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EIC Bulletin



### ANALYSES

FRIEDRICH

What are the consequences of the latest decision by heads of States and Governments EU that the absorption power will be removed from the enlargement criteria

FOCUS OF THIS ISSUE What are the main advantages and weaknesses of independent Montenegro regarding its journey to the European Union

INTERVIEW Gerald Knaus, director of the European Stability Initiative (ESI), on the next steps for Montenegro in the process of European integrations





## FOREWORD

Independent, Montenegro will make it faster and easier towards European integration. This statement by representatives of the Government of Montenegro sounds good, but it is yet to be proven. Everybody with a little background in the complexities of the European Union accession process understands the logic behind this - one small system is more flexible in adjusting to a myriad of standards governing the EU, which every country hoping to become a part of the club-25 will have to adopt. Within such a small system, it is easier to make decisions, if the process of decision-making is sufficiently coordinated and if the claims of Montenegrin absolute commitment to "overcoming all barriers on the road towards European Union" are indeed backed with stern decision to make it that way. In addition to this, Montenegro is no threat to the European market, because, luckily or otherwise, it lacks strong agricultural production which could cause it to haggle with European Commission over its exports and quotas. Tiny Montenegro is not even a potential exporter of immigrants, having set up border controls in accordance with EU standards, which allow it to await calmly the upcoming negotiations on the visa regime facilitation. Finally, breaking out of the union with Serbia, Montenegro is now free of one of the key political conditions for continuing negotiations on Stabilisation and Association Agreement - it has no further commitments towards the ICTY.

True enough, but so is the problem of Montenegrin judiciary, which is not considered entirely professional and free of all political influence, as well as the need to make serious efforts in Montenegro to bring corruption to a reasonable level, to break ties between the organised crime and certain government bodies – according to the EU documents, to improve administrative capacities in all the government sectors – not only in the Ministry for European Integrations...

These issues require a Government which will not be constrained by interests of the party in power. A government which is willing to finally move from words to deeds. **N.R.**  EUROPEAN COMMISSION TO ACCELERATE PREPARATIONS FOR THE SAA WITH MONTENEGRO, TAKING UP FROM WHERE IT WAS INTERRUPTED WHILE MONTENEGRO WAS PART OF SM

## Negotiations to continue in September?

Although the Government of Montenegro expected the Council of EU ministers to give mandate to the European Commission to continue negotiations on Stabilisation and Association Agreement with Montenegro already in June, it seems that this decision cannot be expected before September.

The Head of European Commission Delegation in Belgrade, **Josep Lloveras**, announced on 16 June that EC is doing its best to table a proposal for a new SAP negotiations mandate with Montenegro. If their work is not done by the July session of the Council of EU Ministers, with August being the month of vacations in EU, it would mean that the Council of EU will be able to approve the continuation with negotiations with independent Montenegro some time in September.

During the SAP negotiations, Montenegro and EU are supposed to agree on deadlines which Montenegro will have to meet in harmonizing its legislation with the EU law, and to define the period within which the whole system (ecology, agriculture, transport, consumer protection, etc.) will be functioning according to the EU rules.

Deadlines for opening up the Montenegrin market to the EU products are also on the agenda. The agreement will define classes of EU products which can be allowed on the Montenegrin market immediately, without any customs tariffs, as well as those which will be allowed only after a few years, vulnerable products which are currently subject to high customs, in order to protect the Montenegrin production.

On the other hand, right after the Agreement is signed, the EU will open up





its market for all products from Montenegro produced according to the European standards, although some of them might be subject to export quotas.

The Government already had previously announced that more than half of the text was already agreed upon, the technical communication with EC continued immediately after the referendum, so that the conclusion of the agreement can be expected before the end of the year. According to the rules of procedure, once the agreement proposal has been defined, the Commission forwards it to the Council of EU Ministers, which is supposed to approve the proposal and issue a new mandate to EC to continue negotiations. The negotiations should take up from where they were interrupted while Montenegro was still part of SM.

"We are doing our best to finish our homework as good students, and to complete the proposal for a new mandate before the summer break, so that we can present it to the Member States for a discussion, and receive a new mandate as soon as possible", Lloveras said.

He announced the opening of an EC delegation office in Podgorica, which was proposed already last year.

"We are now going to fulfill our earlier promises. Podgorica will soon become a seat of a European Commission office. I cannot give you the exact date because we haven't decided on it yet, but the agreement is there, and we are working on it", Lloveras said.

#### A VIEW FROM EUROPE



by Judy Batt, PhD

As a close observer of the short Aand unhappy history of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, I was often reminded of what I learned from watching the Czechs and Slovaks abandon their common state between 1989 and 1993. Although I had worked for several years on 'Czechoslovak' politics, I did not expect this federation to fail. At the time, it did not make sense to me: it seemed at odds with the shared ambition to join the EU, another federation of sorts: and neither Slovaks nor Czechs seemed at all sure they wanted separate states (which was why their leaders avoided putting the question to the test of a referendum).

Beneath the surface of amicable relations between Czechs and Slovaks one could find simmering historical resentments, but these were hardly of the depth or bitterness to make the split an inexorable 'historical necessity' (as was the case with the Baltic republics' breakaway from the Soviet Union in 1991). Contingent factors seemed to determine the outcome: the destructive personal chemistry between Klaus and Mečiar, victors in the 1992 Czech and Slovak elections; and the dysfunctional federal institutions inherited from communist rule, which made it peculiarly easy for a small number of deputies from only one of the republics to block the for-

## Making a success of Montenegrin independence – lessons from Slovakia

mation of parliamentary consensus in those critical early post-communist years. The two separate states seemed to come about almost by accident.

On closer examination, however, I found deeper factors working against the survival of that federation. Slovakia had caught up with the Czech Republic in socio-economic terms, but in the process Slovaks had become more self-confident as a nation. As they 'grew up', the Slovak 'kid brothers' became more themselves, not more like Czechs, and they were increasingly intolerant of the Czechs' irritating habit of bossing them about. Thus even if a majority in both nations wanted a common state, their divergent identities meant they had very different ideas of what that state should look like. A referendum would not have solved this problem.

Moreover, there were important structural differences between the two republics' economies. The political economy of reform was driven by different needs and interest in the two countries, which made a common reform strategy hard to define and so placed further huge strains on the working of the federation. Nor did the prospect of EU integration especially favour the federation; instead, it made independent statehood look like an equally viable and secure choice. And so it turned out. Independent Slovakia - after wasting five years on a detour under Mečiar's misrule - matured rapidly as a democratic state and has proved one the great success stories of EU integration. Just one confirmation of that is the enormously constructive role

played by Slovak diplomats in sorting out the 'problem' of Montenegro on behalf of the EU.

I was again reminded of the parallels with Serbia and Montenegro by the comment of a Belgrade friend of mine, with whom I discussed the results of the referendum. For him, the moment that sealed the fate of the State Union was the assassination of **Đinđić**: what he meant was that the personal relationship between Đinđić and **Đukanović** had been crucial to the State Union's survival. If so, then it was built on flimsy foundations, as subsequently, the very bad personal chemistry between Koštunica and Đukanović would doom it to fail. A case of déja vu: Klaus and Mečiar all over again?

Is that all there is to it? Of those 55.5% of Montenegrin voters who chose independence, by no means all did so out of personal devotion to Đukanović. Support for independence dropped after the ouster of Milošević, and stayed below 50 per cent in most opinion polls thereafter. Support for the State Union was lower, and did not grow over time. About 25% were 'don't knows' or 'don't cares' - until the referendum campaign. What swung enough of these undecided voters behind independence to secure that outcome? Some would argue that contingent factors were decisive, notably the EU's decision to suspend SAA negotiations on 3 May due to Koštunica's broken promise to deliver Mladić to the ICTY. This clinched a key proindependence argument, that continued attachment to the State Union damaged Montenegro's EU integration prospects. So now Koštunica



blames the EU for the result. Once again, Serbia is the victim of ignorant and inept 'Great Power meddling' in the Balkans.

But were the assassination of Đinđić and the suspension of SAA negotiations purely contingent matters of 'bad timing'? Hardly. Both sorry episodes tell us something fundamental about the nature of Serbia as a state and as a partner in the State Union. Both episodes signify Serbia's difficulties in coming to terms with the legacies of the Milošević era, and consolidating stable democracy based on the rule of law. Of course Montenegro itself has a few problems on this score, but remaining attached to Serbia would hardly help tackle them. These issues seem to me to have been decisive for the outcome of the Montenegrin referendum. For those voters sceptical or indifferent to independence, the strongest reason for voting 'yes' on 21 May must have been that independence, on balance, looked like the surer way of escaping from the frustrating political mess of the status quo, and moving forward faster towards EU integration.

This suggests something very interesting about the still–embryonic identity of this new state. Slavic– orthodox Montenegrins have long been fiercely proud of their distinct historical and cultural identity, but confused about whether or not they were a 'nation' separate from Serbs, and deeply divided on the question of independent statehood. In the early 1990s, Slovaks too were divided on the question of statehood, but were quite certain that they were a nation - an ethnic one. If Montenegrins were to become a nation – a collective identity laying claim to a state - this would have to be defined in other than ethnic terms. It was not until the 1990s that a decisive proportion of people started seriously to wonder whether their distinct identity might be best served by a separate state. This was, of course, during the Milošević period.

