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FOCUS OF THIS ISSUE

Will the “recordings” scandal affect Montenegro’s European integration?

interview

Deputy Prime Minister
Duško Marković

region

Shortage of doctors
in the Western Balkans



Foreword:

Problems



Vladan Žugčić

Two issues loom large out of the sea of March turbulence, both of which cast some shadow on the future progress of Montenegro towards European Union. The first is the decision of the Court of Appeals to overturn the verdict of the Higher Court which found the former vice-president of the Municipality of Budva **Dragan Marović**, former Mayor of Budva **Rajko Kuljača** and MP of the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) **Dordije Pinjatić** guilty of corruption in the “Zavala” case. Regardless of whether the defendants were really guilty or – according to the vice-president of DPS **Svetozar Marović** – a “political target”, there is little doubt that the ruling of the Higher Court last year was one of the reasons why the EU decided to begin negotiations with Montenegro. The outgoing EU ambassador to Montenegro **Leopold Maurer** congratulated the country at the time for making a precedent and convicting a high government official for corruption. The second major trouble is the future of the Aluminium Combine in Podgorica (KAP). The new investment of the state into KAP, which already received state aid, could be seen as a direct violation of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement between Montenegro and EU, with possible negative repercussions on the pace of the accession process. President of the Commission for the control of state aid **Mitar Bajčeta** reported as much to the ministries of economy and finance, as well as to the chief negotiator with EU **Aleksandar Andrija Pejović**, following the discussion on subsidies and plans for KAP at the meeting of the sub-committee for the internal market and competition. At the moment, KAP employs fewer workers than the public broadcaster, exports its semi-processed goods (other production has been halted) through the Croatian harbour Ploče instead of through Bar, imports raw materials from Africa instead of the Boksit mine in Nikšić, and is held afloat by energy subsidies paid by the Montenegrin citizens... Economic logic would suggest that the factory should be closed. Even so, the Government policy so far left the company with enormous debts we'll be paying off for years to come, not to mention the amounts necessary to limit ecological damage around the factory site. Let's not top it off by getting into trouble with EU.

Calendar

- 01 March **Füle: We are carefully following the “Recordings” affair** / European Enlargement Commissioner **Štefan Füle** said the Commission expected the government in Montenegro to investigate all allegations of electoral malpractices, which have been mentioned in the recordings from the DPS meetings. “We expect the government to thoroughly investigate all such allegations, and the Commission continues to carefully follow this matter, especially in the context of the upcoming presidential elections”, said Füle during the meeting with the leader of PzP and representative of DF **Nebojša Medojević** in Brussels. Recordings from the DPS meetings, which have been leaked by the daily Dan, contain insinuations about employment of party members, discrimination based on party affiliation and abuse of public resources in the run-up to elections.
- 06 March **Institutions could slow down Montenegro's progress towards EU** / Executive director of CCE **Daliborka Uljarević** said there could be a slowdown in Montenegro's progress towards EU caused by the Montenegrin institutions, which have so far ignored the “Recordings” affair, while zealously applying themselves to politically motivated checks on civil society organisations whose well grounded criticisms are undermining the credibility of Government's efforts to demonstrate commitment to anti-corruption and fight against organised crime. Uljarević expressed these concerns at the European Parliament conference “Enlargement in perspective: how do candidate and potential candidate countries perceive accession in the light of the current crisis?”
- 10 March **Pejović: We're not rushing** / Montenegro's chief negotiator with EU **Aleksandar Andrija Pejović** said Montenegro does not wish to rush the process of negotiations. “Croatia's experience with six years of negotiations is a benchmark for us. We don't wish to rush the negotiations, and the EU members are not willing to take on new burdens, they expect the new members to be completely ready”, Pejović told the Vienna-based *Presse*.
- 11/12 March **Parliamentary hearing because of “Recordings”** / **Dirk Lange**, Head of Unit for Montenegro in the EC's Enlargement Directorate said the most appropriate response to the “Recordings” affair would be parliamentary investigation. During his visit to Podgorica he spoke to the directors of institutions which are suspected of party-based recruitment and other abuse of public resources, as well as with the representatives of the government and the opposition, and State Prosecutor **Ranka Čarapić**.
- There are no connections and godfathers in Europe** / Austrian ambassador to Montenegro **Martin Pammer** said democracy, rule of law and market economy are founded upon a deeper set of moral values. In Europe and EU, there are no “godfathers” and “connections” – together with nepotism and clientelism, this can all simply be classified as corruption”, Pammer said, adding that “in Montenegro there is often a gap between facts and perceptions and the other way around”.
- 25 March **61% support membership of EU** / According to a poll conducted by CEDEM, 61% of citizens think Montenegro should become a member of EU. The poll found that 16% oppose membership, whereas 23% do not have an opinion.

Croatia restores faith in the enlargement process



Augustin Palokaj

The author is a long-term Brussels correspondent for the regional media

More than 20 years ago, Germany was the first of the European Union's member states (there were only 12 at the time) to recognise the Croatian independence. Berlin even threatened to do so unilaterally, if the EU was unable to reach a consensus. However, today Germany is among the last, if not the last, of the EU states to ratify the Treaty of Accession 2011, which will validate Croatia's entry into the EU. This is not the end of a love story between Germany and Croatia, nor is it revenge for our World Cup quarter-final victory in 1998. Germany is currently at the head of a group of states that are sceptical about future enlargement, because the government in Berlin is unhappy about the situation in certain countries that have recently joined the Union. With support from the Netherlands, Denmark and Finland, it takes the view that, for political reasons, the EU can no longer afford to overlook the rules for the basic functioning of the Union, that is to say: the rule of law and the drive to fight corruption and organised crime. For this group of states, there can be no compromise on respect for either of these. Germany has even proposed to subject all of the countries of the Union, whether they be recent or long standing members, to supervision from Brussels, which will have the option of imposing sanctions in the form of denial of access to certain funds. The group of states that have banded with Germany view the enlargement of the EU as one of the most important events in the history of Europe, but acknowledges that the process was marked by number of errors. In short, it appears that some countries that joined the union were not entirely ready. In the run up to its accession, even the European Commission believed that Greece did not fulfil all of the necessary conditions for candidate status. But in view of the Cold War and for other political reasons, the door was held open. Sometime later, Cyprus succeeded in entering the EU, even though it did not, and still does not, exercise control over all of its territory. At the time, Greece threatened to veto the accession of nine other countries if Cyprus was not included in the group. As for Romania and Bulgaria, a



full six years after their accession, both countries still do not fulfil all of the required conditions, and are subject to special supervision from Brussels. When they joined, political considerations were viewed as more important than the technical conditions for accession. In the Balkans, the states of the former Yugoslavia, and also Albania, interpreted the accession of Bulgaria and Romania as an encouraging sign. The reasoning was: "If they have been given a green light to join the Union, we will also be offered an opportunity for rapid accession." At least, so they hoped, but the EU had learned its lesson, and the conclusion in Brussels was: "Once bitten twice shy." Croatia, which was subjected to stricter accession criteria, became the first country to suffer the consequences of this "lesson". This explains why the accession process took 10 years to complete. If the same criteria had been previously applied, certain member states would have been unable to enter the EU. If the latest EU monitoring report is to be believed, Croatia is now ready, and the European Union is preparing to make use of the example of Croatia to restore faith in the credibility of the enlargement process

