



## FOCUS OF THIS ISSUE

The Parliament of the Republic of Montenegro and its role in the process of European integrations

## INTERVIEW

Rainer Freund, Director of the European Agency for Reconstruction Office (EAR) in Podgorica

## ANALYSES

How far is the Montenegrin transport policy from the European Union standards





In the beginning of this month, two important and related events took place only a few days apart. First the European Commission issued the annual Progress Report on Montenegro, and then, two months after the elections of 10 September, a new Montenegrin Government was formed. The new Prime Minister, **Željko Šturanović**, did not have to bother to write a programme for his Cabinet – analysing the situation in Montenegro, the EC has already decided his key priorities. Very precise and harshly true, but in effect nothing too different from the previous reports – the administrative capacity of the State is deplorable, the judiciary is still under the influence of political and other power centres...

Except for a promise that the goal no. 1 for Montenegro will be to follow its European road, the PM has also announced one concrete move – formation of a special team for the fight against corruption! Those who know him cherish no doubts as to his good intentions, yet they are rather sceptical in expecting these promises to come true. First of all, because the key proprietors of Montenegrin big capital are believed to be immune to the regulations governing the lives of common mortals – they are either good friends or relatives of the former PM who is also the president of the ruling party. Therefore, Šturanović will still be reporting to him during the sessions in the party headquarters, knowing full well that his premiership depends on his predecessor and his assessment of Šturanović's loyalty. Should the DPS leader ever decide to favour his friends' interest over the interests of the State, Mr Šturanović will end up on a slippery slope. Whether he goes up or down will decide his credibility and his political fate – and the political fate of the ruling party. **N.R.**

N.R.

## Negotiations to begin on visa facilitation

The long-expected decision is finally beginning to come true. Negotiations on readmission and visa facilitation on the part of EU member states for the citizens of Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia will begin on 30 November in Brussels. Negotiations have been approved by the Council of Ministers EU on request by the European Commission. With Albania, EC will discuss only the issues of visa facilitation, as Tirana has already concluded an agreement on readmission with EU.

In the Council conclusions it is emphasised that "these agreements are crucially important for the strengthening of relations between the Western Balkan countries and EU".

"The goal is to conclude these negotiations as soon as possible, and at the latest by June 2007", said the European Commissioner for Justice, Freedom and Security, Mr **Franco Frattini**.

Both he and the European Commissioner for Enlargement, Mr **Olli Rehn**, emphasised that this was good news for ordinary citizens in the region, and a "tangible proof of all that the European perspective has to offer".

"The goal of these agreements is to create simplified travelling conditions to for specific categories of citizens from the Balkans – those who travel the most – but also to establish clear rules in the fight against illegal immigration", stated the European commissioners.

The list of facilitations includes issuing multiple-entry visas free of charge for with a long period of validity for students and scientists and multiple-entry visas for businessmen and journalists from the Western Balkans. Agreements on facilitation will simplify visa application procedures for the citizens of all countries in the region, including Montenegro. EU officials have also emphasised that the fee for a "Schengen" visa for the citizens of the Western Balkan countries will remain



the same – 35 euros. The Western Balkans have thus been excluded from the recent EU decision to increase the fees up to 65 euros for all "third countries" from January 2007 onwards, as the issuing of new, "biometric" visas is expected to be more complicated and therefore more expensive.

Visa facilitation will be implemented as a long-term goal, based upon the EU "Thessalonica agenda" from 2003, aiming to foster people to people contacts between the Western Balkan countries and the EU.

The Council of Ministers noted that the EU expects the authorities in the region to step up their efforts in implementing reforms in the area of rule of law, combating organised crime, corruption and illegal migration, and strengthening their administrative capacity in border control and security of documents.

In addition to this, although its entry into EU on 1 January 2007 will oblige Bulgaria to introduce visas for the citizens of Montenegro, Bulgarian government decided to simplify the procedure as much as possible, and to issue visas free of charge. Montenegrin citizens will be able to apply for a visa at the Bulgarian embassy in Podgorica in a shortened procedure, usually lasting no more than 24 hours. The agreement regarding these provisions has been signed by the representative of the Bulgarian Embassy Ms **Snežana Najdenova** and the Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister of the Republic of Montenegro Mr **Dragan Sekulović**.

N.R.





by Judy Batt, PhD

After more than a year of 'reflection' following the rejection of the EU's Constitutional Treaty in referendums in France and the Netherlands, the sense of malaise surrounding the EU has not dissipated. French Minister for European Affairs, **Catherine Colonna**, recently reiterated the view that 'the EU is afflicted by a sort of disease of apathy, a general fatigue that bodes ill for its capacity to respond to peoples' expectations.'

There can be no doubt that a sense of fatigue – frustration, impatience, bewilderment, and boredom – is abroad in Europe. It certainly played an important part in the revolt of French and Dutch voters in the referendums of 2005, and can readily be detected in recent electoral behaviour in many, if not most, EU member states. Many EU politicians seem to blame the 2004 enlargement for this, but I find this dishonest, and, from the point of view of the Western Balkans, unnecessarily discouraging.

In fact, enlargement hardly featured in the intense debate in France over the Constitution. The main focus of attention was the implications of the Treaty for the French 'social model'. Yet the problems of the 'social model' are mostly within the hands of France itself to resolve. Only 6 per cent of 'no' voters referred to the fear of enlargement to Turkey, and only 3 per cent mentioned enlargement in general, as a factor in their choice; while 31 per

## For those who are really working hard the EU doors will never be closed

cent cited worries about employment and 'delocalisation' of French enterprises, and other economic issues as the main reasons for voting 'no' – but these are challenges which France faced before enlargement, and it is far from clear that enlargement has exacerbated them. One gets the impression that French politicians are trying to shift responsibility for their own long-standing failure to address urgent social and economic problems.

To the extent that 'enlargement fatigue' exists, it affects some member-states more than others, and yet others not at all. A Eurobarometer Special survey published in July showed opponents of further enlargement in a majority in only 6 of the 25 member-states. All 10 new member-states remain in favour, as are the remaining older member-states, albeit with varying degrees of enthusiasm. EU public opinion appears to be open to persuasion on further enlargement, case by case. What people want to be convinced of is that future member states are democracies that respect human and minority rights, have achieved reconciliation with their neighbours, and are capable of implementing EU norms and standards. So the ball is in your court in the Western Balkans.

To the extent that 'enlargement fatigue' exists, it is not new, as Poles, Czechs and Hungarians will tell you from their experience in the early 1990s, when they faced unexpected reluctance on the part of some member-states to promise EU membership. But the Central Europeans did not give up – instead they proved that they were fit for membership by their own hard work and determination to do whatever it took to 'return to Europe'. In fact, they created a new reality that the EU

simply could not ignore. It responded by taking them in to the EU in 2004.

Today people in the Western Balkans often ask 'Why should we bother trying to meet all these demands from the EU, when in the end they won't let us in anyway?' This question is a waste of time. Reforms are required in your own interests, not just because of the EU. Even asking this question is unhelpful: it sends the message that you still don't really understand that, so it can feed EU 'enlargement fatigue'. A credible EU partner is one that gets on with reform anyway, and sets the pace for the EU – as the Central Europeans did in the 1990s. Don't leaving it up to the most vacillating member states to decide, but go ahead and provide hard evidence of your capacities that will help those of us who support further enlargement to win the argument within the EU.

And note that, for all the talk of 'fatigue', the EU has not called a halt to enlargement to the Western Balkans: Croatia is fully engaged in accession negotiations, Macedonia has been promoted to candidate status. SAA negotiations opened last year with Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia-Montenegro, but the fact that they have not got very far is mainly due to their own internal politics, not to the EU. Now the way is open for Montenegro: it is an independent country, and at last has a new government in place. The message is clear for those who want to hear it: the EU is still open for business with those who are genuinely ready to do what it takes to join.