Precisely why Đukanović chose to break with the politics of Milošević and turn towards independence remains obscure to me - it is often explained as personal opportunism. It was indeed a smart move, but it also much wider implications, had whether Đukanović recognised them or not. The idea of Montenegrin independence could only gather credibility if it were based on something more than short-term political self-interest. A state needs a purpose, and Montenegro found it in opposition to the manipulative brutality of the Milošević regime, and in particular to its murderous promotion of ethnic nationalism, which led the rump Yugoslavia into conflict with Europe and the rest of the world. This opened new space for a Montenegrin national identity, attached to historic territory and traditions, but also aspiring to be modern, to govern itself democratically, and to 'return to Europe'.

A national identity so defined is an asset that Montenegrin citizens must not allow their politicians to squander. They must not be led down a blind alley, like the Slovaks were under Mečiar. The key test of independent Montenegro will be whether it fulfils its promise as an inclusive and pluralist nation. This is a national idea that the Albanian. Bosniak and Muslim minorities have not only accepted but helped to shape. They must continue to do so. Now Montenegro will have to wean the opponents of independence away from the siren calls of Serbian ethnic nationalism. The pro-independence majority must show that Montenegro can work just as well for those who identify as Serbs as it can for all other parts of the 'body politic'.

Here Montenegro's 'European vocation' can come into play. More than a few Serbs in fact voted for independence, and I guess they did so because they shared in the aspiration for their country to 'return to Europe'. On the other hand, by no means all those who voted against independence are Serbs. Their choice was rather motivated by mistrust of Đukanović, resentment at the self-enrichment and corruption of the ruling elite, dissatisfaction with the government's performance in the economy, as well as plain fear of the unknown. The best way for the next government to overcome their reservations is to prove that Montenegro can deliver what supporters and opponents of independence alike clearly want: more transparent democratic governance, credible economic reforms that bring prosperity and social justice, and faster EU integration. Montenegro has the chance to become just as much of a 'success story' as Slovakia. Don't waste it.

The author is a renowned expert for Western Balkans from Paris based European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS)

#### Focus of this issue

### WHAT ARE THE MAIN ADVANTAGES AND WEAKNESSES OF INDEPENDENT MONTENEGRO REGARDING ITS JOURNEY TO THE EUROPEAN UNION

## If the Government is capable and willing, we will make progress in big strides

t is a unanimous belief that, after the restoration of the statehood independence, Montenegro has the potential to fulfil the European standards faster and more efficiently and thus to approach the candidate status for EU accession - however, only under the condition that the Government is willing to execute a genuine transformation of the system. The opposition and a part of the non-government sector claim that the successful journey toward EU will not begin before a systematic change takes place, including a succession in power. They support their claims with warnings of dubious privatisation, weak administrative capacities, influence of politics over judiciary, and widespread crime and corruption.



On the other hand, the Government argues that, thanks to its policies, Montenegro now belongs to

### BRUSSELS NOT FOND OF THE RUSSIAN STORY

The opposition and the non-government sector are warning that European integrations and Russian capital don't go well together.

"Personally, I'm wary of the "Russian story" in Montenegro. After the Aluminium Plant, if they end up buying the coal and bauxite mine in Nikšić and the thermal power plant in Pljevlja, we will end up with our road to Europe being paved with off-shore capital. I can't see how the pro-European rhetoric of the Government fits there", says **Damjanović**.

He adds that Russians will soon be able, if they are not already there, to use preferential trade regime with EU for exporting their goods from Montenegro.

"The first sign of the EU "coming" to Montenegro will be the arrival of European investors", says Damjanović.

GzP has also expressed concern over the acquisition of the national natural and economic capacities by Russian corporations.

"Montenegrin economy today is particularly vulnerable to the damaging impact of the following economic disorders: high unemployment rate, high external debt, high level of public expenditures, selling (out) the national natural and economic resources to the large, mostly Russian companies, large numbers of concessions and state guarantees to the foreigners (predominantly Russian oligarchs), and finally, weak and inefficient public management", explains **Srđan Brajović**. low debt countries, low inflation rates and high inflows of foreign capital, all of which are important indicators of significant progress towards the club of 25. Does it, however, prove that the government is capable of continuing the integration process?

After the 21 May, at least one thing is certain – cooperation with the ICTY ceases to be an obstacle on the Montenegrin road to Brussels.

From now on, everything is in the hands of the official Podgorica, where they expect to conclude the Stabilisation and Association Agreement by the end of this year.

One bright side of the independence is the consensus among the political rivals with respect to European integrations.

There used to be an agreement even before, best illustrated by the Declaration on European Integrations, adopted almost unanimously in the Parliament, however, the competing

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### **BRAJOVIC: 15 YEARS AGO WE** WERE CLOSER TO EUROPE



In the Group for Changes, they are pessimistic about the starting point of Montenegro, as a sovereign country, on its road to EU.

"A straight answer to the question of Montenegrin preparedness to accept and implement the goals, measures and programmes of the EU association process of is: "less than any other membership candidate country in history". These countries have high level of domestic product and high savings rates, excellent research and educational systems, qualified labour force and a good system of prequalification, labour and production culture with a higher percentage of engineers then lawyers... Where is Mon-

tenegro today, speaking in terms of legal, political, economic and cultural development, after several years of the new economic system in place – is it any closer to the developed EU countries, or further away? Without an attempt to list all the structural and functional (un)sustainability characteristics, I would say that today we are further away from Europe than we were 15 years ago", **Brajović** concludes.

views on the issue of statehood caused disputes with respect to certain legal solutions which were supposed to introduce European standards.

After the independence vote, the government will have to approach with additional zeal the same problems that the European Commission has identified while Montenegro was still part of the State Union with Serbia.

"Independence means more responsibility than before", says the speaker of the European Enlargement Commissionaire, **Ms Christina Nagy**.

In the Feasibility study for Serbia and Montenegro from last April, as well as in the European Commission Report from November 2005, the Montenegrin authorities have been warned about the need to strengthen administrative capacities, decrease the influence of politics on the judi– ciary, and clamp on the organised crime and corruption.

Nagy explained that Montenegro will have to prove that it has sufficient administrative capacity to implement reforms.

"Montenegro has to ensure an adequate number of well trained cadre, in order to face the key tasks of integration, both on the Government and the administration level", said Nagy.

Furthermore, Montenegro must show progress in the reform of judi– ciary, especially in terms of fight against organised crime and corrup– tion.

According to her, the EU expects Montenegro to adopt a new Constitution based on general politi– cal consensus, respecting European values and standards.

Talking about advantages of independent Montenegro, Minister for European Integrations, Ms **Gordana Đurović**, emphasises direct representation of Montenegrin interests in the process of EU association.

Direct representation includes greater amount of support from European funds and programmes for countries in the accession process.

"As an independent state, Montenegro can get more funds, being a separate subject", Đurović said.

Additionally, there is the possibility to secure greater funds from donations, which will now be, according to Đurović, allocated in line with Montenegrin priorities and needs of its population.

"Moreover, once the European Commission office is established in Podgorica, representatives of the Montenegrin society, such as the Government, the Parliament, NGOs, media, educational institutions etc, will have a direct contact with EU institutions", Đurović said.

Among the advantages of Montenegro with the respect to EU association are the existing low custom tariffs, which should make negotiations with EU on this issue a lot easier.

"In Montenegro, only the customs tariffs concerning sensitive domestic agricultural products have been slightly higher, in order to allow the producers to gradually adapt to the highly competitive conditions of the EU single market", Đurović said.

Minister for European Integrations also explained that the restitution of statehood may signal an opportunity for a relaxed visa regime, with a decrease in visa application costs.

According to Đurović, the administrative capacity of Monte– negro for the process of negotiations and implementation of the commit– ments from the Stabilisation and Association Agreement has been steadily improving, as compared to an earlier period.

"Being a very small system, Montenegro has so far demonstrated excellent coordination among its institutions, establishing clear negotiating positions", claims Đurović.

Montenegrin independence, according to the official of the Socialist People's Party (SNP) **Aleksandar Damjanović**, will not necessarily skyrocket the progress towards the EU, but it shouldn't be slowing it down either.

"I certainly expect that Montenegro will, as an independents state, come under greater of Brussels", says Damjanović.

According to him, in order to proceed towards EU successfully, Montenegro needs a "systematic change, beginning with a change in power structures, as well as in the very system of governance".

He claims that, as the first step necessary for Montenegro to prepare itself for the accession to the club of EU–25, we must overcome deep rifts caused by differing views on the statehood issue.

"The second condition is a stable consensus over the road to EU, regardless of our political differences. SNP has always been an opponent to **Milo Đukanović**, but when it comes to the European aspirations of Montenegro, we will always be ready to cooperate and support those laws which promote European standards", says Damjanović.

As the third condition for genuine preparation for the EU membership, Damjanović emphasises the need for implementation of these European standards.

"New legislation must be quickly implemented. Just as an example, none of the anti-corruption laws have been applied so far", says the SNP official.

The lack of administrative capacities, according to him, that is a problem in Montenegro, is neither caused by the lack of knowledge nor by the absence of capacities.

"The real issue here is an extraordinary level of nepotism and selection of cadre dictated by their party affiliation", says Damjanović.

According to him, the new Montenegrin Constitution must define judiciary independence, prescribing, NO NEED FOR A NEW CYPRESS OR MALTA



With a possible exception of Croatia, I expect all other countries of the Western Balkans – Albania, BH, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro – to join EU in a block enlargement, as was the practice until now. It will certainly not happen in this decade – estimates Damjanović.