Source: *PressEurop*

“Recordings” and how they might impact Montenegro’s European integration

Brussels is showing more interest than ever



Damir Nikočević

Neither the prosecution nor political parties did anything to investigate the allegations surrounding the “Recordings” affair, even though the head of the unit for Montenegro and Croatia in the Enlargement DG **Dirk Lange** recently flew to Podgorica to talk about the case, and warned that there will be a debate on Montenegro in the European Parliament in mid-April. Alongside the debate in EP, the Commission is also working on a progress report on Montenegro that will probably be published on 16 April, and will have to contain an assessment of the case which testifies to abuse of public resources for electoral purposes by the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS). The opinions of European MPs and the conclusions of the EC will decide whether and how this scandal will affect future integration of Montenegro. One thing is certain: Brussels and the EU member states have never before shown so much interest in any of the numerous scandals involving Montenegro’s high officials. European Enlargement Commissioner **Štefan Füle** has repeatedly said that the EC expects the authorities to “investigate all allegations” and that it will “continue to closely follow this matter”, and on his visit to Podgorica Dirk Lange met with the directors of institutions which have been implicated in the affair. For the time being, the situation stands as follows: the departing Supreme State Prosecutor **Ranka Čarapić** stands by her earlier assessment that the statements in the recordings contain no elements of crime. For its part, the Parliament did not convene the hearings, nor has it initiated parliamentary investigation. The opposition would like to organise an investigation and set up the Investigative Committee that would have the right to invite any citizen to a hearing, while DPS insists on a parliamentary hearing, which means that the Parliament can only invite public officials. President of the

Resolution of the “Recordings” affair is top priority for a number of reasons, if we bear in mind EC’s findings that Montenegro did too little to prosecute corruption, especially on the highest level, and constant reminders to do something about the cumbersome and over-politicised public administration, says Jovana Marović, research coordinator in Institute Alternative

Parliament of Montenegro **Ranko Krivokapić** put the opposition’s proposal for the parliamentary investigation and the creation of an Investigative Committee in order to collect the facts on the affair on the agenda for the next plenary meeting, on 10 April. What is still missing from the political culture in Montenegro is accountability: persons involved in the “Recordings” affair have shown absolutely no intention to resign from their positions. **Tarzan Milošević**, Political director of DPS and former Minister for Agriculture (i.e. of the ministry which received much praise by the DPS members caught in the recordings for its activities ahead of 2011 local elections in Herzeg Novi) said that “everybody already understands that the affair was artificially blown-up”. “International factors have also realised it, as well as all the representatives from international institutions. The most important thing is that there was no abuse of public resources”, Milošević told *European Pulse*. He is convinced that “Recordings” will have no impact on the process of Montenegro’s accession to EU: “There is simply no argument here, and this is why the opposition is avoiding hearings of the people who could present the

necessary documents”. **Slaven Radunović**, president of the Committee for European Integration and MP of the Democratic Front says the “Recordings” constitute evidence of unimaginable abuse of public resources which are, unfortunately, an everyday occurrence in Montenegro. “Although the ruling coalition has been trying to turn our request for control hearings into a farce, in spite of EC’s insistence, “Recordings” have set the wheel in motion and it cannot be stopped any more. Brussels will certainly not allow such discrimination of citizens on political ground be papered over. So far Montenegro made swift progress towards EU, because the Government fulfilled all the political, legislative and administrative requirements the EC set for them. Now, when the next step requires changes that will be painful for them, the process will necessarily slow down – unless the citizens take the helm out of their hands”, Radunović said. Civil society is unanimous in its condemnation of the prosecution. **Jovana Marović**, research coordinator in Institute Alternative emphasises that a resolution of the “Recordings” affair is becoming a priority for a number of reasons, if we bear in mind EC’s findings that Montenegro did too little to prosecute corruption, especially on the highest level, and constant reminders to do something about the cumbersome and over-politicised public administration.

“Recordings” sum up the elements of misuse of public resources and politically motivated recruitment and must be investigated by public bodies. By this I mean primarily the prosecutor which in this case failed to see “any elements of crime”. Marović also mentions the role of the Parliament which, according to her, should be ready to use its powers of oversight to push for the investigation and hold responsible the persons involved in the “affair”. “Another important aspect is the time of appearance of these recordings – at the very moment we are working on the action plans for Chapter 23 (Judiciary and fundamental rights) and 24 (Justice, Freedom and Security), a pre-requisite for the start of negotiations on these two chapters. In addition to legislative harmonization, the requirements set within Chapter 23 also stipulate prosecution of corruption, which means that this is another “test” of political will and commitment of the Government to eradicate corruption from the society”

HEADS IN THE SAND

According to the Human Rights Action, the “Recordings” offer evidence of systematic criminal activity as a method of political action, and of the kind that should be automatically prosecuted. “These are: violation of non-discrimination (Article 159 of the Criminal Code), violation of non-discrimination in employment (Article 225), abuse of office (Article 416), etc. However, even though there is reasonable doubt that hundreds, even thousands of crimes were committed, the first reaction of the prosecution is to try to avoid any action on this matter. The worst is the Supreme State Prosecutor, who immediately dunked her head into the sand, although Article 19 of the Law on Criminal Proceedings says it is her job to initiate criminal investigation if there is sufficient evidence of such crimes”, says the director of HRA Tea Gorjanc Prelević.

WHAT THE RECORDINGS SAY

In the audio-recording from the meeting of the DPS Council for the implementation of electoral programme, which has been leaked by daily *Dan*, DPS MP and the former director of State Employment Office **Zoran Jelić** says that **“in the preparation for the elections”**, the Employment Office **“initiated a few projects through which we will offer jobs primarily to the DPS members... By yesterday we already employed 460 people, and will give jobs to another 40 by Wednesday, and with that the project will be completed... the project is extremely functional. Through such projects, we are mostly employing DPS members. We are every day in contact with the presidents of DPS committees in all municipalities, because we are trying to first employ our own people”**.

“After these statements were leaked, the Supreme State Prosecutor Ranka Čarapić said that *“There are no elements of crime, as defined by Montenegro’s Criminal Code, in any of the statements uttered by the participants of this meeting”*, but that the prosecution was ready to evaluate individual charges brought against other persons who may have violated the law. In other words, the prosecutor explained what everybody knew already – that the statements in themselves do not constitute a crime – because they are in fact a competent information to the public and the prosecutor about criminal acts committed elsewhere. It is especially worrying that the prosecutor promised to investigate the matter only if individual charges are pressed against the persons appearing on the recordings, although the crimes suggested by the recordings should be prosecuted automatically”, warns NGO Human Rights Action.