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<sup>1</sup> European Commission, Attitudes towards EU enlargement, Special Eurobarometer no.255, July 2006 at: [http://ec.europa.eu/public-opinion/archives/ebs/ebs\\_255\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/public-opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_255_en.pdf)

## THE PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MONTENEGRO AND ITS ROLE IN THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATIONS

# The new Rules of Procedure and the road to EU require more professional and active MPs

The role of the Parliament of the Republic of Montenegro in the process of European integrations comes down to merely adopting Government proposals with "European" prefix, although the institutional mechanisms provide for a more active role of legislative powers in this process.

It is the duty of the Government of the Republic of Montenegro, first of all, to present quarterly reports on the implementation of activities and obligations of Montenegro in the context of the Stabilisation and Association Process. The Parliament should also receive, alongside every law proposal that regards harmonisation with EU legislation, a checklist containing its level or harmonisation with EU regulations.

However, Montenegrin MPs are not interested in discussions on governmental proposals that are "in line with European standards" – neither in the Committee for European Integrations, nor at the plenary sessions.



photo: VIJESTI

From a Parliament session

Whether because the government has been doing so well in terms of European integrations (which is difficult to believe) or because the MPs know very little and care even less about the integration process, we may conclude that in the last year and a half the number of cases when the Parliament reacted with suggestions

or critiques to the Government's quarterly reports, voiced an opinion as to the level of harmonisation with EU regulations or amended a law can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

The passivity of the Montenegrin legislative power is ever more worrying if we consider the fact that, after the SAA is concluded, Montenegrin Parliament is expected to form a joint committee with the European Parliament, and to adopt an enormous number of laws in the next four years of its term of office in order to harmonise domestic legislation with that of EU.

The inferior attitude of the Parliament of the Republic of Montenegro with respect to the proposals of the Government of the Republic of Montenegro could also explain why so many new laws, which carry in themselves elements

## WHEN THERE'S THE WILL...

Once the Stabilisation and Association Agreement is concluded, it will become easier for the MPs to control whether the statement of harmonisation with EU directives, forwarded to the Parliament by the relevant ministries in charge of the proposal, is indeed correct. All the directives will be translated and available. Until now we had to fight our way through various websites and EU web pages, translate them ourselves, and then check whether the government proposals are in line with EU directives. This is unnecessary waste of energy and time, it is not the essence of our work, and yet that was the only way. The key is to evaluate the pace of implementation for certain solutions – what does Montenegro gain if it harmonises a certain law today, as opposed to a year from now? – Milić said.





Miodrag Vuković



Srđan Milić

of European legislation, cannot be applied in the Montenegrin context. Parts of the opposition and civil society have been warning for a while now that the Government is simply copying paragraphs from EU laws, and establishing standards which are not realistically attainable in Montenegrin conditions, or are largely missing even from the legislation of most EU members.

Mr **Dragan Šoć**, MP on behalf of People's Party (NS), recently said that "Finns too would like to grow palms in their country, but they know that it is impossible" – therefore, the Montenegrin Government should insist on implementing those EU standards which correspond to the Montenegrin reality.

One positive aspect of the story of the Montenegrin Parliament in the process of European integrations is the event of last June, when, on the initiative of a group of NGOs, the Parliament adopted with a near-absolute consensus Declaration on Association to EU. Other high points would be good cooperation with the Parliaments of EU member states and those from other Western Balkan countries.

MPs of both the ruling and opposition parties admit that the previous parliamentary assembly dealt very little with the issues of EU integration, and promise a more

active engagement in the future. President of the parliamentary Committee for Foreign Relations and European Integrations, Mr **Miodrag Vuković**, says that the inferiority complex of the Parliament with respect to Government in the European integration process is "the Parliament's own fault".

"The new assembly will be working according to the new Rules of Procedure, which allows for substantially more intensive work and a more active role of the parliament regarding European integrations. So

far our work relied on the old Rules of Procedure from 1992, which did not exactly embody the solutions characteristic of modern democracies. Such a Rules of Procedure made our work extensive, irrational, but we managed, despite certain elements who attempted to use the parliament for their own political purposes, to construct a sound basis. I intend first of all the Declaration on EU Association, which earned support of 80% of MPs, and which demands that the Government submits a report to the Parliament at least once every three months, summarising its achievements in implementing activities and obligations of the association process. Through the Committee, we succeeded in establishing cooperation with the executive, which will certainly become more intensive with the new parliamentary assembly", Vuković stated.

According to Vuković, among other reasons for the relative passivity of the Parliament of the Republic of Montenegro in the European integration process are the lack of funds and inadequate administrative capacities.

## FROM STUDY VISITS TO COSAP

Vuković explains that cooperation between Montenegrin MPs and the European Parliament has been taking place on the basis of study visits.

"On several occasions we spoke to the representatives of various political groups in EP. A month ago we hosted an EP delegation which is designing a special cooperation programme with Montenegrin Parliament – we simply spoke about the needs of the Montenegrin Parliament", Vuković said.

A very important form of parliamentary cooperation on the road to EU takes place at the Conference of Committees for European integrations for countries participating in the association process, i.e. Western Balkan countries (COSAP). The Conference was established in Sarajevo in 2005.

In mid-December, Montenegrin delegation consisting of six parliament representatives will participate in the third COSAP meeting, where MPs from the countries of Western Balkans exchange their experiences regarding European integrations. The fourth COSAP meeting will be in Belgrade, and the fifth one will be taking place in Podgorica", Vuković announced.

He emphasised the very good regional parliamentary cooperation which has been developed on the initiative of the Montenegrin Parliament, especially in the framework of Cetinje Parliamentary Forum, where representatives of various Committees gather to discuss different topics – which is another Montenegrin contribution to the strengthening of this kind of regional cooperation.

## THE CROATIAN EXPERIENCE

The Parliament of the Republic of Croatia participates in Croatian preparations for EU membership through its Committee for European Integrations, the National Committee and the Joint Parliamentary Committee with European Parliament.

Committee for European Integrations discusses draft laws that strictly concern the process of harmonisations with EU regulations. The Committee does not analyse the content of the proposal – rather, it concentrates on the accompanying Statement of harmonisation and Comparative overview of each draft law in order to assess the extent of its harmonisation with EU laws, and it forwards the issuing conclusions to the Parliament.

The Committee may also consider other proposals which are not strictly linked to the harmonisation process, but could potentially affect the process of EU association. Occasionally, the Committee holds joint sessions with other working groups in the Croatian Parliament.

In mid-2005, the Croatian Parliament established National Committee based on Declaration of the Founding Principles of Negotiations for EU Membership, and on the statements by the Croatian Government and Parliament on concerted action in the negotiation process. The establishment of the National Committee is a result of consensus by all parliamentary parties on Croatian accession to EU as a strategic national goal, whose fulfilment requires joint efforts by both the executive and legislative powers, ensuring a transparent process of conducting accession negotiations.

The Committee consists of 19 members – president, vice-president and 13 members, with an even number of government and opposition representatives. Presidents of the Foreign Affairs Committee, European Integrations Committee and the Committee for Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation are all members of the National Committee regardless of their party affiliation.

Among other members of the Committee are representatives of the President of Croatia, academia, employer unions and trade unions. The National Committee monitors and evaluates the progress of negotiations, issues opinions and suggestions in the name of the Parliament on the proposed negotiation positions, discusses and evaluates issues which crop up in the course of negotiations, evaluates performance in negotiations of the members of the negotiations team...Through its President, the National Committee maintains regular consultations and exchange of information with the President and Prime Minister of Croatia, Speaker of the Parliament, and the head of the negotiations team.

