



School of Democratic Leadership

Bulletin of Democratic Leadership

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Introduction

Dear alumni and dear friends of SDL,



With this edition of *Bulletin of Democratic Leadership* we completed the two years cycle, which started with an idea to offer our alumni an additional space to raise new topics of public relevance, express standpoints, point out the problems and alternative manners for resolving of problems. Almost hundred alumni from SDL network so far expressed their views on different topics, thus contributing to broader and ore informed perspectives.

Interest of our alumni and wide public for this publication has been encouraging, and it provide an incentive to carry on to continue influencing the necessary social changes that follow and which are happening. Unfortunately, these processes have been taking too long, with no similar example in Europe where transition lasted for such a long time.

In that context, we planned the program of School of Democratic Leadership for the future period. Instead of selection of the next generation, our annual programme will be orientated on work with alumni and shall be implemented in accordance with Your interests and professional engagements, aiming at better appraisal of facts and finally, creation of joint recommendations in areas where this is necessary.

For that reason, each one of us should give its contribution, get involved and offer other people to be involved, so we can jointly influence positive steps in our surrounding. We believe that this is correct way ahead, therefore, we invite You to join us, so we can together show that the dialogue on all levels is the only and mutually relevant goal and the only model for overcoming obstacles. And all of this is because Montenegro is facing a sensitive period of electoral campaign, which we expect to be organized and in the spirit of democratic achievements.

The team of the School stays devoted to this and opened for all of You.

Sanja Rašović,
SDL Coordinator

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INTERVIEW

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Civil duty is prevention of treating Montenegro as personal feud of the governing elites



Ten years have passed and we still hold on perpetual referendum situation where “only one more” condition exists to reach “the true independence”. Nowadays, it is NATO, tomorrow the EU, and the day after tomorrow who knows what. Montenegro did not vote independence on 21 May, but has become the hostage of the ruling regime.

◆ **Huge divisions in Montenegrin society at all levels are obvious. To your opinion, what are the causes of such situation, and are any of these divisions artificial creations with the specific goal or logical consequence of the process that had been taking place in previous decade(s)?**

I imagine conversation on the 100th anniversary “heritage of 21 May”. A son asks his father: “Daddy, why have we sold all of these factories and natural wealth of the north to foreigners, for whom you and mother work for minimal salary?” A dad offered him “national reason” as the response: “Because, my son, you can say today freely ‘north’ not thinking whether some Serb will punch you in the head and take away your country, symbols, anthem and identity!” Confused and dissatisfied with his father’s answer, a guy said: “Ok, daddy, if the country is ours, why can’t we move freely, live with our salaries, and impact on all decision making processes, you know what I mean? Unless we pay a thousand German marks for the sunbed at the beach or to become members of the party?” Revolted with the need of its son to make an issue of his answers, father angrily said: “leave me alone, boy! Feel free and try to make impact on these processes within your four walls, don’t spit on my country. Go now, I want to watch handball, the country must be defended.” We need such divisions – based on common sense, experiential or what-ever-you-want questioning of dogmas.

Divisions we meet every day are something completely different – conflict of two dogmatic standpoints. The truth is that today’s divisions in Montenegro may bring into connection with the famous 1918, and observe how they have changed throughout the time, depending on ruling ideological frameworks. But at the end of a day, these di-

visions are severely politicized in the last twenty years. People expected that provisionally speaking identity policy, would disappear after the statehood issues was resolved, but since than it has only intensified. Montenegro has done nothing for the half of its citizens who legitimately voted “no” at the referendum, to feel as they belonged to that political community. However, this part of population is not only ghettoized from the “above”, through policies and practices of the regime. With the wholeheartedly assistance of its political representatives it has become ghettoized from “the bottom”, in the attempt to protect its own national identity it was equaled with the conservative sentiment and ideas that evoke the worst moments from ’90s in the previous century. So, two largest national groups nowadays disagree not only in one political issue, but are so distanced and antagonized in lot of things – culturally, socially, ethnically, ideologically, and politically. (Add to all of this the actual moment where the most ordinary local problem is observed through geopolitical optics.) and the regime, of course, intends to maintain these divisions and block any mobilization that transcends the existing gaps in the society. I want to say, divisions in Montenegro are complex thing, product of historic processes, political engineering, rules of unknown society, specific circumstances, and our lack of orientation in the ambient where lot of things are fetishized, and we insufficiently motivated to bring the “holly cows” in issue.