However, he emphasised that the essence of this process is that Montenegro should be better prepared for the day of accession to EU than other candidate countries.

"It is necessary to strengthen and utilise all the potentials. There is no need for another Malta or Cypress", says Damjanović.

"The focus is not on the length of pre–accession, but rather on the quality of the association process where

Montenegro should promote dynamic development of its economy and its society as a whole, while preserving its identity", **Gordana Đurović** said.

among other, a special budget for the third power.

Damjanović added that Montenegro will need additional road infrastructure, in order to ensure quality connections with European road corridors, where roads to Serbia should be a priority, as this country seems to be a nodal point for the present and future important international highways.

Member of the Managing Board of the Group for Changes (GzP), **Srđan Brajović**, considers it a priority to seek and implement the necessary solutions to some urgent problems in Montenegro itself, despite the fact that the European and international integration frameworks increasingly impose certain concrete common criteria and rules which Montenegro has no choice but to accept.

"In other words, if we wish to live in a free, democratic, relatively wealthy, socially sensitive, culturally, scientifically and technologically advanced and ecologically sustainable country, Montenegro must cease with the sell–out of its own land, restore and modernise the industrial and

agricultural production, increase export, strengthen competitiveness, and reduce unemployment, social vulnerability and poverty among hundreds of thousands of its citizens. Similarly, the nature, cities and the local communities must be protected from an increasingly direct and obvious devastation, corruption, inefficient bureaucracy and judiciary, outdated technology, faulty urbanisation, wild construction, uncontrolled accumulation of waste, noise, drugs, crime, violence and the lack of work culture. The speed of finding the adequate solutions will depend upon the internal macropolitical and macroeconomic factors, but also, and significantly, upon the international economic, political and security environment. Most of all, the right solutions will be linked to the processes of EU association and dependent on the speed and scope of adoption of its basic social, economic, labourrelated, organisational, cultural, ecological and other values", Brajović concluded.

Vladan ŽUGIĆ

## GERALD KNAUS, DIRECTOR OF THE EUROPEAN STABILITY INITIATIVE (ESI), ON THE NEXT STEPS FOR MONTENEGRO IN THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATIONS

# I believe Montenegro could surprise quite a few skeptics

t the moment some Western ABalkan countries, including Montenegro, do not have contractual relations with the European Union. This is an anomaly that needs to be corrected, and soon. An SAA is the very first step, and a precondition for further steps, such as submitting a membership application and opening negotiations said in the interview for EIC Bulletin Mr Gerald Knaus, president of the European Stability Initiative, international institute for research and European policy analysis based in Istanbul and Berlin.

"In the case of Bulgaria, Romania or Turkey obtaining candidate status and beginning official negotiations were the real turning points also for the economy and social development. It is at these moments that expectations (also of outside investors) adjust and people begin to see eventual accession as likely or even inevitable. This starts the virtuous circle of Europeanisation that has transformed Spain, Ireland, Portugal, Greece, the Baltic States or Bulgaria in recent decades or years".

#### • What is the next step that Montenegro must take in order to proceed with the association process?

Montenegro needs to conclude SAA as soon as possible. It will



then be told not to submit an application for membership, advice that was also given to Macedonia and Croatia and that both countries decided to ignore at the time. I think Montenegro should probably also ignore such advice and submit a formal application for membership as soon as its SAA is concluded. Montenegro should also prepare for an effective campaign to explain to EU policy makers and the interested European public the reasons why it is ready for negotiations and how these would advance the European project. This will be a challenge in light of current skepticism in the

EU, but it is one that other countries have also overcome in the past.

## • How would you asses the current Montenegrin perspective with regard to European integra-tion?

In the coming year Montenegro has an opportunity to redefine its international image, and to prove that it is capable of following in the footsteps of Macedonia and Croatia. If this period is used effectively, and if – a big if – there emerges a solid domestic consensus behind EU accession, the perspective is encouraging and Montenegro could

## THE WHOLE BALKANS SHOULD BECOME PART OF THE EUROPEAN INTERNAL MARKET AS SOON AS POSSIBLE



• What is your estimate as to the length of pre-accession period for Montenegro? How much does this depend on the overall situation in the region, given the EU's preference for en bloc enlargements?

As for the timeframes for accession, I do not think there will be another en bloc enlargement: Croatia is far advanced, Turkey is already negotiating, Macedonia is already a candidate. However, each

step by any of these countries helps the others, because it keeps enlargement on the agenda and opens more doors. The EU is based on keeping its promises, and as we have seen in the past year, it has kept its promises to Croatia, Turkey and Macedonia. Regional cooperation and joint lobbying can also help, as they have in advance of the 2003 Thessaloniki summit.

I do not think there are any alternatives to EU accession for the Balkans, neither regional groupings nor special partnerships. On the other hand, free trade and opening economies to outside competition help the region. I do not believe there is anything sinister in recent European proposals for a free– trade area, certainly nobody in Brussels has any illusions about recreating a mini–Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia has gone the way of the Dodo, it is history, a matter for historians. The only real Euro–region in the Balkans that can emerge is when all countries are full members of the EU.

What ESI has been advocating in a series of reports since 2002 is that further economic liberalization in the Balkans should also be supported by a European commitment to putting the Western Balkans on the European cohesion map. Cohesion is a central concept in the EU: helping poorer regions catch up, not through transfers of wealth for consumption but through support for investments that raise productivity, develop infrastructure and human capital. The sooner the whole Balkans is part of both the European internal market and its area of cohesion, the better for every European.

surprise quiet a few skeptics.

#### • What are the main preconditions for Montenegro to advance in this process?

Having a strong, cross-party consensus is one precondition for Europeanisation: changes in government should not call into question the overall direction of policy. Projecting an image of stability to the world is a second precondition. A willingness to learn from previous candidate is a third. I would suggest sending a plane full of top Montenegrin administrators to the Baltic states to see how Estonia or Latvia have implement– ed Europeanisation, and then bring these lessons – and the Baltic energy – back to Podgorica. Finally, it is crucial to find ways to positively surprise a European pub– lic and EU civil servants in Brussels – who have generally low expecta– tions of small states in the Balkans. This requires being proactive and imaginative. For instance, Monte– negro might already now prepare to do the x–ray of its public administration that would be required once it submits an official application (by answering the EU questionnaire).

• According to you, what are Montenegro's advantages, and what are its main weaknesses in that respect?

It is both an advantage and a challenge to be a small country with a small administration. A few determined people, and a credible strategy how to strategically use limited financial and human resources can make a huge differ– ence. Montenegro does have an image problem in parts of the EU (less so in the US), but the conduct of the referendum has certainly helped to correct this.

• Which country in the region, according to you, has made most progress towards EU, and why?

Obviously Croatia has been doing well, in part because it is economically in a better position, in part because it managed to deal with its ICTY obligations, and in part because it prepared itself well when it submitted its membership application. Serbia has been the biggest disappointment: expectations in 2000 were high, and I wonder what would have happened if Serbia-Montenegro would have submitted an EU membership application already in December 2000. But this is the past, and it would be very important for the whole region that by mid-2007 all countries have SAAs and that all of them are on their way to being official candidates.

Vera ŠĆEPANOVIĆ

#### WHAT ARE THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE LATEST DECISION BY HEADS OF STATES AND GOVERNMENTS EU THAT THE ABSORPTION POWER WILL BE REMOVED FROM THE ENLARGEMENT CRITERIA

## There's hope for the Western Balkans

The Western Balkans got another chance. After the sombre projections from last year, when it seemed that European Union is not interested in further enlargement as France and Netherlands rejected the European constitution, the heads of European states and governments agreed in the last EU summit in Brussels that "capac-

ity of the block to absorb new members should not be a criterion for further enlargements".

In practice, it means – we are already 25, and it's a lot, but we'll take you in the club, once you fulfill all the condi– tions dictated by EU membership, despite the fact that new members could make us quite some trou– ble.

Discontent of the old EU members, especially its founders

France and Netherlands, with the effects of the latest enlargement wave of May 2004 taking in 10 new members of Central and Eastern Europe, was evident in the events around the referendums held in May and June last year. Both politicians and analysts agreed that the failure of the referendum was, among other, the result of a reaction of French and Dutch citizens to the enlargement, as nobody asked them whether they liked the idea of another 10 partners getting the right to decide on the future perspectives of EU. According to the analyst Jacques Rupnik, the old Europe - the founding members, started feeling like they're losing control since the new members joined, as they are no more the only ones to decide on the future of Europe. Now it will also depend on the Czechs,

Poles, Hungarians, Lithuanians, Maltesians... which is hardly digestible for the French, for instance, as they feel like they have a copyright to the EU.

However, the leaders spoke, and they sent a message to the Western Balkans and Turkey that they have a chance now, and that it is only up to them whether they will make use of it. basis of the Treaty of Nice, with 25, soon 27, and in the future some 30 members. This is not possible, and Nice is not enough", Barroso said in Strasbourg.

Asked whether other countries could join EU after Bulgaria and Romania, even if the Constitution is not adopted, Barroso avoided giving a straight answer.

> "It would be difficult to imagine such possibility, and this is why I believe that enlargement is indeed one of the key reasons for adopting a constitution", president of the Commission said.