In the second half of 2004, the European Parliament decided to form a Joint Committee with the Parliament of Croatia. The EP Delegation consists of 15 members and 15 deputies, whose background mirrors the composition of political groups in EP, whereas the Croatian delegation has 15 members and 13 deputies.

The Joint Committee exchanges information on topics of certain relevance for the relationship between Croatia and EU, as well as on those regarding stability and security in Europe.

With Croatia attaining the candidate status, Croatian MPs began to participate actively in other inter-parliamentary activities within EP and with other parliaments of EU member states. The most important forms of cooperation are The Conference of Speakers of the Parliaments of the EU, The Conference of Community and European Affairs Committees of Parliaments of the European Union (COSAC), and meetings of the Heads of Foreign Affairs Committees of EU Member States.

The Committee for European Integrations had, for example, only one expert associate.

"The new Rules of Procedure envisages different systematisation, and the Committee will now have

more associates: young, educated people. We will also try to use all advantages offered to us by the international institutions, in order to establish exchange of information with EP or EU member states' national parliaments", Vuković explained.

As for the third reason of the Parliament's inertia with respect to EU integrations, Vuković explains that the Parliament has been limited in its ability to influence the process, as the Parliament of the State Union was in fact the one to ratify all the international agreements.

Mr **Srdan Milić**, representative of the Socialist People's Party (SNP) also agrees that the Montenegrin Parliament did not dedicate enough attention to European Integrations, and admits that the old Book of Regulations prevented a more active engagement.

According to him, the new Book of Regulations provides a clearer definition of the role of the members of the Parliament, and limits the opportunities for endless, futile discussions.

"Once the Stabilisation and Association Agreement is signed, we will establish a direct cooperation with the European Parliament, but also contacts with parliamentary committees and parliaments in the region, exchanging delegations, for instance. This will certainly require a more serious approach to the process of European integrations. And, more importantly, it will improve the control function of the Parliament", considers Milić.

According to Vuković, the conditions for the Montenegrin Parliament to start doing what the Parliaments in other accession countries have already been doing for a while are improving.

"However, in the final count it will only depend on us, the MPs", Vuković concluded.

**Vladan ŽUGIĆ**



**RAINER FREUND, DIRECTOR OF THE EUROPEAN AGENCY FOR RECONSTRUCTION OFFICE (EAR) IN PODGORICA**

# So far Montenegro has received 127,4 million euros

The European Agency for Reconstruction opened its office in Podgorica in 2001, and has since seen a dramatic change in the political and economic environment in which it operates – a change also reflected in the nature and volume of EU assistance provided during this period – said in the interview for *EIC Bulletin* Mr **Rainer Freund**, director of the European Agency for Reconstruction office in Podgorica.

"Activities in 2001 and 2002 which included implementation of non-contracted activities from previous annual assistance programmes dating back to 1998 had a strong post crisis focus i.e. humanitarian relief and reconstruction of decayed infrastructure. The EU assistance programme has since evolved to continue the broader objectives of the Stability Pact and more specifically activities geared towards helping Serbia and Montenegro to achieve the state of readiness to commence negotiations on Stabilization and Association Agreement with the EU", emphasised Freund.

● **Has EAR fulfilled its mission according to you?**

The European Commission concluded in 2005 that the State Union and its Constituent Republics had achieved the state of preparedness and our counterparts in the administration and civil society have on several occasions highlighted the constructive role EU assistance managed by the EAR had played in reaching this important milestone. Independent external evaluations of Agency managed programmes in



Montenegro have confirmed both a good impact and efficiency of the EAR in administering EU funds.

We are proud of this positive assessment of our work, but recognize that it was only possible because of the strong will of our partners in the administration and the non governmental sector to succeed.

● **How much money has Montenegro received so far through EAR?**

The total EAR managed EU financial assistance for Montenegro has accumulated to 127.4 million euros and by mid November 2006, we have contracted 87% of these funds. Moreover, we have made payments in the amount of 71% of

the contracted percentage. These are good figures in relation to other jurisdictions in which the Agency operates but also in comparison with the absorption of EU programmes in the Western Balkans at large. Again, the figures document the high degree of ownership by Montenegro of the EU assistance without which the programme could not have been implemented so swiftly.

● **Have there been any shortcomings or omissions in your work? And if yes, in which areas?**

Obviously this is a question for others to answer.

As far as we are concerned we try to carefully plan assistance pro-

## WE SUPPORTED REFORMS THROUGH INVESTMENTS

### ● What are the most successful projects that have been implemented so far through EAR?

We have implemented over 150 distinct contracts in the past 6 years. The concept has in most cases been to marry reform with investment i.e. to make investment support contingent on reform – and to use EU funds as seed money to catalyze complementary funding from other donors, notably IFIs. Sectors in which this concept has been successful include for example Transport and Environment, Justice and Home Affairs, Local Self Government and Public Administration Reform.

In Environment, we have helped to harmonize national legislation pertaining to waste water and solid waste management with the EU Acquis, have subsequently assisted in the design of corresponding investment strategies and witness now significant financial commitments to those sectors by Government, IFIs and bilateral donors. The EAR assisted creation of an Environmental Protection Agency is on its way. It will pool and thereby streamline government services engaged in environmental management. This saves money, provides for more transparency and more effective service.

### ● Perhaps the most visible engagement has been in the area of transport?

Indeed. In addition to the more than 35 million euros of grant funds provided under the EU's OBNOVA and CARDS programs to improve the transport network i.e. third lanes to Cetinje, Budva, Petrovac, Union Bridge, road galleries in the south and north etc, the Agency managed technical assistance to the Ministry of Transport, Railway and Airport Company has helped attracted more than 100 million euros of IFI loans. As a result, the Montenegrin government have successfully completed the Sozina tunnel, Airports in Podgorica and Tivat, improved safety and efficiency of the road to Kolasin etc.

These investments have been preceded by a progressive alignment of Montenegro's transport legislation with the EU Acquis, Institutional Reform at the level of the Ministry of Transport (creation of the roads directorate as sole body responsible for state road network development and maintenance) and the Railways Company (separation of management of tracks from services) and a successful Turn Around Management Project with Airports of Montenegro.

### ● What were the projects in public administration?

In public administration reform, EAR has accompanied the process from the early days of drafting a reform strategy through to the drafting of now adopted civil service legislation. Currently we are helping the Human Resource Management Authority establish itself in its full capacity. We are also helping the HRMA develop a Personal Records System. Here the more than 100 governmental institutions will be on-line in a database system containing all relevant personal records of public servants providing for the first time a transparent account. This reform process will go on and is long term but results in hand are already promising.

In judiciary reform, we have assisted in improving the training programmes for judges and enhancing the training delivery of the judicial training centre which resulted in the introduction of a mandatory training for judges.

We are supporting the meeting of Council of Europe Standards in the prison system, both through capital investment in improving prison conditions but also through the establishment of a probation service to facilitate recourse to alternative sanctions and alternative measures with the aim of promoting effective re-integration of prisoners in society.

grammes. The process of planning closely coordinated with the local and programming projects is also beneficiaries and the European

Commission to ensure full ownership and compliance with strategic documents defining the relationship between Montenegro and the EU.

Delays have occurred and will continue to occur for a variety of reasons. These range from delays in adopting legislation that might be pre-condition for programme implementation, in timely availability of works sites due to expropriation issue to failures in the procurement cycle i.e. where projects have to be re-tendered.

### ● What will be the status of EAR after IPA begins to be implemented?

Formally, the EAR mandate expires in December 2006. A two year extension until end 2008 is, however, expected so as to allow for a near completion of the CARDS programme by the Agency and to ensure an orderly transfer of EAR activities to the EC liaison office /future EC Delegation.

In the meantime IPA will be managed solely by the EC.