Prosecution remained silent even after a new set of recordings was leaked, which once again contained discussions of selective employment of DPS members and voters with public resources, in order to secure good results at the elections:

- Jovan Martinović from Cetinje:

“Yes, we have excellent coordination when it comes to employment in public institutions in Cetinje. I would like especially to emphasise our everyday communication with the Ministry of Education and Sports, and with Minister Stijepović, who never forgets about the party”.

- Budimir Dabetić from Berane

“I would like to express my satisfaction here with the number of **internships allocated to us by the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education and Agency for the Protection of Environment**, which gave us additional strength and I believe a better result in these elections. I would like to ask the **Forest Directorate and Customs Authority** to take back our members who worked there for a couple of years but have lost their jobs in the meantime, even though they are very active on behalf of the party, as presidents or vice-presidents of local committees.”

- Dejana Medojević, Mayor of Mojkovac

“Another very important issue is to **target severance payments from the Labour Fund directly at our own members**, and I believe this will be of direct help on the ground”.

The latest quote supports earlier allegations that the Labour Fund has been working for DPS. In September last year, although it was allocated 1.8 million euro by the Budget, the Labour Fund raised almost 6 million euro by issuing bonds in order to pay redundancy compensation to 3.115 former employees. In the course of 2011 the Fund had 2.3 million euro. According to *Dan*, the then political director of DPS, **Branimir Gvozdenović**, announced that DPS members will receive redundancy payments through the Labour Fund by September, among other via a project of the European Investment Bank.

Deputy Prime Minister Duško Marković
about Court of Appeals rulings in Zavala and Šarić cases

We won't compromise our track record



The rulings by the Court of Appeals in “Zavala” and “Šarić” cases will not influence the opening of negotiations on Chapters 23 and 24, but in the eyes of Montenegrin and international public they might nevertheless cast a shadow on our track record on judiciary and fundamental rights and justice, freedom and security, said the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Justice **Duško Marković** in the interview for European Pulse. “Regardless of the outcome of the trials for these two or for other cases, we will not allow our current track record in terms of European integration to be compromised in any way”, Marković added. He noted that his opinions on the matter are well known to the Montenegrin public. “I am also known not to comment on verdicts which are not final. However, I am closely following all the activities and I will not refrain from pointing to the flaws in the process or holding accountable those responsible for it once the process is finalized”, Marković said. According to him, there is only one criterion for the opening of chapters 23 and 24. “The only requirement is to create an action plan for the implementation of recommendations from the screening report”, he said. Also, he stressed that the Ministry of Justice has been working to fulfil the recommendations from the screening report

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without waiting for the action plan. “Among other, we began to fulfil the recommendations on the membership of Montenegrin institutions in the relevant European judiciary networks, and we initiated procedures to be accepted as observers – of the Supreme Court, in the Association of the Councils of State and Supreme Administrative Jurisdictions, of the EU; of the Supreme State Prosecutor in the Network of Public Prosecutors at the Supreme Judicial Courts of the EU; of the Judicial Training Centre in the European Judicial Training Network, and of the Ministry of Justice in the Network for Legislative Cooperation between the Ministries of Justice of the EU. Our institutions already have observer status in the Network of the Presidents of the Supreme Judicial Courts of the EU and in the European Network of Councils for the Judiciary, and with that we are very close to fulfilling this particular recommendation from the screening report. We also continued communication with the European Union's Judicial Cooperation Unit, and we hope to soon conclude a cooperation agreement with them. In February we submitted to the EUROJUST for review the Law on the protection of personal data, which has already been positively evaluated by the EU experts from the twinning project as being perfectly in line with the Directive 95/46. A positive opinion by EUROJUST is the first step towards negotiations of a Cooperation Agreement. Another good news is that by the end of this year we expect to sign the Operative Agreement with EUROPOL”, Marković explained.



» You recently said that Montenegro does not have a well planned approach to the fight against corruption and organised crime. Who is responsible for this, and what do you, or the Government, plan to do about it?

Let me rephrase your question: mechanisms for the fight against corruption and crime exist on the political, legislative and operative levels. I would say that we are still missing the necessary institutional professionalism to fully understand the requirements, in addition to simply implementing them. We also lack harmonization and daily cooperation among various institutions in charge of law enforcement.

» Are constitutional changes on judiciary matters necessary to begin negotiations on Chapters 23 and 24? There are conflicting opinions on this matter?

Constitutional changes are not a requirement for the opening of Chapters 23 and 24. But they are a precondition or, if you will, the most fundamental basis for the genuine progress on these chapters. I would rather pursue this question further into the field of politics, where it is also a question of political maturity and evidence of genuine support for the strengthening of European values in Montenegro.

Constitutional changes will be on the agenda of the Parliament's spring session, and the adoption of these constitutional amendments seems a lot more likely to me now than it did a while ago.

» You said you are optimistic about constitutional changes. What is the source of your optimism, given the real danger that the opposition might again try to make its vote conditional upon identity issues, whereas the government is showing no signs of accepting the proposal to appoint the Supreme State Prosecutor and the judges of the Constitutional Court by a 2/3 parliamentary majority, with the option of a de-blocking mechanism? Which mechanism would be acceptable for both parties?

It is up to the Parliament to decide. Constitutional changes will be on the agenda of the spring plenary session, and the adoption of these constitutional amendments seems a lot more likely to me now than in the recent past.

» What is happening with the action plans for Chapters 23 and 24? When will they be ready?

TAIEX experts visited Montenegro this March, to help us improve the action plans with their comments and recommendations. After these have been taken into account, we will present draft action plans to the EU Peer Review mission which is to visit Montenegro between 22 and 26 April. For this visit, we are also preparing a set of accompanying documents, and are planning to put the action plans for discussion to the Commission for negotiations and to the Parliament Committee for European Integrations. After that, the government will approve the final version of the action plans for Chapters 23 and 24. Upon Government's approval, they will be sent to Brussels, and we hope to begin negotiation at the Inter-Governmental Conference in October. This, in my opinion, is a realistic timeframe.

» What are the most important reforms these action plans would bring to judiciary and police in the nearest future (e.g. by the end of this year)?

With regard to Chapter 23, if the constitutional amendments are adopted, our priority will be to harmonise organisational laws with the new constitutional provisions in the field of judiciary. In addition to that, we will work to strengthen monitoring mechanisms through detailed statistical data on the effectiveness of judiciary, reduction of the backlog and the duration of trials, as well as other measurable results which demonstrate the power of the institutions to protect the rights of the citizens from all forms of discrimination.

As for Chapter 24, we ought to establish an effective system to monitor EU's external borders, which in this case means providing the border crossings with the necessary equipment in line with EU standards, and strengthening the capacities of the border police.