To begin with, by the end of this year Turkey should fulfill its commitments for opening its harbours and airports to Cypress, a member of the Union.

Turkey, a mem-

bership candidate since 1999, began negotiations for EU accession in October last year. In the meantime, Croatia started membership negotia– tions, Macedonia got a candidate sta– tus, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia and Montenegro began SAP negotia– tions, and Albania concluded its Stabilisation and Association Agreement in the beginning of June.

After restoring its independence, Montenegro believes to be able to continue SA negotiations perhaps as soon as July, or September at the latest, and conclude negotiations by the end of this year. Serbia also hopes to continue its negotiations, which began in October last year, while the State Union was still in place. However, it's a big question mark when Brussels will decide to "unfreeze" negotiations with

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> At the same time, it was suggested that this offer is not to come real in too near a future.

> According to the press, they agreed that "the way citizens experience enlargement" should be taken into account more in the future, "dispelling fears among certain member states, whose citizens have expressed their concern with the issues of employment and migration".

> However, the president of the European Commission, Jose Manuel Barroso, implied that the countries of Western Balkans and Turkey have something to hope for, explaining that European Union needs Constitution in order to be able to function more efficiently.

"It is absolutely wrong to think that the EU will be able to function on the

### EU'S GOOD WILL THE BEST CURE AGAINST NATIONALISTS

Already last year, the Slovenian Minister of Foreign Affairs, **Dimitrij Rupel**, rec-Mommended certain actions on the part of the EU towards Western Balkans and the issuing conclusions of the Summit.

"We must remain committed to the enlargement. I am worried about the anti-reform and anti-democratic forces in the Balkan states, where radicals and nationalists could use the opportunity to irresponsibly spread fears in the population – that EU future is just an illusion. It will definitely not be the first time for certain political groups to base their strategy against reforms on an anti-EU platform. Therefore, it is vitally important to use the next EU summit to con-firm our commitments to the enlargement process and to send a positive message to the Balkan states, as well as Turkey, that they are indeed eligible for EU membership", Rupel said.

He added that, as a gesture of good will, the EU should change its visa regimes for the potential candidate countries.

"It is difficult to have credibility and preach about the European Dream, and at the same time prevent individuals, especially students, to get a taste of it. Of course, we should understand the skepticism within Europe itself. After what happened in France and Netherlands, it is simply impossible to pretend that our public and parts of the elite are still firmly supporting the enlargement. It is not so. In order to give the enlargement a new meaning, it is necessary to find another enlargement formula, which would fill up the gap between those for and against the enlargement inside Europe. The enlargement must have a strategic purpose, not an inert tangent", Rupel emphasized.

Belgrade. First of all, because nobody knows when the Government of Serbia will be able to arrest **Ratko Mladić**, the runaway general sought by ICTY. Add

to it the statement by the Serbian Prime Minsiter, **Vojislav Koštunica**, who accused Brussels administration of being "just like Mladić", harming the citizens of Serbia just as much as the most wanted general, and you can see why it is difficult to expect Serbia to make progress toward EU in any near future.

Except for Romania, Bulgaria and Croatia, every country in the region is looking hopefully towards Brussels, although they are aware, according to the messages of their officials, that they cannot hope for joining this elite club before 2015. After Romania and Bulgaria, who were promised member– ship in 2008, it is speculated that Croatia could join EU in 2010, Turkey is still uncertain, while it seems that the Western Balkan countries will most probably join EU *en bloc*. When, that's a big question.

"The issue of the absorption capacity is now on the agenda, and (European) Commission will present a report by the end of this year, where we propose that it be taken off the list of criteria", the Austrian chancellor, **Wolfgang Schüssel** said at a press conference after presiding over the two day–EU summit.

It turns out that Britain and Sweden who are fiercely supporting the enlargement stood up against all proposals for new barriers.

N.R.

STAGES OF THE ASSOCIATION PROCESS							
	Croatia	Macedonia	Albania	ВН	SM*		
Dialogue with the European Commission	February 2000	January 1998	November 2000	1998	May 2003		
European Commission adopts the Feasibility study	24/05/2000	16/06/1999	6/06/2001	18/11/2003	25/04/2005		
SAA negotiations begin	24/11/2000	05/03/2000	31/01/2003	25/11/2005	10/10/2005		
Signed SAA	29/10/2001	24/11/2000	19/06/2006				
Interim agreement comes into force	01/03/2002	01/06/2001					
Submitted EU membership application	21/02/2003	22/03/2005					
Council of Ministers approves candidate status	18/06/2004	18/11/2005					
SAA comes into force	01/02/2005	01/04/2004					
Membership negotiations begin	3/10/2005						

\* Negotiations with SM interrupted on 3. may 2006, due to the failure to fulfil the criteria of cooperation with ICTY.



#### by Ana Grgurović, MA

urope "carries along" the core \_\_values it is founded upon. Lead by the legal mode of thinking, I would like to remind of the very Treaty on European Union, where, in the Article 6, the fundamental values constituting the core of this unusual community are explicitly listed: freedom, democracy, respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms, rule of law, respect for the national identity of all member states. This is the main reason for which I wish to be a citizen of this unique community, because its very existence is conditioned by these values, concisely stated, yet, understandably and logically hard to achieve fully, even for the old EU members. However, these members in particular can at least boast certain enviable achievements in that sense, which can be noted already when arriving in these countries, at least in terms of the legal order. Today we have one borderless Europe, European countries firmly tied to each other in many ways, most of all economically - we have one Europe with fairly high living standards, for the most of it, and all that, I believe, are the key elements

# Why do I want to be a citizen of Europe?

of European integration for an ordinary citizen.

Geographically, but also historically, Montenegro is a part of Europe. It is therefore natural that it should have one definite, institutionalised and every other tendency to belong to it, in every sense of the word. This is a community that demands letting go off certain things, giving and transforming oneself, but in return one can expect to receive and benefit from it. As a matter of fact, this is the most natural way to link and integrate – it is best observed in successful marriages.

The tough road to European membership is essentially a way to attain those, continuously emphasised, but unfortunately often rhetorically misused and abused European Standards.

I wish to be a citizen of Europe because all of us in Montenegro, by just getting a little closer, or perhaps even by achieving, partially or completely, the standards I had mentioned in various areas of live, would manage to escape, or at least temper, the current difficulties and rough living conditions.

We would get rid of the wrong values that Montenegrin society has been based upon and constrained to for the past sixteen years; we will be rid of one inert, closed world– view; the shackles of corruption will be broken and the injustice in pro– moting lack of professionalism dis– pelled, because these are not the tools to genuinely implement European integration. Finally, we will be rid of the frustrating queuing before the doors of various embassies protected by unpleasant faces of the local staff, who, in accordance with our current social reality can afford to believe themselves, quite without a reason, to be at least one step above those of us who are waiting outside, the common mortals.

We will be rid of irritable unkindness and boredom on the faces of these people confronting us over the counter in shops, depart– ment stores, and every office of the state administration – who, instead of one kind, confident smile, which should be in their job description, wear looks and attitudes of a vicious enemy whose day we had just spoiled with our silly requests or appeals.

We will be rid of all indecently dressed civil servants and other clerks, learn what is meant by business attitude and elegance in every sense of the word, even with respect to the clothes.

We will have a greater number of people in Montenegro carrying passports, from the humiliating 30% (out of which, even more shame– fully, only 5% are active) up to almost 100%. We will be rid of the civil servants forged in the spirit and style of communism, all of whom are "working incessantly" while in fact their working hours are halved, and of that half a half is spent chat– tering over coffee, with due hon– ourable exceptions, fortunately still surviving in some institutions.



We will cease to be a general traffic hazard with our habit of throwing huge pieces of garbage (such as hollowed watermelon slices) out of the car's window, on our way down to the seaside in the midst of the tourist season. We will be rid of the secret, night time, vampire plundering of forests and other ways of destroying the incredible, fascinating, capturing, diverse, and still relatively preserved natural beauties of Montenegro, concentrated in such unusually small area (e.g. creating, overnight, frightful piles of waste right on the site of the most beautiful areas, viewpoints, and landscapes of Montenegro...) etc, etc.

Some of these examples, petty as they may seem, will almost disappear with the advent of genuine respect for the standards developed by the majority of our European continent. Disappearance, or at least limitation of such and other similar, related phenomena is the reason for which I, as an ordinary citizen, wish to become a part of Europe. I hope European integration of that Montenegro will reduce the frequency of non-European behaviour in our people, whose attitude is best illustrated by one (however) legal anecdote, deplorably true. Our

people are smart and inventive, especially when seeking secret shortcuts and detours for achieving some fervently desired goal. So in Sweden, one Scandinavian country relatively free of violence even in arts, a man, "strain of our blood", so to say, decided to fish using dynamite, a horrifying method not uncommonly found in our beautiful south. He was, obviously, caught. But also cleared of all charges, to the horror of the entire Swedish public startled by this way of fishing, if that is at all the right term. And he was freed, guite simply, upon the respect for the basic rule of the criminal law – "Nulla poena sine lege, Nullum crimen sine lege" (There's no crime, and no punishment for it, unless they were prescribed as such by the law). Logically, no Swede has, to this date, even thought of using this "explosive" method for fishing.

Respect for European standards, therefore, means a revolution in our consciousness and our system of values, it means putting an end to these other values, mutated and subdued, but common to a society in transition, which have, unfortunately, defined an entire generation that grew up in the nineties.