The Agency will provide assistance to the EC and Government in IPA programming the 2007 and 2008 national action programmes and possibly also assist with initial procurement until the future Delegation is fully staffed and operational.

### ● How much assistance, in your opinion, can Montenegro expect from the IPA Programme?

The IPA Programme will take over from where the CARDS programme will leave off. The thematic breadth of IPA is wider than that of CARDS, not least because of Montenegro's independence and with it the assuming of responsibilities hitherto covered by the state union. Visa, asylum and migration and specific trade related competencies are some of those. The focus of IPA is to assist Montenegro to meet its obligations under the future SAA.

### ● According to you, what are the priority programmes for future funding?

The only recently published EC



Progress report on Montenegro provides for a comprehensive assessment of the country's state as regards political and economic development and its capacity to implement over time European Standards. The Multi Annual Indicative Programme for IPA for the period 2007–2009 currently under preparation will translate these into objectives for future assistance.

● **What do you think about the absorption capacity of Montenegro?**

Again the Progress Report and previous assessments have shown that Montenegro, as any transition country aspiring to become an EU member faces a stiff challenge in adapting structure and capacity of its public administration and judiciary to the requirements of the EU. Montenegro has shown commitment to respond to this challenge in a time characterized by persisting budgetary constraints. As the economy picks up and with it tax revenues complemented by privatization proceeds Montenegro should be in a position to continue to respond the increasing



demand its EU accession agenda will place on administrative capacity.

● **Do you believe that the Government of Montenegro is genuinely committed to implementation of European standards and establishment of free markets and the rule of law?**

The answers are all in the Progress Report.

● **What do you think of the civil society in Montenegro and the environment in which it operates?**

Montenegro has a very large number of registered NGOs and CSOs, more than 3000. The current law is quite liberal and accommodating in terms of definition and which may have contributed to the large number of entities registered under it. My understanding is that some precisions in the law are required.

Our experience with Montenegrin NGOs in terms of commitment to a course that serves vulnerable groups but also the public at large is overwhelmingly positive. This is good for the Montenegrin transition process as civil society has a critical role in monitoring the impact of transition, evaluate how the process is managed and alert Government and the Public on matters that require more attention. I believe that the sector plays this role very well. Obviously there is always room for improvement – for NGOs and CSOs to be effective they need besides a worthy course, enthusiasm and technical competence an increasingly professional management. EU projects in this domain endeavour to also build such capacities.

● **What are the advantages and disadvantages of Montenegro on its journey to the EU?**

A small boat is easier to steer and can turn faster than a big ship. Montenegro is a small and already very liberal economy. The reform of its system of governance is largely on track. Notwithstanding these advantages, the adoption of the EU legal framework and the creation of related administrative capacity is a formidable task which any country aspiring to become member must master – irrespective of size. To meet this requirement with the development of a slim, financially sustainable yet sufficiently skilled and sized public administration will be a particular challenge for Montenegro.

N. RUDOVIĆ

## IN THREE YEARS, 4.4 MILLION EUROS WENT TO THE CIVIL SOCIETY SECTOR

● **How much assistance has been provided to the civil society and what are the future plans, especially in the area of European integration?**

2003, 2005 and 2006 were the programme years that had dedicated provisions for civil society projects and projects that were open to NGO and CSO participation. The amount committed in those three years is approx. 4.4 million euros. I expect this amount to be fully contracted by end of year 2006.

These projects helped the civil society organise public campaigns relating to illegal and ecologically unfriendly constructions, TV debates on violation and protection of consumers' rights, as well as, the rights of the disabled, seminars and round tables were organized to promote awareness on the Law on Vocational Rehabilitation and Employment of the Disabled. In addition one of the projects concentrated on the education of youth through the formal school system on drug addiction and its negative effects on their lives.

Also, only recently we have launched a technical assistance project for the Trade Unions. They are of course a key part of the civil society in Montenegro. The project will help them improve communications with their partners, enhance their activities and promote the interests' of their members.

In addition, currently we are in a process of providing grants to local NGO projects related to goals set out in the Poverty Reduction Strategy and the government strategy on finding durable solutions for refugees and IDPs.

Assistance to civil society on EU integration has been provided so far under the EU Fund programme, managed by our EAR office in Belgrade but benefiting also Montenegro.

## HOW FAR IS THE MONTENEGRIN TRANSPORT POLICY FROM THE EUROPEAN UNION STANDARDS

# The Laws are there, all that is left is to implement them

As in many other areas where the bulk of harmonisation with EU regulations is yet to be done, in transport policy the reforms were initiated, the major laws are either adopted or in the process of preparation, but the implementation is still lagging. There are still several preconditions missing, among which is the necessary cadre structure, which is necessary to ensure effective functioning of the new directories and bureaus.

"The European Commission concluded that in the area of transport important reforms have been initiated – however, it is necessary to continue intensive work on the establishment of adequate institutional and legal framework. It is necessary to insist on the strengthening of administrative capacities. The Ministry of Transport has implemented some of the key reforms in the past four years – adoption of the Law on Roads and the Law on Road Transport, the Law on Railways... All of them are in line with EU directives, but we still have a lot to do with respect to monitoring the implementation of the existing legal framework", says for *EIC Bulletin* Ms **Amna Redžepagić**, advisor for European integrations in the Ministry of Transport.

With the coming into force of the Law on Road Transport, its implementation run into difficulties as soon as the period of transition expired, when the owners of minibuses were supposed to adapt their business to the new legal provisions.

"They are now expected to reorient their businesses by adopting new standards which are embedded in the legal framework, in order to regulate the road transport and avoid grey economy in this sector. As far as the air transport is concerned, the Law on Civil Aviation is in the process of preparation. Directorate for Civil



Aviation was operating on the level of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, and after the independence we had to establish a new Bureau for Civic Aviation of Montenegro", Redžepagić said.

The Bureau was created in June 2006 and is now in the process of becoming operational. A General Act on Systematisation and Organisation needs to be adopted, and there are also issues of training the staff, in terms of new knowledge on security standards, quality of service...

Directory of Transport was also established in accordance with EU standards, as the EU representatives requested unification of all functions of management, maintenance, reconstruction, modernisation, and road building under a single institution in order to rationalise operations and increase the efficiency.

So far, some of these activities have been the responsibility of the Directory for Road Building, Directory for Public Works, etc. They are now brought together under the Directory of Transport, which is responsible for the road and railway infrastructure, as well as transport in the road sector.

"Directory is in charge of implementing the infrastructural projects,

through the Unit for Project Implementation, which is also responsible for communication with foreign financial institutions. In the previous years we implemented a number of important projects, mostly through credit arrangements, through, EIB, EBRD, and KfW, and we also received significant donations through European Agency for Reconstruction (EAR)", Redžepagić explains.

With assistance of a consultant from EAR, the Ministry has prepared a Draft Strategy for Development of Transport, a document which contains projections for the next ten years, and should be adopted by the end of this year. In the new context of sustainable development, the goal is to secure financial means for the development of infrastructure, in order to eliminate bottlenecks in transportation and to achieve balance between maritime and railway transport with respect to the road transport.

Among the key problems is the insufficiently developed network of roads; in the railway sector the infrastructure is decaying and the vehicles are in a precarious condition – there is also the issue of airport equipment, the inefficient system of public transport, and the neglect of the capacities of the Bar harbour. Consequently, there is an adverse impact on tourism, industry, agriculture and trade, which are all closely connected to the transport sector.

The listed goals are the following: improving safety and security in all modalities of transport, integration into European Union through enlargement of the common transport infrastructure and improving competition of the national transport industry, raising the quality of the transport services, exploiting the potentials for economic growth through a more efficient and cheaper transport and min-





Amna Redžepagić

imising the negative impact of the development of transport and transportation industry on the environment and the society as a whole.