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With regard to the fight against corruption and organised crime, the most important task in both chapters is to strengthen the mechanisms of institutional and international cooperation and strengthen the capacities of the police, judiciary, prosecution and other law enforcement bodies. In this context, we plan to centralise competencies for the prosecution of organised crime and corruption by establishing a specialised court and prosecutor's office.

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Communicating vessels

» There are no examples in Montenegro of high state officials being convicted for corruption-related crimes. Do you believe that our officials are really that blameless, or is it the fault of the judiciary and police who are either incapable or, as the opposition maintains, controlled by politicians? Which is the weakest link in this system?

I believe we are neither as blameless nor as incompetent as the usual critics and apologists of the system would have it.

In my opinion, these weaknesses are best understood through the principle of communicating vessels, which only makes the diagnosis more complex. I am most inclined to think that a society develops in parallel on all fronts: some reforms are faster than others, but on average, the pieces move more or less together. There is no reason to believe, for instance, that Montenegrin prosecutors are more professional than its judges or policemen, or the other way around – or, if I may take an example from your own profession, that the journalists are more up to their task than lawyers... We were all born and brought up here, mostly educated in this region, and influenced by the same or similar cultural patterns – every profession carries some weaknesses of transition, and grows by eliminating them. This is why I believe that the process of accession to NATO and EU is in itself useful, almost as much as the membership itself.

More precisely, as far as corruption goes, in some areas it is indeed systemic. This is why we need to step up the efforts to confront this challenge. Believe me, it is equally important to develop awareness among the citizens of the damages corruption brings to all of us, as to make sure that the law enforcement bodies do their job. We are working on this every day.

European Union after the collapse of the Cypriot banking industry

The Great European Ponzi scheme



Vera Šćepanović

After several weeks of panic, the Government of Cyprus finally struck a deal with the representatives of “Troika” - European Central Bank, IMF and European Union - for a €17 billion restructuring package to prevent the collapse of the banking system on the island. At almost 90% of the country’s GDP, the deal may appear extremely generous. In reality, however, it is more or less equivalent to grabbing someone by the throat to save them from drowning. Out of the €17 billion, a full €7 billion will come from the country’s own banks, or rather from their customers. The island’s second largest bank, Laiki, will be closed down and merged with the Bank of Cyprus. Around 40% of deposits exceeding 100 000 will be converted to bank shares, although some estimates suggest it might be as much as 60%. The value of these shares in the near to medium future is anybody’s guess, as is the fate of the remaining money which does not fall under the minimum guarantee. Of the remaining €10 billion, €7.5 billion will go to restructure Cyprus’ debts, which leaves a much more modest €2.5 billion left to a government which must completely reinvent its economy. According to the Troika, Cyprus’ problem is its “overgrown” banking sector. At the start of the crisis, the total assets held by Cypriot banks were eight times larger than the total value of its domestic product. **Christine Lagarde**, head of the IMF, declared these levels unsustainable and insisted that the size of the banking sector must be cut the more reasonable 300% of the GDP by 2018. Although the rise of financial industry in Cyprus was hardly a secret, the reactions of many EU officials were similarly condemning. French minister of finance **Pierre Moscovici** called it “casino banking”, while German papers abounded with lessons on the dangers of becoming a tax haven. Taking high moral ground is a handy way to shake responsibility. Cyprus is indeed a low tax jurisdiction – at 10%, its corporate tax is well below the EU average of 25%. Cyprus is also well known as a favourite location for Russian

The tragedy of the Cypriot economy is not just another sad story of a small country losing out in the big game of international capitalism. The way the EU reacted to the crisis brought several uncomfortable precedents

firms who set up branches on the island and use them to invest in EU or reinvest in Russia. Of nearly €70 billion deposited in Cypriot banks, around one third is held by non-residents, most of them Russian companies and entrepreneurs. But in spite of its Russian connection, Cyprus is in fact not tax haven. Most international watchdogs consider its regulations impeccable, and the EU fully approved of its low taxes at the accession. In fact, the reason it attracted so many Russian investors are not its low taxes or lax regulation – taxes in Russia itself are not much higher – but the fact that it is a better regulated jurisdiction, more likely to protect their assets. Its history as a British protectorate left the island with English as a widespread language of business and legacy of common law. Its membership of EU and the Eurozone only

For the first time since the crisis began, a tax on depositors became part of the bailout agreement. Although everyone keeps repeating that Cyprus is unique, depositors in many other weak economies might be wondering whether it is better for them to start transferring their money to German banks before something similar happens to them as well. Even if it doesn’t come to a full bank run, there will probably be a long slow drain of capital from peripheries towards economically stronger members of EU, which only deepens the crisis.

improved its standing with foreign investors, while the cultural links with Russia helped it to position itself as a business intermediary. Not only Russians, but also European and especially American investors preferred to go through Cyprus than to deal with the Russian legal system directly. Until it collapsed, nobody worried about the dangers of Cyprus' low taxes or excessive banking. As a matter of fact, the stress tests administered by the European Central Bank in 2009, 2010 and even 2011 had shown that Cypriot banks were in an excellent shape to withstand economic crisis. They did, however, make one serious mistake: they trusted the Eurozone and its mechanisms to bail out weaker members, and so they invested huge amounts into Greek government bonds. When the Greek public debt was "restructured" in 2012, with some 75% of the bond values written off, the Cypriot banks all but collapsed. The government stepped in to prevent the banks from collapsing, and the rest is history. For Cyprus, the days as the financial service centre are most probably over. The decision to "tax" the deposits clearly signalled to most investors that they cannot trust the country any more, and led to a scramble to get the money out of the country. The subsequent measures to prevent the bank runs, such as limits on cash withdrawals and restrictions on money transfers are only making the situation worse. The island has few alternatives – it can try to boost its tourism sector, or invest in developing recently discovered off-shore gas fields. In the meantime, however, the loss of its main economic branch will be felt for a long time. The crisis of the banking sector has taken with it many businesses in construction, trade, and a whole range of business services. Even the most conservative estimates expect the GDP to shrink between 20 and 40% in the next two years. The tragedy of the Cypriot economy, however, is not just another sad story of a small country losing out in the big game of international capitalism. The events surrounding the bailout brought several uncomfortable precedents. For the first time since the crisis began, a tax on depositors became part of the bailout agreement. Although

The self-righteous tone with which the EU authorities have disparaged "excessive" financial industry made many other member states uncomfortable. Cyprus is not the only one where the bank assets wildly exceed GDP: in Denmark and UK the size of the banking sector is about five times larger than the economy, in Malta about eight times, and in Luxembourg a whopping 23 times

everyone keeps repeating that Cyprus is unique, depositors in many other weak economies might be wondering whether it is better for them to start transferring their money to German banks before something similar happens to them as well. Even if it doesn't come to a full bank run, there will probably be a long slow drain of capital from peripheries towards economically stronger members of EU, which only deepens the crisis. Second, the self-righteous tone with which the EU authorities have disparaged "excessive" financial industry made many other member states uncomfortable. Cyprus is not the only one where the bank assets wildly exceed GDP: in Denmark and UK the size of the banking sector is about five times larger than the economy, in Malta about eight times, and in Luxembourg a whopping 23 times. So far, none of them has shown the same signs of financial collapse, but we should bear in mind that a year ago Cyprus itself was the very image of stability. Most disturbingly, the terms on which the EU is willing to bail out its members seem to be getting tougher from one case to another. There is still hope that the meltdown in Cyprus might nudge the EU to establish a banking union that would be better able to monitor the risks and make it clear what the procedures will be when another European bank gets into trouble. If this does not happen, any next crisis is likely to provoke a stampede of depositors even before the Troika runs to the rescue.

