 billion

In spite of sophisticated anti-corruption laws, corruption in EU swallows up nearly 120 billion euro or 1% of European GDP, and 80% of EU citizens believe corruption is a serious problem in their country, warned the MPs of the European Parliament at a session dedicated to the anti-corruption package of the European Commission. “The Commission is therefore planning to introduce a European Anti-Corruption Report to monitor and evaluate the efforts of the member states to fight corruption and support greater political involvement in fighting corruption. This should also help to improve implementation of the laws and identify loopholes and weak points”, said the EC representative before the Civic Liberties Committee of the European Parliament.

Intellectual property for 70 years

EU members decided to lengthen the protection of intellectual property for musical pieces by 20 years – from 50 to 70 years. Music industry welcomed the adoption of the directive which has to be transposed into the national laws in the next 2 years. Many veterans of the global music scene, such as **Paul McCartney** or **Cliff Richard** have been campaigning for extension of their intellectual property rights in EU, as it happened that the 50-year limit would expire already in their lifetime.

Danes on top, Germans ever richer

On average, gross wealth of every German citizen amounts to 60 000 euro, which puts Germany on the 17th place in the world, but the data show that Germans are richer than ever before. The data comes from Global Wealth Report, and does not include the real estate or money in the pension funds. According to the study, the richest are the Swiss, with average wealth of 207 000 euro, followed by Americans, Japanese, as well as the richest Europeans, the

Danes, with 105 000 per citizen. While an average citizen of Western Europe has wealth of around 66 500, an inhabitant of Eastern Europe can count on only 3 600 euro.

Pensioners and reverse mortgage

An ever larger number of Polish pensioners are solving their financial problems via so-called reverse mortgage loan, where a financial institution pays monthly instalments to the pensioners in order to receive the client's real estate after his or her death. Newspaper Dziennik Gazeta Prawna cites the example of a 75-year old man who receives 200 euro per month for his apartment worth 75 000, while an 80-year old woman whose property is worth 250 000 euro can receive 750 euro per month. So far there are 4 specialised funds which deal with such mortgages, and the legislators and Government in Poland are working on a new law that would expand competition among the banks and improve the arrangement for the clients.

EU no place for hammer and sickle

The Soviet symbol – a globe with a hammer, sickle and a five-pronged star, cannot be registered as a brand in EU, as some of its members consider it to be offensive, ruled the European Court of Justice. Earlier, the Office for Harmonisation of the Internal Market (OHIM), responsible for trademark registration, rejected the application of a Russian-owned designer company “Couture Tech” to register the symbol. OHIM said that in some EU member states, such as Hungary, Czech Republic and Latvia, majority of the public consider the Soviet symbol an emblem “contrary to public policy and to accepted principles of morality”, and “Couture Tech” followed up with a complaint to the European Court of Justice.

Some EU members mull new wealth taxes

Half a million line



Vera Šćepanović

The last few years took a high toll on the finances of all European governments, even those which were not over-indebted to start with, like Greece. Enormous amounts spent to rescue the banks hit by the financial crisis, protracted recession which means little economic activity and thus lower revenues, and armies of unemployed expecting social assistance have mounted a huge pressure on the coffers of the developed countries. After several rounds of budget cuts, more and more countries are turning to their richest citizens as the only remaining source of additional finance. Surprisingly enough, some of them seem willing enough to help. It all started when **Warren Buffett** announced that he had been "coddled long enough" by Congress, and that he was ashamed to have paid only 6.5 million dollars in taxes last year, which is around 17% of his income, while his secretary paid 36% in taxes and contributions. Then **Liliane Bettencourt**, France's richest woman, who was the eye of the storm that rose last year in France over tax embezzlement, signed a letter along with 15 other billionaires offering to make a special contribution to the treasury to help drag France out of the financial crisis. And while Spain is considering a temporary wealth tax, a group of 50 rich Germans sent an open call to **Angela Merkel** to "stop the gap between rich and poor getting even bigger". The German group, *Vermögende für eine Vermögensabgabe* (The Wealthy for a Capital Levy) are a group founded two years ago, who say they came from different walks of life: "We're a broad church – teachers, doctors, entrepreneurs", says **Dieter Lehmkuhl**, a retired doctor with about 1.5 million in assets. "Most of our wealth is inherited. But we have more money than we need." "I would say to Merkel that the answer to sorting out Germany's financial problems, our public debt, is not to bring in cuts, which will disproportionately hit poorer people, but to tax the wealthy more," said Lehmkuhl. "Something needs to be done

A decade of pampered millionaires

In spite of individual pledges of solidarity from the rich and desperate measures to save their budgets by some governments, the general trend over the last decade has in fact been the opposite. There is a long-standing debate in France on scrapping the wealth tax, introduced in 1981 as a solidarity tax on wealth, which applies when the combined assets – property, securities, cash and furniture – are worth more than 720 000 euro. The tax rate ranges between 0.55% to 1.8% for assets in excess of 15 million. Recently, however, France became the last country in Europe with a standard wealth tax. Norway and Lichtenstein have some versions of it, Switzerland levies a wealth tax on the cantonal level at different, usually very low, rates, and Hungary recently introduced a "solidarity tax" of 4% in early 2010. In the meantime, however, most of the European states abolished such taxes – Austria in 1994, Denmark and Germany in 1997, Netherlands in 2001, Island and Finland in 2006 and Sweden in 2007.