Another problem for the maintenance of transport infrastructure is its distinctly seasonal use. In the summer tourist season the frequency of traffic is up to 20 times higher than it is dur-

ing the rest of the year.

According to the recommendations and practice of developed countries, the parameters that define the resources allocated for the road maintenance are about 2% of the total value of the road infrastructure, or 8.000 euros per kilometre – which, in the case of Montenegro, should be between 15 to 40 million euros a year. In the last 15 years, Montenegro invested between 2.5 to 8 million euros a year for the roads. There are 120.000 vehicles registered in Montenegro, plus about 15.000 vehicles that visit or transit Montenegro. The greatest number of vehicles on Montenegrin roads is observed in the high tourist season, when the total number soars up to 250.000.

The air transport authorities of Montenegro are established through an international agreement between Serbia and Montenegro. A society with limited liability has been created to supply flight control services. In the

corporate flight control, Montenegro has 8% of shares, whereas Serbia has 92%. Flight control employs some 90 workers in Podgorica and Tivat.

Through Directory for Civil Aviation, which used to operate on the level of State Union, Montenegro adopted and is currently in the process of implementing two of the most important EU documents – a Multilateral agreement establishing equal rights of business opportunities of all economic subjects in the European skies and the so-called Horizontal Agreement which strives to level security and safety standards throughout Europe. The Law on Civil Aviation is already drafted.

The Bureau for Maritime Security is financed through fees on the use of navigable waterways, and through income derived from the technical inspection services which are in charge of issuing licences for the vessels. The Bureau is yet to establish a fully fledged Search and Rescue Service, as well as a Service for the Protection of the Sea from ship waste.

The Ministry announced that a set of regulations on maritime transport has been drafted, including a law on harbours, maritime navigation, prevention of pollution, safety and security of navigation, sea, etc.

The effort to improve the situation in the railroad transport began two years ago with the adoption of the Law on Railways, which provided the basic preconditions for the reconstruction and privatisation of the railway, and created the possibility of multiple operators.

"Considering that Montenegro is to sign the Stabilisation and Association Agreement with the EU soon, we must also bring our transportation framework in line with the Community standards. In this sector it is important to follow the trends in the Common EU Transportation Policy, their successes and failures, and prepare to join this framework", stipulates the Strategy for Development of Transport.

N.R.

## A 7000 KILOMETRES LONG TRANSPORTATION NETWORK

The total length of railroads in Montenegro is 250 km, with station runways 330 km altogether. The value of railway infrastructure is estimated at about 2.2 billion euros.

Montenegro has a dense network of roads of 7000 kilometres in length. The most important sections of it are the highways and regional roads: 1.847 kilometres measured together, while the rest are local and uncategorised roads. Of nearly 5100 local and uncategorised roads some 50% are paved roads.

Of the 1.847 major roads, 92% are paved. The density of major and regional roads is 13 km per 100 km<sup>2</sup>. More than 66% of the regional roads and highways are more than 25 years old.

The total value of the highways and regional roads is estimated at nearly 2 billion euros.

These major roads boast 312 bridges and 136 tunnels, consequence of a rather disadvantageous landscape in terms of transport.

Except for the landscape, the maintenance of the transport network is rendered more difficult by the fact that many of roads were never brought to the final stage of construction, not to mention the large number of hikes and slopes which are particularly problematic in the mountain serpentine during the winter.

In the network of highways and regional roads there are some 95 critical points, usually unstable slopes, sharp curves, unfinished tunnels, damaged bridges, erosions... The frequency of traffic on highways and regional roads fluctuates, according to 2002 data, from 100 vehicles a day on regional roads to 6000 vehicles on certain sections of the highways. Only 25% of the regional roads and highways have a frequency of traffic higher than 3000 vehicles per day.

# The new "Brussels" government and separating the truth from lies

by Brano Mandić

The Defence Minister is a man who spent all of his working life in construction. The Deputy Speaker of the Parliament is a person who was never a MP. The Minister of Culture is a party port-parole. Tourism and environment are lead into ministerial wedlock, the same as economy and spatial planning, in a country where corruption, according to the researches, is most pervasive in the construction business. To make everything less gloomy, European Commission has observed in its report that, in terms of corruption, "there is some readiness to make progress", which is a construction bitterly reminiscent of the proclamations issuing from the meetings of Democratic Socialist Party, period 1991–1996.

Last month a writer was attacked and his driver killed. Brother of the outgoing prime minister just bought a bank, while the incoming PM received opposition officials in the cabinet of the Deputy Speaker of the Parliament's Assistant for Foreign Affairs. Leader of the strongest opposition entity warned that the late king **Nikola Petrović I** (1841–1821) would certainly disapprove of **Agim Čeku's** visit to Podgorica. Only a few days later, the Prime Minister **Željko Šturanović** dubbed his team "the Brussels Government"... This is what you call a government which has half the ministers left over from the previous one, which, in turn, according to the President **Filip Vujanović**, has accomplished economic stability. What is economic stability? Is it a good thing? Does it perhaps raise the standards of living?

Vujanović said that "the Brussels Government" is taking off from excellent starting positions. His statement is being transmitted at the speed of Montenegrin accession to NATO by all the media followed by the Radio Television Montenegro, whose editor just cannot bring herself to say, in the middle of the prime news time, that the price of electricity is going up again. You ought to wait until the show gets well under way to hear about it in a trailing soundbite somewhere at the end, because the editorial board did not find it attractive enough for the headlines.

This is how you manage the reality, where the government has a brilliant starting position, while one of the high officials is running down its corridors aware of his armchair slipping away and howling the anthological cry of the outgoing minister:

How am I to do favours now?

The autumnal political plot a la Buñuel does not stop there. In a game of short pass-

es the opposition takes to Kosovo and Metohija while MP **Milo Đukanović** appears in the Parliament corridors with a bearing of a demigod. As he floats ten centimetres above the floor, timid journalists still keep their distance, approaching instead with a degree of familiarity the new Prime Minister. Nota bene, it is not the journalists who became more courageous, but the authorities who decided to replace the head of the state apparatus with somebody less intimidating.

DPS rules – everything else stands still and redundant, like the building of the Montenegrin National Theatre hosting a good jazz band. Culture is, evidently, the last one to arrive, provided it is at all a precondition for joining EU!

Because, for a whole month before my trip to Bulgaria, I've been suffering through warnings to be careful in the streets of ancient Sofia, to watch out for pickpockets, stray dogs, night queens, bullies, not to boast my English around lest my wallet gets silenced...

At any rate, from the New Year's on Bulgarians are the other side of the visa curtain, although the research shows that their corruption is vibrant, chauvinism aimed at Turks and Romanians epic, and the rate of crime proudly keeping up with competition in the prestigious neighbourhood. What is European Union then, a standard or a geostrategic bargain – is what I shall find out on this trip and report in this same column on my return, with a translation into Latin, for the eternity.

I have discussed the eternal topics recently with one pensioner with bright eyes and visionary attitude, both my Dictaphone and my ears alert hoping to hear something epochal. The theory, in short, is as follows: there are no Lies but only Truth and this speculative discovery is as important as the discovery of the wheel.

"You will be remembered by the History, young man, for you are the first one to under-

stand me", said Mr B., and I beg his pardon here for having lost his phone number as well as the sequence of premises and conclusions that lead him to the answer to Pilate's question.

Not realising how near he got to the current political discourse, the Utopia of this elderly gentlemen made him sense the drift of the semantic net of Eurocentricism which the new Government has spun around itself – the Brussels Government, which is a slightly Quisling title for a government indeed.