◆ **Does the civic activism exist in Montenegro? When it comes to participation of citizens, does it have to be improved and how?**

I think that we often mix two terms: “civil sector” and “civil society”. To make this clear: finances of foreign donors have not developed civil society, as we like to think, but the civil sector, dominated by the small number of formalized, bureaucratic and professionalized organizations, who advocate interests of donors, not of citizens. This money has developed specific mechanism of impact of “non-governmental” social actors on agenda of public life in Montenegro, but during the time it has grounded on negotiating, advocating, lobbying and “raising awareness” more than participation through social movements and mobilization of the widest parts of the society. Depend-

ence on donations has brought non-governmental sector in situation to act as corporative entities whose focus is their own survival. Briefly, they act as Montenegrin political parties.

However, the worst side effect of dependence on donations is ideological uniformity of these organizations and their skepticism towards radical measures in achievement of their goals. On the other side, while non-governmental sector has been growing in Podgorica, ordinary citizens who stayed on margins of all of these “civilized” processes, showed what it meant authentic, autochthon civic activism. Just remember the recent examples: Beranselo, Buljarica, Gorica, Valdanos, Pržno... in that sense, civic duty towards political community we call Montenegro is to prevent treating it as personal feud of the governing elites. At the same time, this is what I previously said – rejecting imposed dogmas such as “official policy of love of country”. And in such a constellation, where the country blended with the party, does not exist another type of political participation except the radical measure of civil disobedience and resistance which forms the citizen as the political being.

♦ ***Up to which extent politics impact on development (or stagnation) of Montenegrin society? How would you characterize the actual political scene in Montenegro?***

At the time of celebration of decade of independence and, not to forget, thousand years of statehood – there were two seemingly irrelevant but symptomatic events. In the first, two liters bottle of champaign by which the Prime Minister toasted to the victory and proclamation of independence, is still kept somewhere in a humbly Montenegrin home in Žabljak. The host kept the empty bottle because, as he says, “it has always represented the symbol of the victory”. In another one, an high school in Rožaje publicly thanked to its citizen who donated two balls to the school and, I quote: “in that manner again proved his human character, and sensibility for wider society”. What is enormously interested to me in both cases is that these may be two primal sources of joy in modern Montenegro, “na pjenu od tekovina”¹. So, in the first case we have a bottle which emptied elites, and then give it to citizens, and in another one we have a situation where the act of giving pres-

ents in the form of two balls is occasion for celebration at school and accented humanitarian activities.

When I am making fun, or criticize what is nowadays famously called “result of 21 century”, I do not attack the fact that we have decided on becoming independent country, but the governing ideological discourse which fetishizes this act. Thus, independence as the signifier of totality. Logics of “achievements” is as follows: owing to DPS, Montenegro has not only become independent country, but DPS has also been established as the guarantee of its statehood. Thus, the very discourse “achievement” indicates that Montenegro is all but not independent: its independence depends on who is on power. Ten years have passed, and we are still in a situation of perpetual referendum situation where only one more condition exists for achieving of so called “real independence”. Today, it is NATO, tomorrow it will be the EU, the day after tomorrow who knows what. Montenegro did not vote independence on 21 May, but has become the hostage of the ruling regime. And if you believe in a story that replacement of DPS means at the same time “the fall of the country of Montenegro”, then it should be clear up to which extent You believe in Montenegro as the strong, healthy and independent country in which you swear on social networks.

“First the country, and then democracy”

♦ ***Up to what extent is relevant to establish mechanisms for deposition of government for the progress of the country and the society, especially bearing in mind that this has not happened in Montenegro for the quarter of the century?***

A lot of today’s opponents of DPS are yesterday’s collaborators in the scenario known as “first the country and then democracy”. The very fact that we live in 21th century, you ask the question about the importance of establishing of mechanisms for replacement of power, which speaks enough about the success of this plan. Especially in the second part.

Sanja Rašović



¹Local term depicting prominent importance of achievements



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Is sustainability of local finances possible?

Sustainability of finances has always been and will always be highly important topic for communities. Local finances have become the matter of which depends survival of local self-governments in Montenegro.

It is important to mention few things for understanding of this problem. According to the Constitution of Montenegro and European Chart on Local Self-Government, local self-governments are independent in decision making processes.

However, provisions of the country define the framework and sources for financing of local self-governments and prescribe certain duties and actions, which limit independence: prior approval of the Government for disposal of assets, prior approval of Ministry of Finances for raising loans, positive opinion of Ministry of Finances about the budget of municipality without specific procedure for giving of opinion... However, it is not mater at all if the law is respected and other obliged regulations for the functioning of local self-government in Montenegro, or if public funds are managed by the "the good host". It is important to share the same political option as the minister, and as the most important, how many votes is provided for mutual party.