Looming shortage of doctors and specialists in the Balkan countries

White coats on the move



Within the EU, there are 380 doctors per 100,000 residents, but Balkan countries are significantly short of that ratio.

Among the steps being taken, the health ministry has increased the number of specialisations and narrowed the focus of specialisations in order to improve care. The number of medical student placements has been increased, and the government approved a suggestion from the Croatian Medical Chamber that medical interns should be paid, which is considered an important stimulative measure. "It all depends on finances," Minigo said. "The authorities should provide budgets for education, adequate wages and better working conditions." In 2012, Serbia received a donation of 30 mammography scanners from Japan, but the country does not have enough radiologists who know how to operate them.

With Balkan nations facing shortages of doctors and specialists, industry experts are urging governments to improve the training, salary and retention of medical personnel. Within the EU, there are 380 doctors per 100,000 residents, but Balkan countries are significantly short of that ratio. **Hrvoje Minigo**, president of the Croatian Medical Chamber, said that doctors leave the country for better pay, and expressed concern that fewer people will choose to pursue careers in medicine.

"The study and specialisation are long, so doctors expect adequate wages and working conditions for their efforts. Unfortunately, it is often found in developed countries," Minigo said. The Croatian National Health Development Strategy, adopted last year by the government, provides a framework for progress through 2020 focusing on increasing the number of students in medical schools, increasing wages and improving working conditions.

The number of medical student placements has been increased, and the government approved a suggestion from the Croatian Medical Chamber that medical interns should be paid

"It is not easy to solve the problem of doctors who leave the country," says **Tatjana Radosavljević**, director of the Medical Chamber of Serbia. "What we need is a national strategy which will address the problem of shortage of doctors and the means to provide them conditions to stay in the country." Neither the government nor any organisations have taken steps to devise such

a strategy. "If the state could provide bigger wages to the doctors, many would stay, but the state simply cannot afford it," Radosavljević said.

Serbia has around 23,000 doctors, half of whom are specialists, but the country lacks anesthesiologists, radiologists, cardiologists and pathologists. According to data from the Medical University in Belgrade, about 500 people pass the specialist exams every year. Many of them leave the country in search of better salaries. Most of the specialists go to Libya, Germany and Slovenia, but also to the US and Australia. According to the World Health Organisation, the outflow of doctors and medical experts from Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) tripled in the last two years. The latest report said the number of doctors in the Federation of BiH is 173 per 100,000, which is half of the average for Europe. Croatia needs 4,300 more physicians to achieve that ratio.

"Specialists in Bosnia and Herzegovina have a basic salary of 700 euros a month, while in Slovenia it's 3,500 euros. That is one of the reasons we have shortages of doctors, especially family medicine physicians," said **Abud Sarić**, chairman of the Independent Health Trade Unions of the Federation of BiH. Last year, the Medical Chamber of Tuzla canton registered almost 70 doctors who left the country after finishing their studies. In the Federation of BiH, more than 50 new family medicine teams were established in the last year, but there is still a shortage of doctors, said **Zlatan Peršić**, spokesperson for the BiH Ministry of Health. "Since last year, we have 705 family medical teams, with at least one doctor and a nurse, while a year earlier worked 652 teams. But we cannot be satisfied because, according to our estimations, in the Federation BiH should work around 1,100 to 1,200 teams," Peršić said. Romania closed 67 hospitals during 2011 due to a lack of doctors. Many of those facilities became clinics with family doctors, but some

In 2012, Serbia received a donation of 30 mammography scanners from Japan, but the country does not have enough radiologists who know how to operate them.

have remained closed or were transformed into geriatric centres. The country lost almost 2,000 doctors in 2012 and has lost about 15,000 in the last two decades. According to Romania's National College of Physicians, the country has seen the number of foreign medical students more than double since 1990, with four candidates applying for each place.

Specialists in Bosnia and Herzegovina have a basic salary of 700 euros a month, while in Slovenia it's 3 500 euros. That is one of the reasons we have shortages of doctors", says **Abud Sarić**, chairman of the Independent Health Trade Unions of the Federation of BiH

In 2010, Romania registered more than 6,300 medical graduates, more than 20% of whom immediately left the country in search of better-paying jobs in the Western Europe.

Romanian Health Minister **Eugen Nicolaescu** told *ziare.com* last month that the cabinet would increase doctors' salaries. Years of low salaries have led to corruption in the health care system, with patients paying bribes in order to receive care.

Source: *SETimes.com*

Chapter 3: Right of establishment and freedom to provide services



Nemanja Tepavčević

Once it fulfils all membership requirements related to the freedom of the provision of services, Montenegro will become part of the single market where companies registered in one member state can freely offer their services on the territory of other member states, even without obligatory registration outside of their home countries. As the country removes all obstacles for establishment of companies registered in EU member states, the citizens of Montenegro will gain access to a much larger choice of services. Among other, this includes legal consultancies, insurance companies, software companies, banks, etc.