Instead of a special "tax on the rich", the prevailing trend in most European countries has been towards more regressive flat taxes, regardless of the level of income, and towards lower corporate income taxes. This is especially the case in Eastern Europe, including the West Balkans and Montenegro.

to stop the gap between rich and poor getting even bigger."

According to the group's proposal, the new tax would only affect individuals with more than €500,000 in capital wealth. Everything over that would be taxed at 5%, which according to them would top up the German budget by 100 billion euro in only two years. Recently the French president **Nicolas Sarkozy** proposed a similar temporary tax on the very

Can't hide the wealth

One of the reasons why the wealth taxes have been abolished is the administrative cost of collecting them, which is much higher than in the case of income tax or VAT. Besides, because of the need to account for many different assets, there is plenty of opportunity for tax evasion, which is already a pervasive problem in some EU members. Italy, for instance, withdrew after a long discussion from its plan to impose a tax on the wealthy citizens, and instead proposed stricter regulations to fight tax evasion. Greece has a particularly severe problem with tax evasion – the Federation of Greek Industries estimates that the government may be losing as much as \$30 billion a year to tax evasion, which could go a long way in solving its debt problems. So the Greek tax authorities do what they can: from last year, they are sending inspectors to the owners of houses with swimming pools, reasoning that those who can afford a pool in their backyard can be considered rich. Seemingly simple, the method has revealed a startling difference between tax declarations and the state of the economy: in the wealthy northern suburbs of Athens only 324 residents declared in their tax returns that they owned pools. However, analysis of the satellite images of the area, which the tax inspectors quite simply got out of “Google Earth”, revealed that the neighbourhood had as many as 16,974 pools. Perhaps the creative methods of tax collection will help Greece to clamber out of the financial hole. At least, they have the potential to stimulate another sector of the economy: companies that construct and maintain swimming pools say they are already getting thousands of calls to help the owners create “camouflage” constructions in order to hide their pools from the inspection.

rich, i.e. a “special contribution” of 3% on all taxable earnings above €500,000. The initiative has been attacked as an empty stunt before it has even kicked in – the left deemed it a smokescreen to hide the fact that Sarkozy has given away billions of euros in tax breaks to the rich while this new measure will yield only €200m. In Italy too, one of the country's



richest citizens has come forward to offer to pay more tax – but only if the government embarks on a wide-ranging austerity reform. **Luca di Montezemolo**, the multimillionaire Ferrari chairman, said he first wanted to see the government raise cash by means of property sales and reductions in the perks of Italy's pampered politicians, and only then ask for “a contribution from those who have most”.

In Spain, just ahead of the elections the Socialist government is considering reintroduction of a wealth tax scrapped just three years ago. **Elena Salgado**, the finance minister, said the tax will apply to some 160,000 of Spain's richest taxpayers with more than 700,000 euros in assets, and that it could yield about 1.08 billion in contributions. This is the latest move of the Spanish government to rescue its finances, after it already increased the VAT last year, froze the pensions and cut the wages in the public sector by 5%. In an effort to restore investor confidence, the Government promised to cut the budget deficit to 6% of the GDP, from 9.2% last year. Even though the new target is still double the maximum allowed under the Eurozone rules, Spain could only hope to meet it if the economy grew at least 1.3% this year. However, the most recent data suggests that growth will in fact fall short of 1% in 2011.