Respect for these standards

means getting rid of the backward mentality characteristics, which run counter to progress and even civilisation, and preserving these other, genuinely positive national and traditional elements cherished by every country of this planet. Moreover, this respect will contribute to the positive modernisation of the society whose frontrunners will be the young generations, growing up as we speak, which will benefit from Montenegrin integration into EU to go out and study in other European countries generations that will expand their borders, pushing the limits way beyond their own country and the Balkans. We are now facing a long road to a prosperous, stable and advanced society, which is, let us say that as well - endless, also for the countries of the already united Europe. This process, however, is followed by continuous progress and an infinite desire to reach, all of us together, the very end, that state, or "something else" where every citizen can live happily.

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## OSMAN TOPČAGIĆ, DIRECTOR OF THE DIRECTORATE FOR EUROPEAN INTEGRATION IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

## Getting closer to EU is the best guarantee of stability in the region

The process of stabilisation and association has proven its advantages. In 2005, every country made a step forward. Croatia became a candidate and opened up negotiations, Macedonia acquired a candidate status, Serbia and Montenegro and BH began negotiations on the agreement, Albania signed the SAP. This is quite some progress, and a success for the EU policy in this region. However, further successes will not be achieved by raising limitations, but rather by further promotion of this policy, says Osman Topčagić, director of the Directorate for European Integrations in the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

According to him, the promises made in Thessalonica and confirmed in Salzburg must be honoured, leaving the perspective open for each country to advance in the process of EU association to the best of its abilities.

"EU must keep supporting the process. This is the best guarantee of peace and stability in the region, and thus on the European continent. When we say that the process of EU enlargement cannot be complete until the countries of the Western Balkans join in, it's not just a phrase, it is the essence. The entire EU project, based upon the need to bring the West European countries together in peace, stability and development instead of war, is directly applicable in our case, and there is no better solution, neither for us, nor for the EU, than bringing this process to a conclusion", said Topčagić.

He reminded of the estimates that, from the beginning of negotiations on the Stabilisation and association agreement until the membership in the EU



some eight to ten years must pass.

"This is the opinion of certain colleagues who have already travelled that road, and it turned out to be true in the case of Slovenia. They started negotiating the accession agreement in 1996, and they joined EU in 2004. Some of the Central and Eastern European countries made it even faster, but eight to ten years is a reasonable period, during which a lot of things can be done. A lot depends on the state of mind, on the change in the mindset. I believe that these changes come gradually. They must be used and transformed into laws and strong institutions. All of us are watching closely, what Croatia is doing in this period, what Slovenia did while preparing, and that is a big topic at home. People are talking about it, they are informed, both those working in the industry, as well as trade, public service, in the central bank...", says Topčagić.

He emphasised that people are pretty much aware that they will have

to make big changes at a given moment, and they have already accepted it.

"At home at least, I don't see much resistance, discussion on "why do we need EU"...Not at all. We know that it will come, and that, until then, a lot of things will change, and at the end it will be good for us, because these are some standards that have already proven to be beneficial in other countries. So they will be good for us too, because they will enable us to make progress. Although the body of legal regulations is getting more cumbersome, although EU itself keeps on developing criteria which must be met, making them ever more complicated, I believe that this work can be done within some eight to ten years. It will, of course, depend, also on the readiness in the EU to support the process, financially and otherwise", concluded Topčagić.

## A SINGLE FREE TRADE AGREEMENT IN SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE WOULD FACILITATE TRADE AND INVESTMENTS IN THE REGION



by Dragan Stojović, MA

According to the results of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Transition Report for 2005, the region of South Eastern Europe received some 10 million euros of direct foreign investments, which is rather impressive, and quite encouraging.

Overall, the business environment in the region is improving, although certain barriers for business still exist, and are much greater than those in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The key macroeconomic indicators still show positive trends across the SEE. GDP growth is still present in Serbia, Albania and Bulgaria, which in 2005 were leading the tide with 6-6.5% GDP growth rate, while the inflation was kept bellow 10% (with the exception of Moldavia, Romania and Serbia). In the last five years, almost every country of SEE has noted decline in the budget deficit, foreign direct investments have been steadily growing, with Romania, Bulgaria, and Croatia attracting most of the capital.

However, this relatively positive overview of the region has another

## Foreign investors become more interested as you get closer to the EU

side to it. First of all, analysis of the flow and concentration of investments show that over 75% of the total foreign direct investment went to Romania. The portion of greenfield investments is not enough, making the policy of attracting these investments and developing small and medium enterprises a priority for the future. Total inflow of FDI is relatively low compared to earlier cases of countries in transition, and the share of investments originating in the region itself has also been fairly low.

Nearly all countries in the region have the problem of high trade deficits which are permanently crippling their economies. A complex administrative environment and few standardised products and services which could compete on the European Union market are still among the key problems and chal– lenges facing the economic policy makers in these countries.

Encouraging steps in the field of European integrations are a clear sign indicating that EU is ready to commit itself to further support to this region. On the other hand, these positive signals have unambiguous effect on the strengthening of the interest for investments and economic reconstruction in this part of the European continent. Bearing in mind the geostrategic and geopolitical importance of the South East

### PROMOTING GREENFIELD INVESTMENTS IS A PRIORITY

Talking about Montenegro in the context of the Investment Reform Index, the following reform measures are the key priority in the period to come:

- In the area of investment policy adopting a strategy for the promotion of investments focused on the greenfield investment flows in priority sectors (tourism and services), and a more active involvement of the Montenegrin Investment Promotion Agency (MIPA);
- Pursue systematic, consistent implementation of the Law on Intellectual Property;
- Enhance dialogue between the private and the public sector on the effects of the current rates of profit tax for enterprises especially when concerning the local level;
- Minimise administrative limitations on the local level;
- Adopt a strategy on competition, requiring the creation of an independent competition body, responsible for investigating cases of alleged antimonop-oly behaviour and respond with sanctions;
- In anti-corruption policy adopt a new Law on public procurement and strengthen its implantation mechanisms.

Europe, it is to be expected that this interest will only grow in the years to come. The newest challenge is certainly the process of concluding a single multilateral free trade agreement, which would simplify the current mechanisms, bringing the countries of the region closer to the standards of the World Trade Organisation, and, most importantly, improve the trade and investment environment in the region for the business community.

The Investment Compact is an initiative which is primarily focused on improvement of the regional investment ambient. The activities of this initiative (implemented with the support of the OECD Secretariat in Paris and Stability Pact for South East Europe in Brussels) are focused on four areas: evaluation and monitoring with respect to progress of the reforms in the area of investment policy; support for the implementation of the investment reforms through quarterly peer reviews targeting on individual sectors; establishment of dialogue between the private and the public sector through a regional network of Councils of foreign investors, and finally publishing the so-called White Book on the investment reforms, with recommendations for the authorities aimed



at improving the investment environment. Finally, there is the political support, reflected in annual ministerial conferences aiming to create further incentives for the investment reforms in the region.

Among the activities of the Investment Compact was the last year's initiative for the creation of an Investment Reform Index (IRI), which is supposed to monitor the progress of investment climate in SEE in a modern, transparent and efficient manner. Using the tri–partite evaluation (international financial institutions, governments and the private sector) and country missions, it focuses on the following indicators and policy dimensions: investment policy, promotion policy, competi– tiveness, trade policy, regulatory reforms, financial institutions, sup– port for the SME, human resources. The first Investment Reform Index will be presented in late June, at a conference of the Ministers of Economy of the South East European countries in Vienna.

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FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENTS IN SOUTH EAST EUROPE FOR THE PERIOD 2002 – 2005 (mn €)							
Country	2002	2003	2004	2005			
Albania	151.4	157.8	278.4	200			
Bosnia and Herzegovina	281.8	337.6	400.4	240			
Bulgaria	980.0	1850.5	2278.2	1600			
Croatia	1195.1	1788.4	980.0	1500			
FYR Macedonia	82.6	85.4	126.5	100			
Moldavia	-	-	121	100			
Romania	1212	1946	5183	4800			
Serbia and Montenegro	593.2	1242.7	829	1250			
ΤΟΤΑΙ	4496	7408	10196	9790			

## THE SUMMIT OF THE HEADS OF STATES AND GOVERNMENTS OF EU, HELD ON 15 AND 16 JUNE, DECIDES

## The tale of the constitution in deep freeze

The troublesome issue of the first European Union Constitution, which should have created an ever closer bond among the 25 members of EU, will be frozen until 2008. This is the decision from the latest Summit of the heads of EU states and governments, held on 15 and 16 June in Brussels.

The decision of a majority of French and Dutch citizens to reject the proposal for the Constitution last year, seems to have come right in time for certain influential EU states, the United Kingdom in particular, who are not willing to hand over another portion of their sovereignty to the community institutions.

According to the news agencies, the lack of readiness of the European leaders to agree on the future fate of the Constitution lead them to put the issue aside, and redirect their efforts to other projects, which they hope will restore the credibility of EU. These issues regard, primarily, the energy policy and immigration.

"They don't want to risk another failure", said the president of the European Commission, Jose Manuel Barroso, commenting the decision to leave the Constitution pending, and urged everyone to stop speculating on whether the Constitution was dead or not.

"Alive or dead is a question for gangster movies", said Barroso.