Functioning of municipality Kolašin based on this principle, from 2006 until 2014, jeopardized its existence, but the institute of bankruptcy of local community does not exist in our legal system, so it could not be proclaimed for Kolašin.

"New" executive power was constituted in November 2014, and main account of the municipality budget Kolašin was in constant blockade for four years; debts on various grounds exceeded 10 million euros, and 232 employees were at the payment list of public sector (local administration, Public Institution Culture Center, Water Supply and Sewage System, Utility Company).

With the firm decision of the new executive power on doing business in accordance with laws, new recovery plan has been made saying that business of municipality would not be done as it was before – via hidden accounts, but only via main account of municipality, that all justified debts would be paid, that the return of baseless obligations of municipality would be requested, that the costs would be reduced at the level of sustainability, that the number of employees would be reduced which would at the same time improve efficiency of work of employees in public sector, that the payment of

local public revenues would be improved, of course in legal manner not by stealing from commercial entities, like prior executive power did.

Objections of former local and present power that the coalition which adopted this job (Democratic front, SNP and SDP) is ideologically impossible combination, fail-to the extent of collapse of the community, which is the result of their arrogant irresponsibility before citizens and laws.

Each ideology fades away and becomes irrelevant in comparison with the importance of survival of an community.

It is only possible to give our best to stop deterioration of our town. We all gathered for that goal and left ideology differences for some better times. As Mayor of Kolašin, I announce for the first time that almost each goal specified with the recovery plan has been achieved. I will mention only one data – number of employees fell for 86, but until the end of month, this number will rise for 11. I want to emphasize that there were no new employments. And to achieve this, it was so hard, but obvious and possible. We were supposed to live without finances until unblocking of budget (12 months and 12 days), to survive obstructions of the public bodies which last event today, to survive obstructions and assaults of employees in public sector with incredible media support, instead of social we lead political fight, we were supposed to survive many obstructions inappropriate for the moment in which wa our community.

Most public bodies acted as they were not national but on the side of political party, but were so persistent in intentions to recover this local community. Such an prevention was ordered from Podgorica, and leads to conclusion which is at the same time my message to all the people who deal with local self-governments – for the recovery of financial situation and provision of conditions for the functioning of local self-government, the rule of law is more important than money. Money does not mean anything without the rule of law.

Readers of this article shall ask themselves how the municipality Kolašin functions for the last four years, while its budget was blocked. I hope that Special Prosecution Office shall give the answer to this question, and on many more questions, after resolving the case Budva.



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Heating of Montenegrin towns on biomass – a chance or utopia

Story on air pollution in Pljevlja is actual for in the past ten years. It is especially emphasized during the heating season when the list of towns (besides municipality Pljevlja) that exceed permitted values of particulate matters in the air (PM₁₀ particles), SO₂, CO, NO_x; contains other towns that use various fuels for warming the space for living and working during the winter.

So far, a lot of studies of NGO sector, professional community and relevant institutions have been developed about the air pollution in Pljevlja. Unfortunately, the situation is not improving – parameters deteriorate from year to year. On the other hand, the Government and economic analysts point out on necessity of valorization of all natural resources in Montenegro, for the purpose of establishing of sustainable economic environment, at both local and national levels, with the special emphasis on creation of new job positions. Potential field for development of activities in technical and economic terms, especially in the field of environmental protection, is development of the district heating system in the Montenegrin towns in the north, and partly in the central region. Unfortunately, district heating system exists only in Pljevlja, but is definitely surpassed in a view of technical and economic and in terms of environmental protection and, as such, is absolutely unsustainable.

The chance for more concrete solving of problems of air pollution during the heating season is the use of significant wood potential, or wood biomass (biodegradable fraction of products, waste and residues from forestry and wood industry) that our country owns. Of course, as for many other problems, the access to this one is random and individual, and instead of putting the emphasis on the use of wood chips as the cheapest category of wood biomass, the accent in Montenegro is on production and use of pellets. The price of 1MWh of exported thermal energy for heating, produced from wood chips, is at the level between 15 and 18 euros, and 30 to 35 euros for pellet, which explains financial worth of this energy source, not to speak about other energy sources and electricity. Production itself or preparation of wood chips is significantly simpler and cheaper than pellets.

Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, FODEMO project and the Forest Administration have done in recent years several strategic documents that may be an excellent basis for development and valorization of

wood biomass as a fuel for new systems for district heating in Montenegrin towns. Ministry of Economy, in addition, provides significant support to energy efficiency. Through programs that support projects related to environmental protection, World Bank, EIB and the European Commission promote construction of district heating systems that are sustainable and use renewable sources in fight against climate changes and fight for reduction of dependence on imported fossil fuels. Unfortunately, only municipality Kolašin, out of all Montenegrin municipalities, progressed in terms of project development related to the system of district heating to biomass, or wood chips, through the project funded by the European Commission and the German KfW bank, and is in the final stage of preparation of the Feasibility Study and the idea project for Heating plant, with a big chance for the project to be financed with a significant share of the grant. Only on this project have been identified many benefits for the local community, but also for the country. Through investment, costs for heating at the household level will be reduced by almost seven per cent to an average level, compared with the current method of heating, based on the use of woods in individual households. Adverse emission of particulate matter in the air will be reduced during the heating season, due to the very low efficiency of firebox (almost 50 per cent) and due to the lack of the system for purification of gases from fireboxes in individual households, and for the purpose of the new district heating system that will work with a high degree utilization of almost 85 percent, and with very good gas purification system. The new district heating system will create more opportunities for new employments during the whole year in Kolašin. Ten job positions will directly be opened for collection of wood, preparation of bio fuel and transport, and another 10 job positions in the management and maintenance of district heating.

Replacement of mediums for heating, from oil to locally produced biomass, or wood chips, will save more financial resources in Kolašin, but also in Montenegro, and at least give contribution to its energy and economic independence. All of these arguments should serve to all interested stakeholders, primarily local self-governments to deal with these problems and to find benefits for citizens through joint activities with all stakeholders.



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Files laundering

After the dry period of almost two decades, for judiciary, it can be said that they finally reach the top of the iceberg and started to work. Unfortunately for the citizens, judicial authorities are still unable to break free of party control, so it is often the service of the ruling structures. Courts are leading in that "service", but the prosecution, as Montenegrin Prime Minister would say, "carried away a little". Although the prosecution achieves results, it should be mentioned that efficiency reduces when it comes to officials of Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS), the prime minister and his closest family.

After signing the contract on admitting of guilt and confirmation of the court, the party and ideologist of theft in Budva, is a free man after short imprisonment

Seems that this is classical files laundering of yesterday's DPS ideologists and leaders of organized crime groups that have made millions worth damages to the national and municipal budget. Files laundering - because it is known that the same man cannot be pursued more than once for the same criminal offense.

sentence. It is true that the prosecution forced the senior official of DPS to admit that he was the leader of a criminal group, but the punishment was brutally short. Is the obstruction of work of the prosecution the result of such an agreement and, as they say, undermining from the inside and outside. Official figures of the Special Prosecution Office indicating that proceedings against 38 individuals and five companies were initiated, while eight individuals and two companies signed the agreements on admitting of guilt in the case "Budva", sound impressive, indeed. Temporarily seized property of the crime group in this case is estimated at 23.5 million. Thus, 1.1 million euros will be temporarily seized from Svetozar Marović, and 385,000 euros from his son Miloš Marović. The company Trade Junik paid 19.8 million, and Copyright 2.2 million euros. If we would not know what had happened with temporarily seized property estimated at more than 40 million euros in cases against accused persons for drug trafficking, we might hope for something. Still, remains a big doubt in intention for permanent deprivation of assets. Official data of the Special Prosecutor's Office indicates on attention in the

true intention to punish the perpetrators, as the total prison sentence for the signatories of the agreement, or eight of them, is 11 years and seven months, and 130,000 euros fine. By comparison, the Basic Court in Podgorica sentenced suspected for snatching of a purse of wife of Prime Minister's brother Aco Đukanović to three years in prison, while Marović has to spend 46 months in prison, and the repentant Lazar Rađenović (former Mayor of Budva) negotiated to spend 24 months in prison and to pay 30,000 euros. This is not encouraging and at the same time leads to suspicion that this is "files laundering" and attempt to rescue DPS personnel from justice that might reach them in the future period.





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Implementation of new legal solutions special challenge

Institution for Execution of Criminal Sanctions (ZIKS), as the administrative body of Ministry of Justice, organizes work and life for more than 500 officers and 1,200 prisoners, in all prisons in Podgorica - Spuž and Bijelo Polje. The Institution works 24 hours, 365 days. Almost every day, someone starts and someone finishes imprisonment sentence or detention. All activities in ZIKS, during the reception of persons in prison, their accommodation, their meals, health protection, labor engagement, security and other activities aimed at resocialization of prisoners; should strictly be organized within prescribed legal framework, rulebooks, and instructions, based on international treaties and standards.