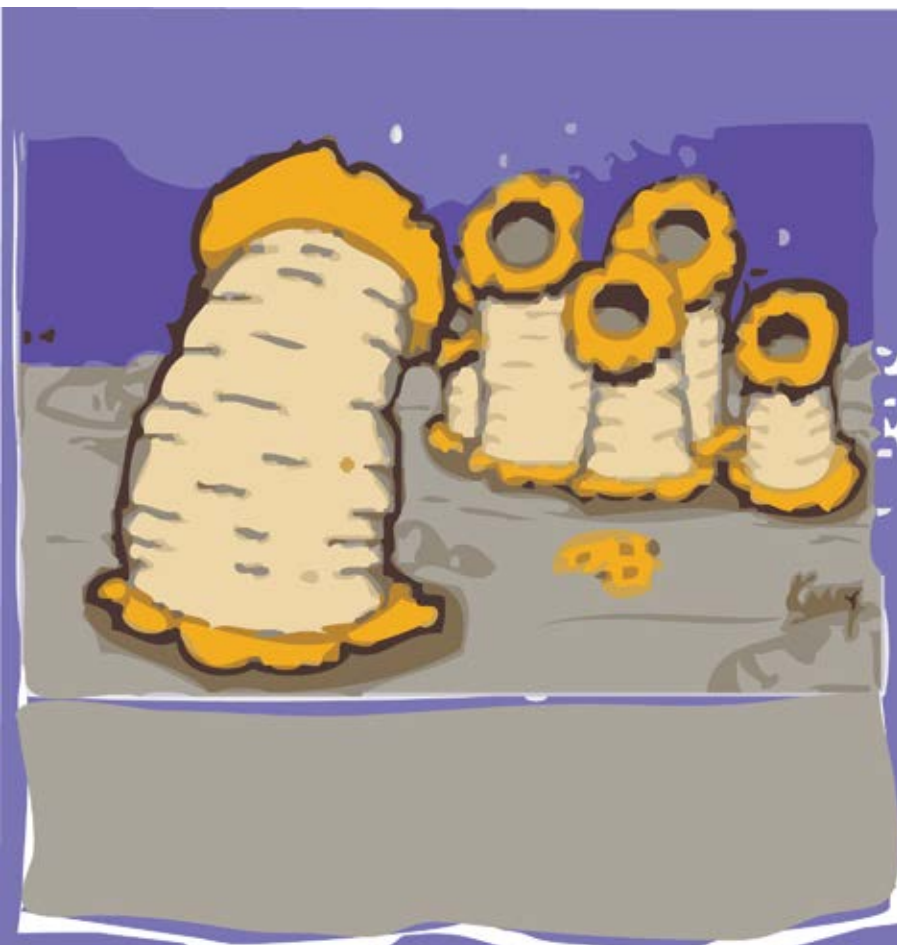
With the third chapter of its *acquis communautaire*, the EU seeks to ensure the ease of doing business to the citizens of its member states across the whole territory of the Union. This section of the European legislation therefore focuses on removing all barriers to registration and operations of enterprises in other member states. To make sure that private persons or companies are able to offer services and perform other economic activities in one or more member states in a stable, predictable manner, the EU regulates this area through the principle of mutual recognition. On this basis, persons or firms which already operate legally in one member states have the same right to extend their activities and services in other EU

members, while keeping their headquarters in the home country. If they wish to do so, the same persons or firms can also found enterprises in other EU member states and offer services there under the same conditions as the local economic actors. In other words, the right to establishment and freedom of cross-border provision of services aims to remove legal and administrative obstacles on all administrative levels, in order to guarantee its citizens the best services in all areas.

One of the key elements of this negotiation chapter is the mutual recognition of qualifications and diplomas, which facilitates the transfer of knowledge within the EU. For the same reason, the role of the academic community is important, as it ensures that the national educational systems can guarantee effective use of the acquired knowledge in any member state of the Union. This chapter also regulates the question of the provision of postal services, with the aim of opening this sector up to the competition in order to provide the citizens with optimal services in this area.

In the course of the last year, Montenegro simplified the procedures for establishment and operation of companies by amending the relevant legislation. One example of an efficient solution to complex bureaucratic procedures is also reflected in the establishment of a one-stop-shop system for company registration at the Commercial Court. The system became operational last year, simplifying the process of company registration in a broad range of services. Moreover, formal education which the EU citizens acquired in their home countries will be recognised by Montenegro as equivalent to the degrees provided in the country.

As part of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA), Montenegro and EU members agreed to regulate establishment and operation of companies active in industry, trade and crafts. The key provisions of SAA



include equal treatment for establishment of Montenegrin enterprises on the territory of EU and the other way around, with equal privileges accorded to the companies which offer services of comparable quality. To ensure implementation of this provision, the Council for Stabilisation and Association was put in charge of undertaking all necessary measures to create preconditions for mutual recognition of qualifications acquired in Montenegro or in EU member states.

SSP also covers the area of international maritime transport, which obliges both parties to strict observance of safety and environmental standards to ensure that the freedom of the provision of services in this field remains operational. SSA also stipulates unlimited road transport between Montenegro and EU member states. The principle of free competition is enforced in the international maritime transport, while the air transport

In the last round of enlargement, the question of the freedom of provision of services brought to the fore some strong prejudices, which became famous as the phenomenon of the “Polish plumber”. The French citizens in particular feared they will be overwhelmed by the cheap labour force from the poorer, eastern parts of the continent, willing to offer services at much lower prices and therefore likely to endanger the jobs and the profit margins of the French economy.

On the other hand, the Poles and other East Europeans feared they will lose their own workforce to migration. None of these fears, however, materialized.

The data indicate that the Poles and citizens of other EU member states are returning to their home countries in great numbers, bringing back the work experience acquired in other EU states, and thus contributing to the growth of their economies.

will be gradually liberalized through special provisions. The access of the companies registered in either of the two parties to the other’s market will be negotiated in the framework of the Multilateral Agreement on the establishment of a European Common Aviation Area.

As in other areas of negotiations, Montenegro's main problem with regard to the freedom of the provision of services is the lack of administrative capacities and dysfunctional cooperation among responsible institutions.



Among the most striking examples is the shortage of employees in the sector of postal services. Moreover, independence of the national body in charge of regulating postal services is also questionable. Agency for electronic communication and postal services is dependent on the Ministry for Information Society and Telecommunications as well as on the Ministry of Finance. Harmonization of the national legislation with the European Service Directive is essential to ensure the freedom of service provision. Restructuring of the universal postal operator is also necessary if this sector is to become competitive and offer citizens better services at lower prices.

In spite of the adoption of new laws and amendments to the old ones, genuine improvement of the legal framework for mutual

recognition of professional qualification hinges on the full implementation of this body of laws. This is essential if the Montenegro workforce is to become mobile and offer attractive services to the wider European market. The most problematic branches in this regard are the medical, dental, pharmaceutical and veterinary professions, whose further approximation with EU norms is essential before Montenegro's qualifications can be automatically recognised on the territory of EU. To achieve this goal, Montenegro's educational system ought to become more flexible and offer its students more practical training, applicable also beyond the borders of our country. Comprehensive implementation of the Bologna Declaration in Montenegrin higher education is therefore essential, as it opens up the possibilities to the professionals educated in Montenegro to work and offer services in any EU member state.