The treaty can be adopted only by a unanimous decision of all 25 EU members. Most countries consider this document to be necessary for the reform of overcrowd–



ed institutions, but there are also a few who would rather forget about it.

"We extended the "period of reflection" precisely because we couldn't agree on the way to get out of it", said the French president **Jacques Chirac**, who took a large blow with the "non" at the referendum in France, which undermined his own political standing.

Diplomats said that it was clear from the summit that no change can be expected until May 2007, when elections will be taking place in France and the Netherlands.

The Prime Minister of Luxembourg, Jean Claude Juncker said that most leaders believe that just by removing the term "constitution" people would perhaps feel more comfortable with accepting the reforms.

"The term "constitution", in the way it is understood by most people, creates and

### TIME FOR TWO-PRONGED APPROACH

Schüssel said that in this new phase the EU will be concentrating on con-

"We have therefore tabled a proposal setting out a two-pronged approach. This involves, firstly, using the existing treaties to achieve concrete results and, secondly, the presidency during the first six months of 2007 will present a report following consultations with the Member States to take stock of the state of discussions and examine future possible developments", Schüssel explained.

"Future decisions will be based on this report. The decisive steps should be taken in the second half of 2008 at the latest. Every presidency since the beginning of the ratification process has a special responsibility to carry this process forward", Schüssel said. impression of European Union becoming a state", he said. However, the German chancellor

**Angela Merkel**, whose country will take over the EU presidency in January, is of the opinion that the constitutional reform must not be sold to the citizens "in a bag".

"I don't believe that changing the name will do the work", said Merkel. "We must be patient. Such is the life sometimes".

In the beginning, the French, Dutch, and the overwhelmingly eurosceptic British officials asked for the word "constitution" to be completely erased. However, Germany and other 14 countries that have already ratified the treaty, including Spain, Belgium and Luxembourg, don't want to see it in a blind alley or forgotten.

"The document which we ratified in Spain is a good one", said the Spanish Prime **Minister Jose Luis Zapatero**.

The President in office of the European Council, Austria's Federal Chancellor **Wolfgang Schüssel**, said that, regardless of the fact that the new constitution is still under question mark, there was a consensus that the Nice Treaty was not sufficient in the long run.

"There is also agreement that the substance of the Constitutional Treaty is sound and should be retained. However, there is no agreement as to which new elements should secure this substance".

He said it was encouraging that, since June 2005, another five Member States had ratified the Constitutional Treaty, bringing to 15 so far the total number of countries that had completed the ratification process.

"Two Member States to date have rejected it, and eight Member States still have to complete the process. In the meantime, the reflection period has been very useful in taking greater account of citizens' concerns and fears. This process of communicating with the European public must be continued", Schüssel said.

At the summit, it was announced that a ceremonial conference of the Heads of States and Governments will take place in Berlin on 25 March 2007 to mark the 50th anniversary of the Rome Treaties.

N.R.

## Additional training for the officials



by Vladimir Vučinić, MA

The reform of state administration and the strengthening of its capacities will be the key elements for the future of the European integrations process in Montenegro. Harmonisation with acquis and its implementations are primarily within the competence of administration, and the Montenegrin journey to the EU will, consequently, depend on its quality and effectiveness.

Administrative capacities required by the Stabilisation and Association Agreement are of a much lower level than those which will be necessary for the start of negotiations for full EU membership. However, Montenegro should begin the work on enhancing its administrative capacities and reforming the state administration, in order to be ready to face the future challenges and to implement the necessary legal regulations.

For Montenegro, developing a stable, efficient and professional public administration is an imperative, together with the reforms which have already been implemented and vari– ous programmes of state administra– tion training.

The European Commission, in its latest annual report on the progress of Serbia and Montenegro for 2005, noted positive developments in terms of European integrations process in Montenegro, which encompassed numerous new laws, harmonised with the European legislature, as well as the establishment of new and strengthening of the institutions already in place. It also emphasised the importance of the European integrations network in Montenegro, which can serve as a solid basis for the further strengthening of administrative capacities for the rapprochement with EU.

However, EC also noted that, in order to implement the European integrations process successfully, every structure involved in this process, as well as cooperation among them, will have to be upgraded further. Consequently, their conclusion was that Montenegro needs a higher level of administrative capacities in order to be successful in the El process, and they urged for a serious commitment to this issue.

Montenegrin authorities started consolidating an efficient public administration already in 2002, through a project titled Reform of the Public Administration in Montenegro (PARIM), funded by EU agencies. Parallel with the public administration reform, there are bilateral training programmes taking place continuous– ly in cooperation with different part– ners as well as EU institutions (TAIEX). In 2006, they began with the twin– ning programme, a joint venture with Slovenia and France, focused on the strengthening of the institutions for

## SKILLS ARE NEEDED ON THE LOCAL LEVEL TOO

Experiences of the current EU members show that participation in the deci-Sion processes of the EU requires active involvement on the part of the local governments, which has finally lead to an increase in administrative capacities of the local governments throughout EU. As for Montenegro, competent local administrations will be crucial for the management of the Instrument for preaccession (IPA), which should come into force by January 2007. The local administration will have to take up the responsibility for applying with their various projects to the EU funds. In order to enable them for this task, the strengthening of the administrative capacities must encompass both the national and the local level.

Except for training the current cadre, the state must work hard on brining in new capacities, educated in different universities across Europe, who would be willing to contribute their expertise to the processes in Montenegro. Accordingly, it will be advisory to create scholarship funds for studies at prestigious universities in Europe, where young people could acquire new knowledge, obliging them to come back and work for the public administration for a certain period. This is already common practice in other countries in the region, which has proven to be very successful in terms of enhancing the cadre potentials. Policy

## THE STATE MUST AVOID LOSING ITS CADRE

Speaking about administrative capacities, it is extremely important to keep the Seducated cadre motivated to stay in the service and use their potentials to the maximum. This can be done by increasing the level of professionalism in the entire public administration, where promotions should be driven entirely by the professional capacities and the results achieved, but also by involving these people as much as possible in the process of integrations and exchange of experiences with other countries.

We must not forget that in the period to come individual wages of public servants should be progressively increased, as well as the additional benefits (credits, scholarships, etc...), in order to prevent the outflow of trained cadre towards international organisations and other institutions capable of offering bet– ter financial conditions. It is important to realise that the length of the journey to accession is less important than the quality of it, which alone would provide faster development and prosperity for the society of Montenegro.

the process of European integrations, for a period of 18 months.

These projects, designed to enhance building of an efficient system of public administration in Montenegro, will contribute to the acceleration of reforms in the sectors of public governance and thus prepare Montenegro for the future membership in EU.

The current level of administrative capacities should be developed and strengthened further, in order to move Montenegro along the path of European integrations. As this is one of the key priorities of the Government, the related political commitment will serve as a sound basis for the future work in terms of strengthening of the necessary capacities and reforming the public administration.

Implementation of the reforms in Montenegro will depend a great deal on the ability and professionalism of the public servants. Membership in the EU has been set as the strategic of the Government of goal Montenegro, and in that respect the administrative cadre becomes one of the most important criteria dictated by the EU membership. At the same time, building a functional, efficient and competent public administration will contribute to the creation of a positive image of the capacities of Montenegrin institutions working in the integration process.

The problem of administrative capacities has followed, and follows still, some of the countries that became members of the EU and the current candidates. Therefore, there is no need to consider the lack of adequate administrative capacities as something insurmountable, but rather as a challenge that can be overcome through comprehensive reforms. In addition to this, special attention should be paid to the quality of administration on both the national and the local level.

Montenegro must be ready to assume, advancing towards the European Union, new competences and responsibilities, but it should also be enabled to make the most of the EU membership. Getting closer to the European Union also means creating a series of new institutions, as well as a need to involve new experts in the functioning of these institutions, in order to conclude the process successfully.

Public administration reform should therefore focus on creating one clear and functional division of competences among various institutions, which would require amendments to the Law on Civil Servants, as well as the adoption of new, efficient codes of regulations and highly trained administrators, all for the purpose of creating one efficient state administration which is necessary for the EU integration process.

Except for the reform of state administration, another important segment of the capacity building must include educating the right cadre for the functions required by the process of European integrations. This training should be conducted on all levels, including the high officials, managers, interns, as well as the administrative staff of various public institutions. Professional training for the civil servants should enable them to acquire new knowledge on European integrations, and should be focused on practical issues, rather than theory through analysing experiences of the new EU members and other countries in the region that have already made several steps ahead on the road that Montenegro is yet to travel.

Development of a training network for the whole administration, with concretely defined tasks and programmes, should enable the employees to become more efficient, and increase their ability to function in the new environment.

Aside from the knowledge on European integrations and familiarity with their own area of expertise, it is extremely important to increase the level of foreign language skills, in every section of the public administration which will be involved in this process. This particularly concerns the working languages of EU - English and French. Those who enter negotiations with EU without the necessary knowledge of languages and their own profession, risk to find themselves in ridiculous positions - not to mention that it often slows down the pace of negotiations, blocking the efficiency of various working groups and negotiations teams.

Author is an officer of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Montenegro and activist of the European Movement in Montenegro.

#### INTRODUCING THE EU INSTITUTIONS

## **European Central Bank**



The European Central Bank was founded on the 1 June 1998, as a successor to the European Monetary Institute. This was the final stage of establishment of a Monetary Union on the European level, with a common central bank and single currency. The European Central Bank was inspired by the "German model", the way of organisation of the Bundesbank, and it is based in Frankfurt am Main.