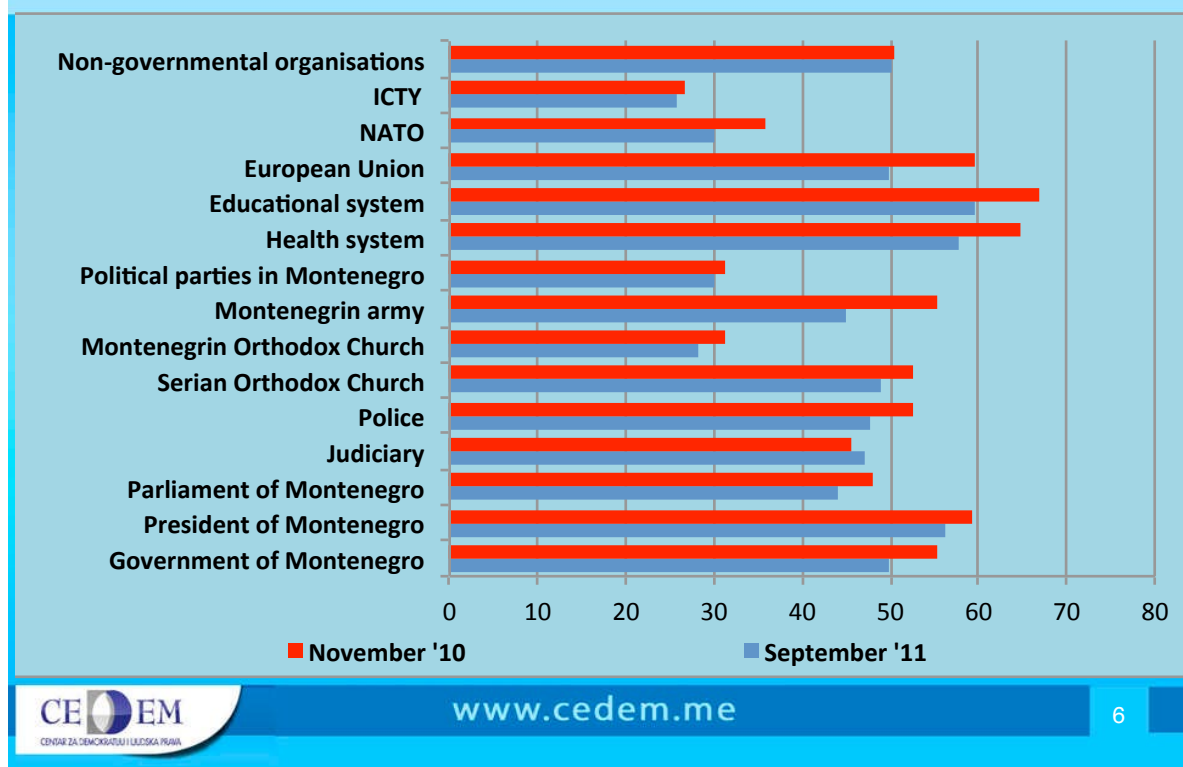
CEDEM's research shows that fewer Montenegrin citizens believe the country should become an EU member

Rising euroscepticism

Sixty-two percent of the Montenegrin inhabitants believe that Montenegro should become a member of European Union, which is 8% less than last year, and even 14% less than in October 2009 when the support for EU reached a record 76.1%. The poll was conducted by the Centre for Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM), in 16 municipalities, on a sample of 1035 respondents. Twenty-two percent had no particular opinion on whether Montenegro should become an EU member, and 16% opposed the prospect. According to CEDEM's methodologist **Miloš Bešić**, the falling trust in the EU is caused by two main factors.

"There are first of all economic and political problems inside the EU, as well as a general tendency in all East European countries as they progress towards membership in the Union. As they get closer to EU, the trust in the Union tends to fall, but never to the extent that it would endanger European integration", Bešić said.

Trust in institutions - trends

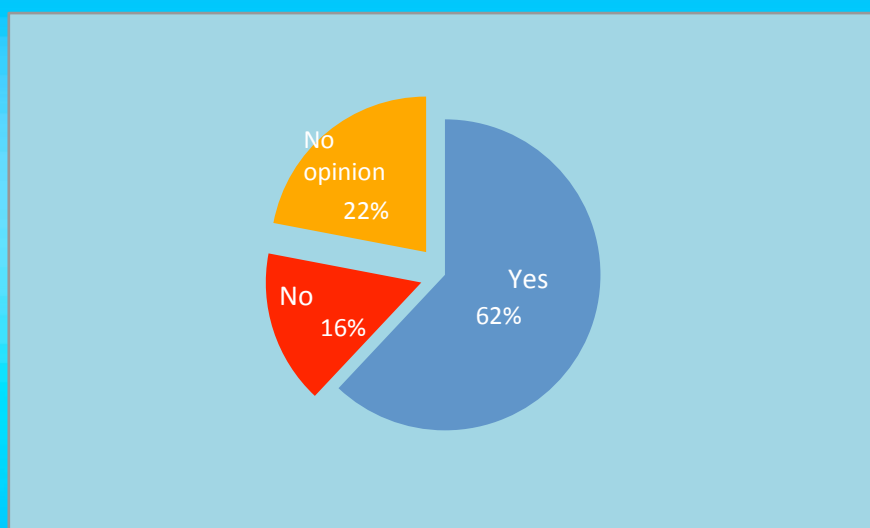


In spite of that, 45.3% of the respondents believe that Montenegro is on the right track, and that EU membership is one of its strategic goals. Thirty-two percent have no opinion on this matter, while 22.7% believe it is heading in the wrong direction.