Source: publication "Europe in my town – what are we negotiating and what the negotiations with the EU are bringing to us?", publicised within the project Europe in my town, which was implemented by the Centre for Civic Education (CCE) during 2011 and 2012, in cooperation with the Centre for Monitoring (CEMI) from Podgorica and Civic Initiatives (CI) from Belgrade, with the support of the EU Delegation in Montenegro

EU info BUS continues its journey through Montenegro



EU info bus continued its journey through Montenegro with a visit to the municipality of Danilovgrad on 20 March and to the Department of Legal Studies of the University of Montenegro in Podgorica on 28 March 2013. In order to improve the level of knowledge and information about EU among the citizens of Danilovgrad, the project team organised a series of educational activities, in cooperation with the municipality of Danilovgrad and with support of EU Delegation to Montenegro. EU info bus was set up on the main square, with numerous stands where the citizens were offered information about EU, about the importance of Montenegro's accession to EU, and about the possibilities for the involvement of local communities in this process. Among the participants in the info bus were also H.E. **Mitja Drobnič**, head of the EU Delegation to Montenegro, H.E. **Martin Pammer**, ambassador of Austria to Montenegro, **Milivoje Jurišić**, secretary of the Negotiating Group of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration, as well as representatives of organisers: Centre for Civic Education (CCE) and NGO "Natura". After a working meeting with the leadership of the municipality of Danilovgrad, the event was officially opened at the 9 December square, with speeches by **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE, **Branislav Đuranović**, president of the municipality of Danilovgrad, and H.E. Mitja Drobnič. On the same day, a panel discussion titled "*How can the local communities contribute to negotiations with EU?*" was organised in the grand hall of the Parliament of Danilovgrad, with presentations by Daliborka Uljarević, Branislav Đuranović, Milivoje Jurišić, H.E. Mitja Drobnič and

H.E. Martin Pammer. The discussion was attended by a large number of citizens, local businessmen, committee members, NGO activists, and students, who contributed to the discussion through comments and questions. After Danilovgrad, EU info Bus visited the Legal Studies Department of the University of Montenegro in Podgorica, where, in cooperation with ELSA Montenegro, it organised a discussion titled "*Montenegro in the process of EU negotiations: Chapter 23 – Judiciary and Fundamental Rights*". The discussants were Daliborka Uljarević, Prof Dr **Vladimir Savković** from the Legal Studies Department, political advisor in the EU Delegation to Montenegro **Annalisa Giansanti**, deputy Ambassador of UK **Lyndon Radnedge**, deputy Minister for Justice and Human Rights and a member of the negotiating group for chapters 23 and 24 **Svetlana Rajković** and general director for European Integration in MFAEI **Snežana Radović**. In April, EU info bus will visit Mojkovac and Nikšić. The project "*EU Info Bus on the road to EU*" is implemented by CCE in cooperation with Friedrich Ebert Foundation and NGO Natura, and with support of the EU Delegation to Montenegro.



CCE study shows that in 2012 public institutions halved expenditures for the media, but continue with the old practice

Audience is not the relevant criterion

In 2012, Montenegrin institutions spent € 852,059 for announcements and advertisements in various printed and electronic media, TV and radio stations and websites, and for the services of PR companies, polling agencies and production houses.

To analyse the extent and amount of public spending on such services, Centre for Civic Education (CCE) conducted a study titled “*How much and to whom do the citizens pay for advertising?*” which is implemented in the framework of the sub-programme “*Media and democracy*” and aims to raise public awareness and foster accountability of public spending.

The research scrutinised the relationships between the Government bodies and the Parliament and various media in Montenegro, and compared the patterns of spending in 2012 to those of 2011.

CCE collected the data between 11 January and 19 February 2013, making use of the provisions of the Law on Free Access to Information. The data refer to all media, PR agencies, polling agencies and production companies that the Government of Montenegro and its bodies, as well as the Parliament, contracted during 2012. The project covered 17 ministries, two agencies, five directorates, 21 departments, three secretariats, six bureaus and five cabinets, as well as the State Archive, but the data exclude spending by local governments.

The largest amount spent in this category in the previous year went to production houses and marketing agencies - €128 424. Printed media received €118 824, websites and agencies €50 486, while radio and television channels received the smallest, but far from negligible sum of € 43 202.

Among the international and regional media, in the course of 2012 only *Beta* news agency from Belgrade received € 6 290 by the General Secretariat of the Government of Montenegro in exchange or access to information about the region. On the other hand, Ministry of Tourism and Sustainable Development paid € 400 000 to CNN and € 100 000 to BBC to promote Montenegro as tourist destination.

As far as the Government bodies are concerned, the biggest spender is the Ministry of Tourism and Sustainable Development, with € 523 076 in 2012. The next in line is the Ministry of Defence, which paid € 44,360 for media services this year (€55 627 in 2011). Ministry of Culture spent € 24 424 on the media this year, which is € 45 190 less than in 2011. It should be noted that nearly half of this amount (€ 10,000) was used to co-finance the monthly magazine “*Agora*”, published by the daily newspaper “*Pobjeda*”. Significant sums for advertising were also spent by the Ministry of Transport and Maritime Affairs (€ 19 100, compared to €40 249 in 2011), and Ministry of Economy (€ 13 930). Other ministries spent between € 223 and € 8 590. The least amount for media services was allocated by the Ministries of Education and Sports (€698), which had spent a similarly low amount for these purposes last year (€2,100), and the Ministry of Human and Minority rights, which spent only € 223 (€30 000) less than in 2011.

One of the very few ministries which increased the budget for advertising this year was the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, which spent € 6 199 compared to last year's € 2 516. The only ministry which according to the data received by CCE did not spend a single cent for media services was the Ministry of Justice.

As far the other public authorities (agencies, directorates, secretariats, cabinets, departments, bureaus), the highest amount was spent by the General Secretariat of the Government of Montenegro, i.e. € 33 210. Real Estate Department came second with € 21 930, which is 5% less than the amount spent last year. The next in line is the Directorate for Transport with € 14 402 Other institutions spent between € 300 and € 6 500.

The Parliament of Montenegro spent a total of € 63 345 which is € 16 116 less than in 2011 (€ 79 461). The largest portion of this sum - € 48 000 - was paid to the agency „M.A.M.A“, which deals with press-clippings and provides audio-video services. The second biggest supplier was company „Globex“, with € 4 505 for Internet broadcasting of the Parliament meetings and maintenance of the relevant software.

Radio „Antena M“ received the largest amount of funding destined for advertising in television and radio channels by Government bodies - nearly 95% of the total expenditure by all ministries in this category. This amounts to € 24 576, the largest chunk of which came from the Ministry of Transport and Maritime Affairs (€ 11 700). Television „Vijesti“ came a distant second, with € 1 000 paid for advertisements by the Ministry of Science.

RTCG got a mere € 473. Same as in the previous year, RTCG is at the bottom of the list of media chosen by ministries for advertising on TV and radio stations. According to the data received by CCE, NTV „Montena“ did not receive a single cent from public authorities for advertising purposes this year, compared to the previous year when it was one of the top advertising venues for the ministries.

The research showed that Montenegrin public institutions had become more frugal in 2012. Nevertheless, there are still differences in their treatment of different media. The criteria for selection of the media for advertising purposes

are neither clear nor consistent, nor do they correspond to independent estimates of the public trust in the media, their popularity or prices.

CCE insists that the taxpayers must be informed about the ways in which their taxes are being spent, as well as about the benefits they receive in return. This is why such information should be available on the websites of each institution. It is positive that in the wake of austerity measures public institutions reduced their spending on advertising, but it is regrettable that there are still no clear and understandable criteria for the selection of advertising outlets – such as, for instance, the size of their audience.

Pobjeda gets 89% of advertising money, even “Travels” receive more than “Dan” and “Vijesti”

Among the printed media, daily newspaper “Pobjeda” was by far the biggest beneficiary of the advertising activities of ministries, receiving altogether € 81 378, or 89.16%.