Together with the national central banks, the ECB makes part of the European System of Central Banks (ESCB), in charge of devising and implementing the monetary policy in the Eurozone - twelve EU members that adopted euro (Austria, Belgium, Finland, Germany, France, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal and Spain). The key task of ECB is to maintain the price stability, in other words the purchasing power of the euro, which is expressed in the rule that the inflation rates within Eurozone must be kept below 2% in the medium term. Besides this, the ECB conducts foreign exchange operations and looks after the official foreign reserves of the member states, and promotes smooth operation of payment systems that link banks. It also has the exclusive right to authorise the issuance of banknotes within the euro area, and collects statistical information necessary for the financial management.

The ECB represents European Union in the international financial institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). ECB reserves are 4 billion euros, of which almost 50% is made up by the gold reserves of the Bundesbank and Banque de France.

ECB is governed by a board of directors, lead by President, and the Council of Governors, gathering members of the governing councils and representatives of the national central banks within the ESCB. Since 2003, the President of ECB is **Jean– Claude Trichet**, former Governor of the Banque de France.

The Treaty on the establishment of the European Central Bank guarantees its independence from all political structures, both on the national and European level. Both EU institutions and the member states are obliged to respect decisions of ECB and refrain from trying to influence policies of the Bank or individual members. Such independence has been somewhat of a source of concern, with respect to the transparency and democracy in its functioning, as the Bank receives no feedback information from the citizens, who are not able to influence its policies. Moreover, reports from the internal meetings of the Council of Governors are never made public. However, the ECB is accountable to the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers, where it submits annual reports about its work. Through a common decision, the Council and EP appoint the President and members of the Council of Governors.

Other, more serious critiques of ECB regard its basic duties. In an effort to keep the currency and prices stable, ECB focuses heavily on keeping the inflation rates low, which may stifle economic growth, and does not pay direct attention to unemployment and other needs of the economy. This policy makes sense in so far as it protects the biggest members of the Eurozone, using low inflation to prevent recession, but it also raises interest rates, which could harm economic growth in other European countries.

Although it was envisaged that in due time all EU countries will join the Economic and Monetary Union, to date only 12 out of 25 members decided to adopt euro – some, because they still do not fulfil the necessary conditions, and others because they are not impressed by the potential benefits of such union. Countries outside of the "Eurozone" are not conditioned by the decisions of ECB, but they are also in no position to influence it. On the other hand, every country is obliged to take into account the movement of euro when defining its own monetary policy.

More information on the European Central Bank can be found at www.ecb.eu.

Vera ŠĆEPANOVIĆ

#### NON – GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPEAN UNION



Friends of Europe (FoE) is a prominent Brussels-based think-tank for EU policy analysis, independent of EU institutions and without national or political bias. It was founded in 1999 with the aim to stimulate new thinking on the future of Europe and widen the EU debate by making it more controversial and lively, promoting the use of media technologies and encouraging media involvement.

European Union Policy issues are complex and, for many people, obscure. And that's a risk factor that policymakers are increasingly aware of. Our goal has been to take discussion on the key issues confronting the EU outside the charmed circle of the Brussels elite by linking up with major think tanks and media in Europe. To that end, Friends of Europe organises series of activities, such as regular evening debates in "Café Crossfire" in Brussels, "European Policy Summit" international conferences and "Press and Policymakers" dinner debates. They offer ample opportunities for networking and offthe-record discussions with policymakers, corporate leaders and top EU officials. Through the regular "Atlantic Rendez-Vous" satellite-linked policy debates between Brussels and Washington DC, their network now reaches to the other side of the Atlantic..

Friends of Europe's activities are directed by a Board of Trustees that is chaired by **Etienne Davignon** and made up of senior figures of European integration: **Giuliano Amato, Javier Solana, Carl Bildt**, and many others. The trustees also contribute to FoE publications such as "Salvaging the Wreckage of the European Constitution", "Blueprint for a Reform and Getting the Message Across".

Two issues have formed a leitmotif of their debates and publications: reform of EU–level decision–making and ways of improving the EU's information and com– munication. In addition to this, Friends of Europe's activities cover a wide range of topics, aiming to provide an open forum for EU and national policymakers, business leaders and NGOs.

Friends of Europe are one of the fastest growing think-tank in Brussels with members made up of major corporations, trade associations and chambers of commerce, academics, NGOs, regional bodies, permanent representations and other diplomatic missions.

Friends of Europe is head–quartered in *Bibliotheque Solvay*, next to the European Parliament.

Website: www.friendsofeurope.org e-mail: info@friendsofeurope.org

### Publication "Get to know European Union"

Centre for Monitoring (CEMI) published a book "Get to know European Union", written by a number of young Montenegrin authors, mostly from the non-governmental sector. The book aims at presenting to the citizens, mostly the young ones, the basic notions of European Union, its institutions, ways of functioning, the enlargement, and the position of Montenegro in this process. The publication explains the development



## **CRNVO**

Third module of the trainers' training programme project management of EU – sponsored projects was held in Bijela, from 8 to 11 June. Participants of the training were introduced to the methods of training, through topics of education for adults, role of a trainer, training styles, methods and techniques, and the basic techniques for strengthening the students' concentration. Based on these lectures, the participants got a practical task to design a training and present their results, followed and history of EU, its model of governance, the building process and the key policies, while the last part of the publication contains explanations on the role and function of the civil society and young people in EU.

This publication is part of a longterm project "Get to know European Union", financed by the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Embassy of Great Britain. Together with the "Get to know the system to change it" project, this project forms the basis of the CEMI's youth education programme. Graphic design of the book was supported by the Audio-visual library of the European Commission which agreed to allow some photographs to be published, which are the exclusive property of EC.

The editor of this publication is Đuro Stojanović, and the authors are: Srđan Brajović, Đuro Stojanović, Zlatko Vujović, Daliborka Uljarević, Momčilo Radulović, Stevo Muk, Vladimir Vučinić, Bosiljka Vuković, Nenad Koprivica, Aleksadar Saša Zeković, Dragana Vešović and Ivana Vojvodić.



by comments and advice from the seminar facilitators. CRNVO trainers **Daliborka Uljarević** and **Goran Đurović** were lecturers at this seminar, and the participants were members of the CRNVO Team of Trainers, employees of the Minsitry for European Integrations and representatives of EMiM. The project is implemented by Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations, with support of the Foundation Open Society Institute, Representative Office in Montenegro.

## **CEDEM seminar on European Convention on Human Rights**

Seminar for Montenegrin judges, attorneys and advocates regarding European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), was held in Igalo, from 15. to 17 June. The seminar was organised by Council of Europe, AIRE Centre from London, Judicial Training Centre and the CEDEM.

Discussion at the seminar concerned

state obligations that derive from the right to life and prohibition of torture guaranteed by European Convention on Human Rights.

The project is supported by the British Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Westminster Foundation for Democracy and Council of Europe.



### Parliament for Europe

European Movement in Mon-Etenegro, with support of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, and in cooperation with the Parliament of the Republic of Montenegro, began implementing the project "Parliament for Europe", a special programme of capacity building for the Parliament of Montenegro in the field of European integration.

"Parliament for Europe" is a programme of alternative education for the MPs, heads of the parliament clubs, members of the parliamentary Committee for European Integrations and the expert staff, in the field of ideas, standards, principles, structure and functioning of the contemporary process of European integration. This project is founded upon the successes of the European Integration School, organized by EMIM, CCE, and CRNVO, with support of the FOSI ROM.

The first module, titled "Introduction to history and notions of European integrations – institutions, the basics of the legal and economic system of EU", was held at the hotel Xanadu, in Kumbor, from 23 to 25 June 2006. The lecturers were academic Radovan Radonjić, dr Tanja Miščević, Daliborka Vladimir Vučinić. Uljarević, Momčilo Radulović, dr Miroslav Prokopijević and dr Zoran Radivojević. The next module is planned for autumn 2006.

### CEMI Summer tournament of EU debate clubs

Within the project "Get to know European Union", CEMI organised a summer debate tournament from 17 to 21 June, involving 6 high school debate clubs. The winner was the EU debate club from Cetinje, the second was a team from Herzeg Novi, and third were their colleagues from Pljevlja. The best debaters were Aleksandra Paravinja from Herzeg Novi, and Ivan Vujović from Cetinje.

Prizes and diplomas were awarded by Irena Radović, head of the British Embassy office, which supports the project together with the German Embassy. Before the tournament, introductory lectures on EU were given by Gyula Nemet, representative of the Hungarian Embassy, Dragan Durić, deputy minister for Foreign Economic Relations and European Integration, and Vladimir Vučinić, from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Throughout the second semester, the EU debate clubs met once a week and discussed various topics related to EU and Montenegro in the process of EU association. These events were facilitated by teachers and peer educators.

The "Get to know European Union" project is a long-term programme of peer education within the European Integration programme. At the beginning of the school year, CEMI's trainers held several workshops in 21 municipalities of Montenegro, where more than 400 high school students got to know the basics of the EU history and institution, and learned about the status of Montenegro in the association process.



Dialogue of the civil sector with EC

Head of the department for Montenegro at the European Commission Directorate General Enlargement, **Vassilis Maragos**, met on 13 June in the offices of EmiM with representatives of the Montengrin civil sector, where they discussed the role of the civil society in the future association process. The meeting was organised within the Forum of European Integration Schools programme, while Mr Maragos was visiting Montenegro on a working trip concerning the IPA – new EU programme of preaccession assistance, which is supposed to come into force in 2007.