According to recommendations of the Council of Europe Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishing (CPT) from 2008 and 2013, Protector of Human Rights and Freedoms, recommendations of nongovernmental organizations and measures from the Action Plan of the Government of Montenegro for the Chapter 23 "Judicial and Fundamental Rights", Montenegro is obliged to work continuously on improvement of conditions of life in prisons, and on education and professional development of officers of ZIKS.

Fulfilling the given recommendations, only in 2015, Institution for Execution of Criminal Sanctions had organized almost hundred different activities on development, adaptation and equipping of facilities and premises at the Institution.

We have also managed to achieve good cooperation with all relevant organizations and individuals in Montenegro and out of it, who expressed interest and readiness to work as partners on recognizing of weaknesses of the prison system in Montenegro, and possibilities for its

improvement. For all the above mentioned, our work has been recognized by both national and foreign international organizations and institutions, which was one of our goals.

After visits to similar institutions in neighborhood countries and the European Union countries, and after communication with relevant institutions and individuals in this area, we can say that the prison system in Montenegro made significant progress, and that it did not lag behind in comparison with more developed countries.

Demanding job of officers in ZIKS

In order to describe that the job of employees in ZIKS is responsible and demanding, it is enough to mention few information from 2015. Last year, 30.663 visits took place in this Institution. Escort services of the Institution had almost 11.116 escorts in judicial bodies, health care institutions and escorts on some other grounds. Almost 20.107 medical examinations took place in ZIKS, 3.036 out of ZIKS, and 1.078 searches.

Besides continuation of activities on improvement of conditions in prison, special challenge will be implementation of legal solutions that have arose after the adoption of the new Law on execution of imprisonment sentences, fines, and security measures. We have met for the first time with some legal solutions, so, it is important to use all disposable resources we have jointly with continuation of cooperation with partners from the EU countries.





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Civic monitoring of elections based on independent and political neutrality

Monitoring of elections by citizens, organized through NGOs, coalitions and civic initiatives, is nowadays constituent part of electoral processes and significant indicator of democracy and quality of elections. We may say that there is a whole range of organizations that monitor elections, which has developed for the last 30 years.

The first international standards of fair and democratic elections were defined by the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and by International Pact on Civic and Political Rights. Afterwards these standards were defined by number of documents of OSCE, Council of Europe, the EU and other international institutions.

The role of NGOs in electoral process is significant for the promotion of integrity of electoral process. The role of monitors of elections is to reveal or prevent electoral manipulation and to contribute to confidence. NGOs that monitor elections make conclusions according to national legislation and internationally adopted standards for fair and democratic elections.

In recent years, we work on standardization of duties that have to be fulfilled by monitors of elections, which are fully compiled in Declaration on Global Principles for non-Party Monitoring of Elections. Some of the fundamental principles on which are based civic monitoring of elections are as follows: independent and non-party access, understanding and respect of legislative framework, prohibition of interfering in electoral process, cooperation with other monitors and promotion of transparency.

Non-party monitors of elections are different than party monitors, because the goal of the party monitors is to provide fair conditions for its parties and candidates, while independent monitors advocate for equal conditions for all and are politically neutral.

Civic monitoring of elections, done by NGOs, is pro-

Presence of monitors improves electoral process

Right to monitoring of elections by NGOs arose from the document that has been adopted at the session of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (KEBS – but today OSCE) in 1990. The document says that “the presence of monitors, both foreign and local, may improve electoral process in countries where elections take place”.

gram orientation of some organization to monitor continuously all aspects of electoral cycle. During the period before elections, these NGOs analyze and assess electoral legislation and advocate for legislative changes. While elections approach, their activities on education of voters are important, as well as activities on rise of capacities of electoral administration and control of electoral list. After the call for elections, the role of NGOs is emphasized through monitoring of campaigns and financing of parties, revealing of abuse of resources, monitoring of media, the work of electoral administration and process of candidacy. The crown of the process is surely electoral day, when NGOs monitor voting and counting of votes on electoral places.

After counting of votes, NGOs announce independent assessments of electoral results, according to PVT method (parallel vote tabulation on representative statistical sample of electoral places). Announcement of votes by NGOs is different than reporting of media, research agencies, and other interested parties. Any recklessness, speed, striving to sensation or commercialization represent huge risk for credibility of NGOs – and also a threat to the goal of PVT, which is announcing of correct and timely results with the aim of controlling and preventing of conflicts.





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Decent work for decent life

As the national trade union center, founded to protect and promote interests of its members and employees, Union of Free Trade Unions of Montenegro (USSCG) has recognized its mission in fighting for achievement of constitutional postulates, which declared Montenegro as the country of social justice (Article 1 of the Constitution of Montenegro). We believe that this goal is still achievable, although we were witnesses of layering and creating of classes of rich and privileged for the quarter of a century of transition and privatization process. Especially since we are the country with a small number of people that has a lot of resources, whose valorization, with the rule of law and fair allocation of social income, may provide decent life to all of its citizens.