The old PM should, on the other hand, never be a Quisling. His heroic role will be in use proportionally to the speed of negotiations. Should there be misunderstandings with Brussels, we can expect the Prime Minister to step out of the shadows as a sort of mediator, at least in the eyes of the domestic public – a joker and an old ace, who threw away the ball but has an address book so cramped with connections that one pre-paid appearance on RTCG would inevitably sort out the problem. These are, obviously, pessimistic thoughts, and I expect to value my homeland more when I see at the border in Dimitrovgrad thousands of cigarette boxes of the Viceroy brand stacked into smugglers' bags and on their way to EU.

The Government is monolithic – its nickname contains only one goal, complex as it may be, but easily explained to the citizens in two letters only – EU. A brand jumped out of the Mendeleyev system, behind which the powerful decision makers will be trying to hide themselves. If, in the next four years, the public does not mature and if the privatisation contracts do not become accessible to all, the new state is going to eat itself out and fall apart like "Bulgarian assembly", which is an expression slightly inappropriate for an institution where currently millions of donation euros are being negotiated for the European year 2007, together with the extent of autonomy of the new EU member.

From 1 January onwards Montenegrins will need visas to visit Bulgaria, which is bad, regardless of the announcements of European Commission about visa facilitation and chances for Montenegrin students to finally go somewhere and find out whether they are really talented or just predisposed to become the youth of political parties.

The new Montenegrin Government is expected to be a collaborationist one, which may indeed be a good thing, if it manages to refute the theory of my pensioner and separate the Truth from lies.

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





MS SLAVICA MILAČIĆ, HEAD OF THE MONTENEGRIN MISSION TO EUROPEAN UNION

# We need a broad European coalition

Being actively present in Brussels is necessary, regardless whether you are a small or a big state, an EU member or not. Experiences of others clearly confirm this. Regardless of how important the role of certain actors in the chain may be, the results will only come about if we all demonstrate enough capacity and function accordingly. We and the government organs alike. I believe this is much more important than the actual amount of tasks and responsibilities allocated to different departments, estimates Ms **Slavica Milačić**, Head of the Montenegrin mission to European Union.

In the interview for *EIC Bulletin*, she explains that the key disadvantage of Montenegro is the lack of experience with politics of broad consensus, or the so-called "broad European coalition".

"Now that the statehood question is solved, there is no reason not to unite all of our potentials onto the common platform to further the Montenegrin journey towards Europe. I am glad to see all the political elites voicing such readiness. I believe our weaknesses in other aspects to be more or less the same as in the other countries who are in this phase of European integration", Milačić said.

Among the advantages of Montenegro on its road to EU, she notes first and foremost the fact that Montenegro is a small system.

"The experience and data show that smaller systems adapt to the changes in a broader market more swiftly and with fewer costs. Another relevant factor is the structure of our economy, which is predominantly focused on development of services. Older industries and bigger entrepre-

neurial systems are difficult and more expensive to modernize, and such processes are often followed by long-term social consequences and conflicts", Milačić explains.

She added that in the previous period Montenegro consolidated its macroeconomic stability and created an environment conducive to accelerated economic growth.

"I would like to emphasise the importance of the open system that we managed to build. This is a precondition to efficient regional cooperation, which is an integral element of European integration for every state", Milačić said.

Regarding the beginning of negotiations about visa facilitation with EC, Milačić believes that Montenegro should be able to conclude the agreement quickly, within a few months.

"We have already signed readmission agreements with 15 EU member states. The process of integrated border management is also under way. We are currently preparing to issue new identity documents which would be in line with the highest European standards. The parliament has already initiated the procedure for regulating the matters of visas, asylum and migration...Based on these facts, I would say that the negotiations on visa facilitation agreement should proceed smoothly and efficiently", emphasise the Head of Montenegrin mission in Brussels.

According to her, the government "understands correctly all the EU recommendations regarding further strengthening of the administrative capacity, the rule of law, and fight against corruption".



"The priority is already given to defining a comprehensive package of measures in all areas. The quality and dynamic of this process will depend not only on the capacity and willingness of the Government, but also on other public structures and social actors. I believe we have all the necessary preconditions for a dynamic, democratic development, and all of our political ambitions are realistic as long as we invest enough effort and capacities", Milačić stated.

She believes that Montenegro has all the necessary characteristics to make one of those countries that have accomplished their European integration most efficiently.

"Evidently, the quality of this process is more important than the final goal – membership in EU. It involves institution building, establishment of a system that guarantees rule of law, freedoms, economic and other security for every citizen, human and minority rights, a system that will provide the level of development and the standards of living that already exist within EU. In other words, one should obey the requirements set by standards, not deadlines", emphasised Milačić.

N. RUDOVIĆ

WHAT IS WRITTEN IN THE LATEST EUROPEAN COMMISSION REPORT ON THE PROGRESS OF MONTENEGRO ON ITS ROAD TO EU

# The legal system facilitates corruption and limits the state capacity to fight it



The European Commission building

In the eyes of EU, widespread corruption, inefficient and insufficiently independent judiciary remain the key roadblocks on the Montenegrin path towards the European Union.

In the annual report on the progress of reform implementation in Montenegro, European Commission states that "some progress" has been made in the fight against organised crime, money laundering, trafficking of drugs and human beings, whereas in the area of corruption only "the readiness to make progress has advanced".

EC notes that the Directorate for Anti-corruption initiative has "started to report to authorities on corruption cases".

"However, corruption continues to be a widespread problem. The overall legal and administrative framework for the management of public assets contains loopholes which allow corrupt activities to take place and limit the capacity of the state to fight corruption efficiently. The Parliament

failed to amend the Law on Conflict of Interest, which needs to be substantially reviewed and decisively implemented", Brussels recommends.

EC also states that the Directorate against Money Laundering has improved cooperation with the relevant authorities and the neighbouring countries, but that "coordination and exchange of information need to be substantially upgraded".

It is suggested that, following the adoption of the Action Plan to implement the Strategy against Corruption and Organised Crime, the relevant authorities should "tackle the weak implementation capacities".

According to EC, the overall strengthening of the legal system has been upgraded with the adoption of the law on the training of judges and the establishment of the Judicial Training Centre.

"However, in practice there are still problems with independence and efficiency of judiciary", says the report.

The Commission notes that the

consensus in the judiciary reform should be followed by concrete steps for its implementation, and accompanied by adequate resources. "There is a clear risk of political interference in the appointment of judges and prosecutors. The appointments should be de-politicised and based on professional and objective criteria" concludes EC.

Progress in establishing the legislative framework for public administration reform has

Continued, the new system of employment has been implemented, and a comprehensive training of civil servants is ongoing.

"However, the public administration continues to suffer from serious weaknesses. In the future, it should be ensured that it is entirely de-politicised and professionalized, in accordance with the new key priorities of the European partnership", says the report.

According to EC, Montenegro has made "moderate progress" in preparations for EU integration, but it still needs to accomplish "important achievements" in the implementation of the key priorities of the European Partnership.

The EC reports notes progress in the implementation of European standards in accordance with the European Partnership from January 2006, which is to be reviewed on the basis of the current Report.

Observing that the referendum and the elections have been conducted "in line with the international standards", EC states that the new Montenegrin Constitution should be



adopted in broad consensus.

"Both the Government and the Parliament have invested significant efforts in improving their efficiency. The Government established mechanisms of coordination in the key aspects of its activity. The parliament adopted new Rules of Procedure. There are signs of a new political consensus emerging in key areas, including the European integration. This process should be decisively pursued, and it should be reflected primarily in the workings of the parliament" says the report.

"There has been some progress in the general restructuring of the police. However, the police still has less than adequate resources and instruments at its disposal, especially in the fight against organised crime", the report states.

According to EC, Montenegro is a transit country for drug trade, and it also faces an internal problem of "rising drug addiction".