Asked whether they expect Montenegro to receive the date for negotiations with EU, 46% said yes. Some 30% could not answer the question, while 24% thought Montenegro will not get the date.

As for Montenegro's membership in NATO, the share of those who oppose the accession to the North-Atlantic alliance is still high. Against are 40% of the respondents, 31% are in favour, while 29% have no opinion. The results are similar to those of last year, when 41% of the respondents opposed Montenegro's membership in NATO.

Do you think Montenegro should become a member of EU?



Enlarged Europe and new neighbours

XVII International Summer School, “CEI, beyond enlargement – enlarged Europe and new neighbours” was organised this year in Faenza, Italy, between 4 and 17 September, by Institute for East Central Europe and Balkans and with support of the Central-European Initiative (CEI) and European Commission (EC). The goal of the school is to bring together young people from Eastern Europe and offer them a forum to interact, exchange their ideas and engage in a cultural dialogue, and create a platform to discuss common problems.

The School took form of two courses: “Diversity in management, governance and the role of civil society networks” and “Sustainable development, green economy and the role of civil society networks” with a total of 60 teaching hours divided into lectures, workshops and interdisciplinary events. 39 participants came from a variety of European countries: Albania, BiH, Croatia, Estonia, Italy, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Russia, Serbia and Turkey. During the two intensive weeks of the programme the participants had a chance to listen to a number of lecturers from academic circles, as well as from the EU institutions.

The summer school was a great opportunity for the young people to discuss with their peers from different areas of Europe. At the end of the programme, the participants were rewarded with a certificate. Among the successful participants was also **Nikola Đonović**, programme associate in Centre for Civic Education (CCE).



Centre for Civic Education (CCE) Youth Group announces a competition for the best photo on the subject:

EUROPE AND ME

„Europe and Me" is a call for the best photograph that would represent in an original manner what the young people in Montenegro recognize as European values, standards or heritage. The subject of the photograph can be anything you believe represents a symbol of some fundamental EU value: freedom, tolerance, respect for human rights, democracy, solidarity, gender equality, rule of law or environmental protection, and whose presence you recognize in your own community.

Eligible candidates should be at high school students or enrolled in an undergraduate programme in an institution on the territory of Montenegro. The participants can submit up to three photographs. The photograph should be accompanied by: information about the author (name, address, telephone number, e-mail, name of high school or university) and a declaration that the photo is copyrighted by the sender and has not been published yet.

The final selection of the best photograph will be entrusted to a jury, who will take into account a number of criteria (subject, idea, elaboration and technique). By enlisting their photographs in the competition, the authors automatically accept the terms of the contest, including the use of their photographs by the CCE Youth Group in promoting non-commercial projects.

The photographs should be submitted in a digital format, with a minimum width of 3000pixels (longer side), in full resolution, by e-mailing them to og@cgo-cce.org no later than the 9 November 2011.

The 50 best photographs selected by the jury will enter the first round of semi-finals, and of these only 10 photos will make it to the second round. The three best photographs will receive the following cash prizes:

- First prize 300 EUR
- Second prize 200 EUR
- Third prize 100 EUR

The ten photographs from the second round of the finals, including the three winners, will be printed as postcards and sent to the addresses of the most important institutions of the European Union. All fifty photographs from the first round of the finals will be shown at a three-day long public exhibition. The exhibition is expected to take place from 30 October 2011 in Podgorica, with an award ceremony for the authors of the best photographs.

For detailed information on the terms of the contest, please contact Centre for Civic Education, tel. 020/665-112 or email: info@cgo-cce.org.

Call for Applications: DAAD-OSI Scholarship Program

The German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and Open Society Scholarship Programs sponsor a joint scholarship program for graduate students in the Balkans and graduate students and junior faculty in the Transcaucasian and Central Asian countries of the former Soviet Union.

The program is designed to improve the framework for teaching and research in humanities and social sciences in the region. At the same time, it promotes network-building among the participants and German academics as a basis for further international exchange activities.€€€

Eligible Countries: Armenia, Albania, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Kazakhstan, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Macedonia, Montenegro, Moldova, Serbia, Tajikistan and Ukraine.

Deadline: October 31, 2011.

For more information, please see the DAAD-OSI program guidelines:

http://www.soros.org/initiatives/scholarship/focus_areas/daad/guidelines

Publisher: Centre for Civic Education (CCE)

EIC Bulletin - European pulse - is electronic magazine publicized

with the support of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. It is registered in the Ministry of Culture as item No. 578

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European Pulse can be downloaded at the www.cgo-cce.org every last Friday in the month.