Decent life implies exercising of set of human rights and freedoms, that are the best recognized by the European Social Chart ratified by our country as well. The first six articles of that Chart and many other articles are devoted to right to work and according to work. Therefore, preconditions for decent life are decent work conditions. And that set of rights is mostly derogated in turbulent times of transition, from the side of so called "capital without pedigree". Capital without pedigree implies the capital earned over night, though various privatizations and other machinations, which does not respect and cherish work and labor force, and fundamental elements in formula of capital producing.

For that reason, we are witnesses of number of violations of fundamental labor rights in Montenegro, guaranteed by national and international labor laws, which is unacceptable for an European country, which is the EU membership candidate. Our colleagues face with a number of problems, such as: forcing people to work illegally, paying employees cash in hand, minimal incomes; overtime job, which is not paid usually and this has become the rule not the exception; employees do not have free weekends and holidays; they have to work on holidays; before employment; they are forced to sign blank consensual agreement on termination of labor contract; difficult employment or dismissing of female workers because of pregnancy... this is not the ambient for decent work.

That the situation where violation of fundamental rights of employees has become alarming, best proves the standpoint of institutions of the system, especially in the case of the Aluminium Plant (KAP) which is in bank-

ruptcy. Recently, our colleague, President of the Representative (and the only) Trade Union at the Aluminium Plant, was dismissed because she required from the Bankruptcy Administration to provide one of the fundamental rights employees - right to holidays they did not use since 2013. After this, trade union activities were abolished in KAP. In further process, which afterwards opened before courts and other competent institutions, we found that right to holidays is not guaranteed to employees in companies under bankruptcy, or any other of fundamental rights related to their employment (right to paid absence due to sickness, holiday vacation, 40 hours working week, trade union activities and organizing) guaranteed by international and national labor legislation. We found out that that the Ministry of Labor and Labor Inspection were not competent for the protection of rights of employees in companies under bankruptcy?! Considering that our country has not found institution that is ready to protect KAP employees from such a drastic violation of labor and trade union rights, USSCG addressed International Labor Organization (ILO) via International Confederation of Trade Unions, whose members we are. That this is flagrant violation of fundamental labor and trade union rights, indicates the Recommendation of ILO's Committee for Freedom of Associating (Case no. 3140), which required from the Government of Montenegro to protect labor and trade union rights of employees in KAP.

This situation has to be stopped. The Government, trade unions, Montenegrin Employers Federation have to do much more, so that workers in Montenegro can have decent work conditions and opportunity to have decent life. Decent work should be set as the national goal because decent work is the key element in development of fair and equal societies, and the key mechanism for allocation of wealth and reduction of poverty. Decent work should be the strategy for accomplishing of sustainable development directed towards people.

When it comes to respect of rights on decent work, USSCG intensively works on more campaigns, indicating to competent institutions on necessity of their acting in protection of rights of employees, guaranteed by national and international legislation. The Government is especially obliged to this by Memorandum on Understanding, signed between the Government, social partners and ILO, on Program of Decent Work for 2015-2017, and the above mentioned Recommendation of ILO.



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Scandinavian social model in practice

When you are introduced to a Scandinavian social model in practice, a lot of questions come up about the society that manages to create the system which is fair up to such extent. And even if you partly respond to that question, you ask yourself if this is sustainable on long terms, notwithstanding Norwegian financial reserves. In this regard, it was very interesting for me the debate in think-tank organization Civita, which advocates for more open capitalism than the one currently present in Norway. As we spent some time in Nansen Academy in Lillehammer, which seemed to me as the institution where the country buys time to hesitant young people and elderly, until they decide on profession to pursue; arguments I heard about the organization Civita, and the need for reduction of the role of the country, seemed to me quite interesting. Although the system functions well, part of public justifiably brings this model in question. Primarily, because of the future. And only such an approach with the view to the future brings to Norway the level of development to which we all envy them. Part of the public asks itself if the social model slows down development of competitiveness of the commerce and if citizens are not sufficiently motivated to act at the global capitalistic market?

Socialist model, from our perspective, is not something that can independently generate values without the support of resources, such as oil in Norway. However, this does not mean that I think that for example, Montenegro can build similarly sustainable functional and fair model of social order, with significantly larger

natural resources than Norway. And the answer why Norway can and Montenegro cannot, according to my impression is in the matter of sustainability of model that has been presented by the organization Civita. The essence is that this country challenges things even if they function, with a view on the not so far future. If this was done in former Yugoslavia during early '80s or in the middle of '70s, and if it had been seriously considered, we would at least mitigate difficult consequences of collapse of the country, or avoid it fully.