"The independence and professionalism of the media should be strengthened, and the Law on Free Access to Information should be systematically implemented. The independence of the Broadcasting Agency should be preserved", the report states.

EC notes that the cooperation of Montenegro with ICTY is currently satisfactory. However, as regards domestic trials of war crimes, the investigation concerning the "disappearance of Bosnian refugees in 1992", who were illegally handed over by the Montenegrin police to the forces of the Bosnian Serbs "causes concern".

EC recommends that special attention be given to the constitutional guarantees of human and minority rights, religious freedom, non-discrimination and to the general situation of Roma and refugees.

The Commission congratulated Montenegro on its adherence to regional cooperation, its active participation in regional initiatives in the areas of aviation, transport infrastructure and energy, its good relations

## PREPARE FOR COMPETITION WITH EU COMPANIES

Concerning economic reforms, European Commission emphasised that, in terms of opening up of the markets and market integration with EU, Montenegro is still at a very low level. Although it had made certain progress in establishing a functional market economy, further reforms are necessary to enable it to face EU competition.

EC notes that the macroeconomic stability has been strengthened, inflation remains low, the budget revenues have increased, and the foreign direct investments are sizeable.

It is also noted that the administrative capacities have been strengthened in a number of areas, especially in terms of coordination of the European integration process and in Stabilisation and Association negotiations.

However, it is added in the text, it is necessary to allocate "significant resources" in order to finalise the process of legal harmonisation and its implementation.

In the report, EC mostly uses expressions such as "some progress was made", and this concerns the areas of competition, public procurement, statistics, etc. which European Commission does not consider to be satisfactory. The same thing goes for the administrative capacities regarding environment, which should be "substantially strengthened".

EC is also concerned with the mushrooming duty-free shops on border crossings, which increase the risk of smuggling.

Just as the previous report, this one also concludes that the foreign trade imbalance has increased, the labour market is still rigid and unemployment high.

"Unemployment is still a great problem in Montenegro, but there have been no adequate solutions to harmonise the needs and skills. European regulations concerning gender equality and safety at work are yet to be implemented. Educational reforms are proceeding in accordance with the Bologna Declaration, but they require a lot more effort to develop skills which would be in accordance with economic requirements", states the report.

According to the report, the business environment is restricted by cumbersome regulations, and the level of infrastructural investments is low.

"Some public enterprises have soaring debts to the state. The structure of public assistance should be strengthened, and the "ex ante" control systems should be in place for the new assistance measures. Public enterprises are still to be reconstructed, and the privatization plan has been only partially fulfilled", says the report.

with the neighbouring countries and "smooth" resolution of the remaining issues with Serbia after the independence.

"Montenegro retained a construc-



From an EC meeting

tive approach to Kosovo, which is one of the key priorities in the European Partnership", says the report.

N.R.



photo VIJESTI

by Branislav Radulović

Since the appearance of the Alliance of Reform Forces in the beginning of the nineties, the Montenegrin political scene was dominated by two sole ideas: the idea of statehood independence, and the idea of European orientation of the Montenegrin society. The European Movement in Montenegro, that originated on the foundations of our anti-war movement, embracing respect for diversity and identification with a civic concept of community, aimed, among other, to promote a radical reform of our atrophied economic system.

Montenegrin society, itself based upon the European values, had an opportunity to emerge from the "Balkan swamp" and to integrate into the community of European nations through its own internal transformation. After nearly 16 years, the idea of European Montenegro is still waiting to be transformed into reality. Those who have set themselves such a goal in the early nineties can hardly feel triumphant today – all they managed to achieve was to gain broad political support and set the Montenegrin society onto the right path – but we are still missing our own star on the European map.

Today, despite the incontestable pro-European majority, I fear that

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

Montenegro still suffers from severe limitations in terms of European integration process, exemplified by the lack of institutional capacities, lack of consolidation in European terms among the political elites, inadequate social model and problematic privatisation. These will be the key challenges for Montenegrin political actors in the future, which will also determine its ability to participate in the European race. The success of this journey depends equally upon Montenegro and upon EU.

If Montenegrin Euro-partners protract the accession process for too long, or if they frame it in a way that is out of the reach of the current generation of political elites, European integrations may prove to be a well designed hope with no effect on the ground. And the effect will be necessary in order to secure firm support from the population, which must bear the brunt of the inevitable transition.

As any other country which underwent the process of association, Montenegro faces very precise conditions – tasks, which it must accomplish in order to attain membership in EU. The first goal is the stability of institutions that guarantee democracy, respect of human rights and basic freedoms and the rule of law. This Montenegro can do, despite the fact that the tradition of such values has been relatively short.

Of the second task – a functioning market economy capable to withstand competition of the European single market – one third has been accomplished. The market economy has been established on very liberal bases, and this third has been successfully implemented. However, competition is not defined solely in

economic terms, and this part of the task must be conducted through elimination of "internal monopolies". As regards our ability to comply with the rules of European market, the situation is dire. A few exceptions aside (Plantaže, certain tourist capacities), Montenegro has no brand to boast of, which could be classified as a European product.

Overall, Montenegro has no problems with "liberalisation", except for us, social-democratic citizens, who keep warning about the dangers of the neo-liberal policies and the uncontrolled transfer of collective property from the previous period into the hands of certain individuals, fearing that this will undermine the collective notion of justice, an essential ingredient in forging a society capable of bearing the burden of changes.

The bearers of the neo-liberalism insist of equating the European aims of Montenegro with their own model of transition. This is a problem which may compromise the so far indisputable commitment of Montenegrin citizens to European integrations – it may entail the rise of Euroscepticism, when each individual asks: What am I to gain from this process if the transition seems to bring benefits only to a small fraction of the population?

The unfortunate rise of Euroscepticism could degenerate into populism providing the radical clerofascists with a fertile ground for another round of "Blut und Boden". Membership in the EU would be a clear victory for the European-oriented society against the "Balkan logic", always prone to ideologies of populism and cheap nationalism.

The third task – implementation of *acquis communautaire* entails



intensive legislative activity which is not always accompanied by effective implementation of rules. This is obviously a problem, but even the mere establishment of new institutions will strengthen the capacities of state and its obligations to implement them.

However, on the domestic level there is another danger – that of monopolies and cartels (a collateral product of transition) gaining the upper hand, and channelling the capital towards the centres deprived of any genuine entrepreneurial capability. Therein lies another potential "break" for the European trail of Montenegro – monopolists are never willing to give up on their position, and European rules break monopolies. This is why the pro-European elites insist of accelerating the pace of integration, as the "temptation to abuse power increases as the power increases". We are now dealing with a "market" for power which will naturally tend to be transferred to the political level to protect the existing monopolies.

Montenegro should be a state where markets stimulate efficiency, but also a state that protects those levels of the society which are not subject to markets. An efficient society is desirable, but a society which is not humane and lacks the sense of social solidarity cannot hope for stability and harmonious development.

Monopolies originating on the economic level inevitably try to protect themselves by reaching out for the political arena. Such a monopoly has no ideology of its own, only a need to sustain itself and accumulate capital. The Greater-Serbia monopolists – Milošević's partners – did not lose their power after the 5 October, they have only sought out new protectors. Serbia is a good example which should be a warning to all



domestic actors – this gangrene is not to be automatically eradicated through changes in power.

The key reform elements of the Montenegrin society must, regardless of resistance, offer a social consensus on reforms, defining clearly the goals and the model, as well as the pot-holes of transition. Social sustainability – the ability of the vulnerable groups to survive transformations of the system thus becomes a priority. We ought to prove to this category of the population that reforms do not merely entail transferring the social capital from the community to a small group of individuals.

Under the market conditions, I believe that the state must employ precise policy instruments in order to protect the vulnerable groups – persons with disabilities, persons in poor health, socially endangered groups and the unemployed.