Daily “Vijesti” got € 3 489 or 3.82%, while “Dan” got € 2 810, or a little over 3%

Thus the two biggest dailies in the country had less advertising income from public institutions than the monthly magazine “Travels”, published by the Youth Association of Montenegro, which received € 3 600 from the Ministry of Tourism and Sustainable Development. According to the data available for CCE, other newspapers such as „Dnevne novine“ or „Blic Crna Gora“ did not receive any funding from the ministries.

Promotion of institutional transparency

Between 19 and 22 March, NGO activists from the Western Balkans, Turkey and Iceland took part in a study visit to the European Commission and European Parliament, in the framework of EU's People 2 People programme. The theme of the visit was "*Direct democracy and e-democracy as a way to stimulate transparency and civic activism*". The goal of the visit was to give the participants a chance to learn more about EU's policies and programmes targeting civic activism and transparency of governance, and to foster networking among similar organisations working in this field. During the visit, participants from Croatia, BiH, Montenegro, Serbia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Albania, Turkey and Iceland were introduced to numerous examples from EU member states, and presented their own experiences from the region. For the Montenegrin participants, especially interesting was the presentation by deputy Commissioner for Information **Kristina Kotnik Šumah**, who spoke about free access to information. **Damir Nikočević**, PR/programme associate in the Centre for Civic Education (CCE) also participated in the visit.

XVI generation of Human Rights School

As part of the regional programme of education for human rights and active citizenship in the Western Balkans, between 21 and 24 March Centre for Civic Education organised XVI generation of Human Rights School in Miločer, with support of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 20 high-school students from Podgorica, Cetinje, Nikšić, Bar, Mojkovac and Danilovgrad took part in the programme. The goal of the school is to introduce these young people to the theory and ideas of human rights, basic principles of democracy, tolerance, solidarity, non-violent communication, and contribute to development of critical thinking and activist attitudes of the youth towards the matters concerning human rights in the Montenegrin society. The school was designed as a combination of interactive lectures, workshops and film projections, followed by discussions.

In addition to the introductory segment, which focused on the history and modern conceptualizations of human rights, and preconditions for development of human rights culture, the participants took part in the workshops intended to make them question their own attitudes, prejudices and stereotypes, offer them an opportunity to discuss youth activism, the problem of discrimination in the society, rights of the marginalized and vulnerable groups, and the role of young people in the process of confrontation with the past. Another segment of the programme included discussions of peer violence which seems to be on the rise in Montenegrin high schools. During the final session the participants were introduced to the activities of the CCE's Youth Group, and the interested participants were offered the opportunity to join the activities of the group. At the end of the programme, the participants received diplomas for the successful completion of the school. Lecturers at the school were renowned human rights experts, representatives of institutions in charge of the protection and promotion of human rights, psychologists, and activists of NGOs fighting for a better status and rights of LGBT persons, persons with disabilities, women, and Roma.

VI National anti-corruption conference

The Network for Affirmation of Non-Governmental Sector (MANS) organised on 15 March the VI national conference on anti-corruption, including presentations by the Speaker of the Parliament of Montenegro **Ranko Krivokapić**, ambassador of USA to Montenegro H.E. **Sue K. Brown**, head of the EU Delegation to Montenegro H.E. **Mitja Drobnič** and the executive director of MANS **Vanja Čalović**. The conference consisted of three sessions: *Criminal prosecution of corruption and organised crime; The role of the Parliament in the fight against corruption and monitoring of anti-corruption reforms; The role of the citizens, non-governmental organisations and the media in anti-corruption.*

The conference brought together numerous representatives of public institutions which are part of the Action Plan for the fight against corruption and organised crime, as well as representatives on international organisations and civil society. **Boris Marić**, senior legal advisor to CCE participated in the conference on behalf of the Centre for Civic Education.

Final report on ZIKS

Human Rights Action (HRA), Centre for Civic Education (CCE), Centre for Anti-Discrimination EKVISTA, and Women's Safe House presented on 28 March 2013 the *Final assessment of the state of human rights of detained and sentenced persons in the Institution for Execution of Criminal Sanctions (ZIKS)*. The report was completed by a team of non-governmental organisations participating in the project "*Monitoring Respect for Human Rights in Closed Institutions in Montenegro*". The report assesses implementation of 164 recommendations issued by the monitoring team in the preliminary monitoring report published in June 2012.

Speakers at the event were the head of EU Delegation to Montenegro **Mitja Drobnič**, director of the Human Rights Action **Tea Gorjanc-Prelević**, deputy Minister for Justice in charge of the execution of criminal sanctions **Slavica Rabrenović** and the director of the Institution for Execution of Criminal Sanctions (ZIKS) **Miljan Perović**. **Danilo Ajković**, CCE programme associate, represented the Centre for Civic Education at the presentation of the final report.

The project is funded by the EU, via the Delegation of the European Union to Montenegro and the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Podgorica.

The European Union in the XXI Century, Macedonia

The Macedonian Institute for European Studies and the Faculty of Law “*Iustinianus Primus*” of the Ss. Cyril and Methodius University organise the international conference «The European Union in the 21st century: challenges and perspectives». The Conference will take place in Skopje, the capitol of Macedonia, 17 -18 May, 2013. The conference is addressed internationally to **academics, researchers** and **professionals** with a particular interest in Europe and the European Union. As the nature of the conference is intended to be multidisciplinary in nature different academic backgrounds are welcomed. **Post-graduate students, doctoral candidates** and **young researchers** are welcome to submit an abstract. Representatives of INGOs, NGOs, Think Tanks and activists willing to present their work with impact on or influenced by specific understandings of the European Union are welcomed as well to submit the abstract of their contribution. For more information, please visit: <http://mies.mk/submission-guidelines/>

Summer School on Horizontal Europeanization, Oldenburg, Germany

Deadline: 15 April 2013 **Open to:** PhD students, postdoctoral students and young researchers **Venue:** Oldenburg, Germany, August 25th to 29th, 2013 This Summer School aims at bringing together post-graduate students and doctoral candidates that work on field specific processes of Europeanization or on the development of social stratification and social inequalities in Europe. They will have the opportunity to present and discuss their projects with fellow researchers and guest lecturers. Accommodation (four nights), lunches and one summer school barbecue are provided free of charge. Successful applicants can apply for full travel scholarships. There is no registration fee. Interested PhD students, postdoctoral students and young researchers are invited to send in an abstract (max. 300 words) of the project or the paper they plan to present. The abstract should give information on research question, theory, methodology, and (expected) findings. Application deadline is 15 April 15, 2013. Please send your application to nils.mueller@unioldenburg.de. Accepted applicants will be asked to submit full research papers or project proposals (8.000 words max.) by 15 July, 2013. For more information, please visit: <http://www.horizontal-europeanization.eu/en/cfp-summer-school-2013>

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