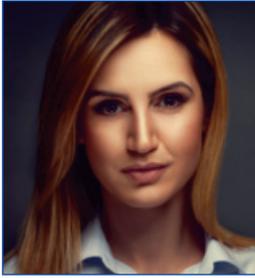
It seems to me that only the public institutions with future outlook are responsible for the functioning social order which is so close to the best possible. Norway is among first five countries for the number of trees per capita, and so long ago, I read the article that the country made decision on elimination of exploitation of forests in following years.

Walking down the streets of Oslo, I was fascinated with the number of electric vehicles that may be seen in the center of the town, at some special parking spaces, where access to other vehicles is prohibited. Citizens who buy this vehicle are free of taxes and other duties to a country, they have privileges for parking and battery charge on number of locations. Almost 98% of electricity in Norway is produced from renewable resources – hydroelectric power plants. So, Norway is the fifth exporter of oil in the world, and the largest European market of electric vehicles. Is the dilemma that Civita advocates only temporary or will result in future in reducing of the role of country in the society, I will observe with great attention because

of the two mentioned “paradoxes” with forests and oil.

We buy oil from them for our vehicles, and they drive electric vehicles. They have enormous forests and strive to prohibition of forest cutting. These two matters should be taken into consideration if we ever follow Scandinavian social model, as this model might perhaps be overcome in future in these countries.





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European Union at the turning point

Breaking news on televisions, titles in newspaper, electronic media, and statuses on social networks are devoted in the past year to one of the greatest challenges Europe faces with in this millennium – refugee or migrant crisis. Through the channels mentioned above, frequently occurs different use of terms “refugee” and “migrant”, without clear distinction between these terms, which necessarily requires explanation. Refugees are people forced to leave their origin country because of armed conflicts or danger of oppression; while migrants are not endangered in their origin countries, but make their own decisions on leaving the country, because of economic, professional, family or other reasons. On migrants are applied laws of the country they migrated, but refugees are protected by both national and international rights, and the Convention on Refugee Status, from 1951, and the additional Protocol from 1967. One of the key principles of the Convention, which set the foundation for the protection of refugees, says that, besides the protection from oppression, reception countries are obliged to provide refugees all adequate conditions for decent and independent life.

Let's get back to European crisis. The question is – is it refugee or migrant crisis? It may be said that it is both refugee and migrant crisis, with the huge arrival of people who escape from dictatorial regime of Bashar al-Assad and war conflicts at the territory of Near East, northern Africa and central Asia on one side; and economic migrants who were forced by lack of prosperity of South East Europe countries with the growing rate of unemployment to find better life beyond borders, on the other side. Considering that the causes of crisis shall last more, it is obvious that the crisis itself will last more, which have grown from the refugee (migrant) into political and humanitarian crisis, because of lack of inadequate answers. Extreme differences in policies and standpoints of governments; from the attitude of Angela Merkel based on international humanitarian principle and “the solution at the level of the EU”, until Orbán's standpoint on crisis as the “massive invasion”, have

Solidarity, fight for human rights, tolerance, political inclusion, have remain only in speeches of European leaders and agreements, laws, regulations, strategies, which are intensively developing and adopting, without true implementation in practice.

brought the sustainability of the EU in issue. Economic arguments, as well, do not go in favor to the EU response, as the researches of the relevant institutions and agencies, covered by statistical data, clearly indicate that accepting of refugees do not impact on financial stability of a country. Moreover, for more European countries that are facing demographic problems for years, where the burden of supporting retired people falls on significantly smaller number of people who actively work; inflow of



labor force may contribute to development of economy. Thus, it may be concluded that the hostility is of political and social character.

At the moment, the European Union is at the turning point, when it has to decide on standing behind the principles on which its foundations are set, or will put in question its further existence. Advocating for human rights and decent life of all the people who will come at its soil, notwithstanding their origins, nationality, racial and religious affiliations, European leaders will do much more for preservation of European culture, without fear of losing identity.

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Enthusiasts who ruined prejudices

There is something about mentality of Montenegrins that bothers me for a long time: how we boast on our manner of living at the most beautiful piece of ground, but we don't know how to valorize it because someone else is always guilty, and how we are always too weak to resist to poor impacts of policies, systems and ideologies. And so, the world is changing so fast while we stay sleepy at the edge of events, waiting for things to happen, and the most valuable resource we have – our time, is leaking and passes us by. We always talk too much but do so little, especially when it comes to matters of the common good. This results in apathy, and even the most vigorous of us loose wings. So, what is the alternative?