Civil society representatives gave concrete proposals for enhanced cooperation, especially focusing on direct communication between the civil society and the EC, asking that EU funds directed towards this sector to be diversified and the procedures simplified as much as possible, and for the financial distribution to be direct, instead of being channelled through the government



institutions. Another topic was the possibility for relaxing the visa regime.

Participants at the meeting were Daliborka Uljarević, executive director of CCE, Stevo Muk, executive director of CRNVO, Zlatko Vujović, executive director of CEMI, Nenad Koprivica, executive director of CEDEM, Biljana Zeković, executive director of SOS Telephones, EMiM associate Radovan Bogojević, and Bego Begu, coordinator of the European Programme at FOSI ROM.

### Montenegrin public and European integrations

European Movement in Montenegro, with support of the Foundation Open Society Institute, Representative Office in Montenegro, began the "Montenegrin public and European integrations" project, with the aim to improve levels of knowledge and awareness in the Montenegrin public regarding integration of Montenegro into EU and the related challenges for our country.

The project encompasses: analyses of the printed media in Montenegro concerning European integrations, presentation and distribution of the collected material in the form of an electronic publication sent to several e–lists in Montenegro and abroad. In cooperation with CRNVO, a summary of this publication will be printed in a special edition of the magazine "Citizen". All the articles published on the issue of European integrations in Montenegro will be placed in a databank, which will be available on the web page www.emim.org.

Other activities include cooperation with CEMI in researching attitudes of certain subgroups of Montenegrin citizens, and collecting data on all periodical and scientific publications relevant to the wider framework of European integrations, in cooperation with the National Library "Đurađ Crnojević" in Cetinje.

### European Integrations in South East Europe

The final seminar of the Kosovar School of European Integrations was held in Ohrid, on 28. and 29. May 2006, under the title "European Integrations in South East Europe". The goal of this seminar was to make an overview of the general state of affairs in the Western Balkans region wiht respect to European integrations, and to exchange experiences with participants from various countries. Participants of this seminar were KSEI students, and the lectureres were eminent European integration experts from Croatia, Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, as well as representatives of EU institutions in the region. The event was organised by KCSF (Kosovar Civil Society Forum), with support of SOROS foundation. The Kosovar School of European Integrations was modeled after the School of European Integrations in Montenegro, which is organised by Centre for Civic Education, Centre for Development of Non–Governmental Organisation and European Movement in Montenegro, whose representatives were invited to participate in this seminar, hoping to establish and develop cooperation between the two Schools. Momčilo Radulović, Secretary General of EMiM, Branislav Veljković, regional coordinator of EMiM, and Vera Šćepanović, CCE programme associate, participated in this seminar on behalf of the organisers of the Montenegrin School of European Integrations.

### FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

### TENSIONS OF EUROPE SUMMERSCHOOL, BORDEAUX

This Summerschool will focus on the theme of Integration and Fragmenting Europe through infrastructure development and use. It is organised by Christophe Bouneau and Pascal Griset and will be held Septemer 18–22 2006 in Bordeax. It aims at junior scholars in the humanities and social sciences, including Ph.D students and postgraduates.

## The deadline for admission is Friday June 30.

Travel grants may be available, and residential costs are covered by the organizers.

For a full description visit

www.histech.nl/tensphase2/Summer school/FirstSummerschool.pdf

### ADVANCED DIPLOMA IN EUROPEAN STUDIES COURSE 2006/2007

The course takes one academic year and is divided into two fulltime semesters from October to June, totalling 400 hours approximately. Examinations take place in February and June. Attendance of lectures and participation in activities organised by the College are



compulsory. Lectures are held in English, French and Italian.

Students who have obtained the ADES diploma may also be awarded an In-depth Advanced Diploma in European Studies (I-ADES) by submitting a final dissertation on a European issue which they have drafted under the guidance of one of the College's professors.

Scholarships will be granted to a limited number of applicants to support worthy students who demonstrate financial need. Scholarships will be awarded by the Selection Committee on the basis of funds available, once all applications have been processed.

#### Deadline: 1 September 2006. Website:

www.collegioeuropeo.it/diplomaAva nzato\_gb.asp.htm

### IZA EUROPEAN SUMMER SCHOOL IN LABOR ECONOMICS

In 1998, IZA created the European Summer School in Labor Economics, which takes place once a year in the conference center of Deutsche Post at the lake of Ammersee in Bavaria/Germany.

The objective of the Summer School is to bring together a large number of PhD students and senior lecturers to study new areas in labor economics. Students have the opportunity to present their work and discuss ideas with established researchers in a relaxed and open atmosphere. The School is open to advanced graduate students from European universities, or Europeans studying abroad, engaged in the preparation of a doctoral dissertation or approaching that stage. Around 35 students will be selected, based on their preparation to



participate in advanced study on the subject. Submission Deadline: February 01, 2007 Complete Papers Due: March 24, 2007 Website: www.iza.org/en/webcontent/teaching/summerschool html/index html

### AARHUS SCHOOL OF BUSINESS DOCTORAL SCHOLARSHIPS

The Department of Business Studies at Aarhus School of Business invites applications for a 3 year PhD schol– arship within the

department's research areas: Accounting, Finance, Informatics and Logistics/SCM, starting 1st September 2006 or later. The appli– cation must be received by the Aarhus School of Business no later than **Tuesday 1\* August 2006**. **Website:** 

http://www.asb.dk/about/available/p

hdscholarship.aspx

### PHD SCHOLARSHIP AT THE DEPARTMENT OF BUSINESS STUDIES

The Department of Business Studies at Aarhus School of Business invites applications for a 3 year PhD schol– arship within the department's research areas: Accounting, Finance, Informatics and Logistics/SCM, starting 1<sup>st</sup> September 2006 or later. The research fields of Accounting include reporting, auditing, use of financial information, management accounting and ERP. In Finance the research fields comprise asset pricing, corporate finance and money & banking and the research fields of Informatics focus on the manageand implementation ment of Enterprise Systems. Integrated Finally, the Logistics/SCM research fields focus on the effective and efficient flows of goods and services, and the related flows of information and cash, where SCM adds a process-oriented and cross-company perspective.

As part of the PhD scholarship the applicant will be enrolled in a PhD program comprising a number of courses within the relevant research area. Applicants must be willing to spend up to 6 months at a foreign university as part of the scholarship. Applicants are required to teach in the department programs and must present their research at seminars and conferences. Furthermore, we expect that PhD scholars participate in activities arranged by the department.

For further information about the PhD scholarship please contact Head of Department Michael Christensen, **e-mail: mic@asb.dk.** The appointment will be in accordance with the agreement between the Danish Ministry of Finance and the appointee's organization.

### The application

To apply for the PhD scholarship



applicants must fill in an application form that can be found on: www.hha.dk/sekr/fuu/phd-anseng.doc.

Further information about the practical issues concerning the scholarship can be obtained from www.asb.dk/research/phd.aspx or from Henrik Scriver, e-mail: hsc@asb.dk.

The application, which should be submitted in 5 copies, must contain the application form, a full CV and a copy of the applicant's M.Sc. certificate. Furthermore applicants must include a description of their research project (max. 5 pages). The application should be sent by post to the Aarhus School of Business, Ms. Helle Bjørnebo Neidhardt, Fuglesangs Allé 4, DK–8210 Aarhus V., Denmark, or electronically to Ms. Helle Bjørnebo Neidhardt, **e-mail: hbn@asb.dk** 

#### Deadline for applications

The application must be received by the Aarhus School of Business no later than **Tuesday 1\* August 2006**. The applicants will be evaluated by an expert assessment committee whose recommendations of each applicant will be sent to the appli– cant. Priority will be given to the applicant who shows the best research potential.

www.asb.dk/about/available/phd-scholarship.aspx

### HUMAINE EU SUMMER SCHOOL 2006, GENOVA-ITALY

The school aims at a deeper understanding of the emotional processes and a better exploitation of this knowledge for the development of emotion-oriented systems. Research topics will be addressed by HUMAINE partners and invited researchers. The HUMAINE EU Summer School will include seminars, tutorials, round tables, and experimental activities. The latter will be finalised to the setup of a final public concert, where continuous measurement and investigation on emotional phenomena in music performance will be faced.

Target: Professors, Researchers, Post–Doc, and PhD students. Dates: September 22–28, 2006. Site: Casa Paganini, Piazza S.Maria In Passione 34, Genova, Italy. Local organisa– tion: University of Genova, DIST, InfoMus Lab.

Deadline for submission: July 15, 2006 www.infomus.dist.unige.it/Humaine SummerSchool2006/

EIC Bulletin is electronic magazine established within EIC programme, with the support of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. The publisher is Centre for Civic Education. EIC Bulletin is registered with the Ministry for Culture and Media as item No. 578 Editor in Chief: Neđeljko Rudović Editorial Board: Vera Šćepanović, Daliborka Uljarević, Dragan Stojović, Vladimir Vučinić Tehnical Editor: Blažo Crvenica; Language Editor: Milena Milunović; English Language Editor: Maja Mugoša; Translation: Vera Šćepanović Njegoševa 36 / I EIC Bulletin can be downloaded at the www.cgo.cg.yu