I have always wondered what would have happen if anyone of us would spend only a part of its time on something we all agree about, and which is useful for all of us? What would have happen if, only for a moment, we would leave out comfort zone?

However, I believe that we can always find consensus about all the right values. Even the apathetic ones will support good ideas. There are things that are hard to oppose, even if they come from some strong interest lobby or huge capital. We all want to live in clean, green and healthier town. Then, what is stopping us to go straight that way? Let's think about what can we all do as individuals at the micro-level, and then combined in that idea, to try to change things.

When we collected at the Boulevard in Podgorica four years ago, we were the army of enthusiasts who only wanted more space and freedom for the bicycle ride around the city. There was a lot of good energy so we continued to meet, at spontaneously and from time to time, and then organized through Critical Mass rides. We realized that if we wanted to change something and if we mapped Podgorica at the bicycle ride, we have to be persistent and start to advocate for more space for cycling.

In that manner, we developed association gathered around initial web site www.biciklo.me. Step by step, we have grown and maintained voluntary character of our work, staying open for all the people who desired cycling to stay part of everyday life of Montenegrins. Our work is based on promotion of cycling as the alternative public transport and manner of recreation and sport, awareness of citizens but especially drivers of vehicles about the rights of cyclists and safety in traffic, reconstruction of bicycle infra-

structure and traffic culture in Podgorica and overall Montenegro, promotion of health life styles, sustainable development, and preservation of environment, as well as education, and informing of cyclists.

Nowadays, there are more cyclists in Podgorica than ever before. It is nice to see so many young people, parents with children and elderly people as well, cycling through the city. More people have started riding bicycles and use it for transportation, companies and institutions have started to build parking spaces for their employees, and more and more people have started to call us and ask for advice. Rise of number of cyclists unfortunately has its negative side, which is reflected in more often stealing of bicycles. Dealing with this issue is the challenge that is waiting on us.

Last year, the first cycling corridor was built down the main boulevard, and three more have been planned, which will pass through the wider center of the town. Representatives of the Capital City announce that, beside the mentioned corridors, new or reconstructed roads in town will have bicycle roads or tracks. All these information encourage cyclists, but this trend should be continued, especially when cycling is not experienced as something terrible or whimsy of individuals. As we don't want to be based on a nice story and nice promises, we have cyclists to demand their space each month, and insist on their needs to be at the top of priorities of the city they would love to start to change in accordance with the needs of citizens.

Thus, it is important to create the strategy of development of cycling, at the level of the whole country. We are obliged to this by the Paris Agreement on Climate Changes, whose signatory is Montenegro as well. Now is the right moment to make something that the Netherlands and Denmark have already decided, so, today their citizens enjoy benefits of these decisions. The day when our ministers, MPs, mayors decide on using bicycles as the transport mean or even as the vehicle for official use, we will know that we succeeded in our intentions.

We don't have to explain personal benefits of cycling, it is enough to decide on leaving your comfort zone for a moment and turn the pedal.

NEWS FROM SDL



find on <http://civicroundtable.org>.

New program of Network of Schools of Political Studies of the Council of Europe

New program in the frame of Network of Schools of Political Studies named “Civic Round Table” is developed in organization of Council of Europe and European School of Politics from Istanbul. The idea is to gather alumni from all political schools and young people from the Western Balkan countries, or 30 of them, in order to make conclusions through the dialogue on topics about comprehensive economic growth, inequality, human rights, the role of the EU in the world and migrations...the first phase of this program took place in Berlin, while the second phase took place in June in Strasbourg. As the representative of SDL in this program was selected Bojan Baca, sociologist and PhD student at the University York. More information on this program

From September 2016, intensive work with alumni

School of Democratic Leadership will work intensively with alumni from previous XIV generations, from September 2016. In accordance with professional interests, we plan to organize thematic seminars. The first planned alumni seminar we plan to organize, will take place in cooperation with School of Political Studies from Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the focus on leadership skills. On this occasion, we invite all interested alumni to apply for participation in this seminar on this email sanja@gamn.org.

World Forum for Democracy 2016 – Education and Democracy

World Forum for Democracy 2016 will take place in Strasbourg, from 7 to 9 November, on topic “Education and Democracy: How to overcome social divisions?” World Forum for Democracy is the unique platform for decision makers and political activists for debates on options of key challenges for democracy worldwide. World Forum for Democracy gathers more than 1000 participants from the whole world. School of Democratic Leadership will participate this year with its 20 participants.