Without a clear solution to such problems, the promoters of social demagoguery could seize the moment to block the idea of reforms and arrest the process of European integration.

After all, the promoters of primitive nationalism have, for almost two decades, blocked the statehood independence for almost two decades, pushing Montenegro further and further away from the community of European nations.

Montenegro needs EU in order to complete the transition successfully, and to eliminate irregularities of privatisation and non-market rules of the game by introducing values and standards of already developed markets. Perhaps the winners of transition would then be at least as many we needed for independence – the magic 55%.

Back at the beginning of this story, when I was still a student, I believed in Montenegro and have seen, after 15 years, my political ideal of Montenegrin independence come true. Today, I believe just as ardently that a "European star" will soon shine above Montenegro. Except that I hope that this time I will not have to wait a decade and a half. It would perhaps not even be such a disaster for my generation that endured horrors of mistaken policies, hyperinflations, isolations, and degradation of the collective system of values, but it would be a terrible sin towards that generation which is now coming of age, among whom are Milica and Andela, my two daughters.

This is why I believe, this is what I am fighting for, and this is why I write – hoping that their story will be different and that they will have a chance to show that they can, that they know, that they are worth just as much as those children growing up under the blue flag of the European house.

*The author is a spokesperson of SDP and secretary general of the Lawyers' Association of Montenegro. He attended II generation of European Integration School.*

## EUROPEAN MOVEMENT IN MONTENEGRO CONDUCTED A SURVEY ON MONTENEGRIN PUBLIC AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATIONS

# Students know that in the EU people work harder

Only 22% of Montenegrin high school and university students are satisfied with their level of knowledge about European Union, which is confirmed by the fact that more than 85% of them are unable to list three EU institutions.

These are the results of the public opinion research for October 2006, conducted by the European Movement in Montenegro within the framework of the project "Montenegrin Public and European Integrations". The survey was conducted among 600 respondents from high schools and universities, with support of the Foundation Open Society Institute, Representative Office in Montenegro.

The results of the survey were presented at a round table held on 9 November 2006 in Podgorica. The main speakers at the event were **Momčilo Radulović**, Secretary General of the European Movement in Montenegro, **Sanja Elezović**, director of the FOSI ROM, the former deputy minister of European Integrations **Dragan Đurić** and journalist **Neđeljko Rudović**.

According to Radulović, such inadequate level of information about European Integration is partially a consequence of the fact that 64% of high school students has never learned anything about EU within the formal education programme, and 27% that has studied something considers it insufficient.

Among one third of the university students who have had a chance to hear about the EU throughout their education, only 4% are satisfied.

According to the research, more than 62% of the university students and 74% of high school students expect the membership in EU to bring improvement in living standards, which is somewhat of a mistaken picture about the advantages of joining EU.

"More than 73% of the students

and 70% high school students expect the member harder work, which shows an increase in the level of awareness of all the responsibilities that the future will carry for us", Radulović said.

The student population considers Italians to be the most sympathetic EU

marry an Albanian.

More than 65% of students said that they would like to continue living in Montenegro, although they would prefer it to be an EU member, whereas about a half of high school students would rather continue their life in one of the EU countries.

The analysis of the four daily newspapers in terms of content referring to European Integrations shows that the Montenegrin press predominantly reports on EU matters in the context of internal political issue, whereas there are relatively few articles dealing with current affairs in EU, international relation and other relevant issues which concern the process of Montenegrin integration into international structures.

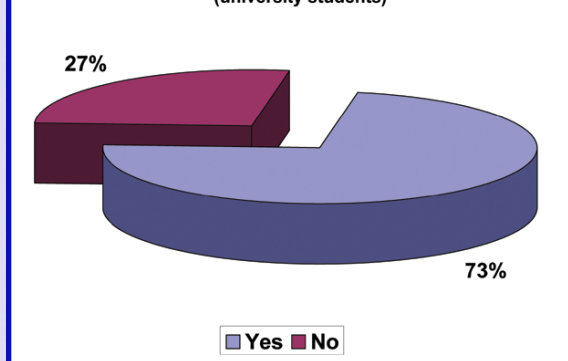
According to Radulović, in the period June–September 2006, "Vijesti" have reported the highest number of articles on European integrations, whereas "Dan" reported the least. Radulović reproached "Pobjeda" for dealing with European integrations "to the extent that it serves the current individual political interests".

Participants in the panel discussion agreed that the journalists know relatively little about the process of European

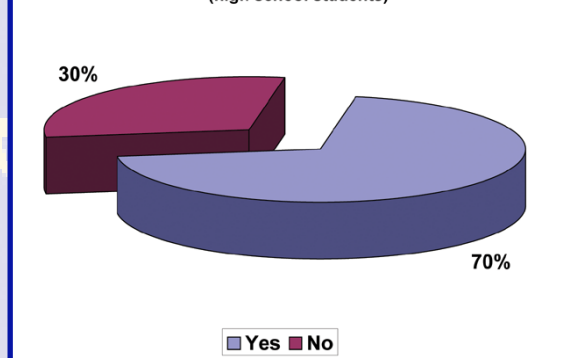
integrations, but that the Government should also be a lot more open to the media representatives and allow them to communicate with relevant representatives of the executive power, who are also very few in this area. It has been suggested that each government unit designates a competent representative who could inform the media about the current affairs and all the measures that are being taken in order to bring certain sector in line with the EU regulation, which is indeed the key precondition for the better information of the public.

N.R.

a) Do you expect the EU membership to mean harder work? (university students)



b) Do you expect the EU membership to mean harder work? (high school students)



nation, whereas the least favourite are Germans.

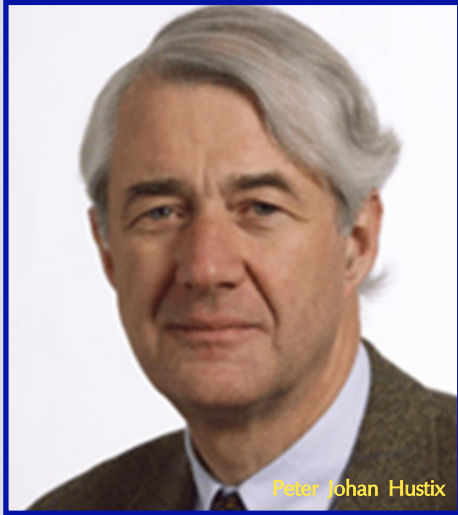
The survey showed that 70% of the students and 68% of their future colleagues would opt for marriage with an EU national, whereas a smaller fraction of both groups (54.4 percent students and 63 percent high school students) would choose a partner from the region of South East Europe.

The highest percentage of the respondents would marry a Serbian (27.5% of students and 36% of high school students), but nearly 40% high school students and 27% of university students said that they would never



## INTRODUCING THE EU INSTITUTIONS

# European Data Protection Supervisor (EDPS)



Peter Johan Hustinx

The protection of individuals with regard to the processing of personal data, inseparable from the right to privacy, has been guaranteed in the EU since the entry into force of Directive 95/46/EC in 1995.

The European Data Protection Supervisor has been established by the Regulation 45/2001, enacted by the European Parliament and the Council of EU. Supervisor is responsible for monitoring the processing of personal data by the Community institutions and bodies. Every institution has a Data Protection Officer who cooperates with the EDPS and notifies him in particular of certain sensitive data processing operations, such as those relating to health matters and evaluation of staff.

By a decision of the European Parliament and of the Council from 2003, Mr **Peter Johan Hustinx** has been appointed as the EDPS and Mr **Joaquin Bayo Delgado** as Assistant Supervisor for a period of five years further to a public call for candidates.

Both Supervisor and his Assistant are guided in their work by a series of rules set forth in the Regulation 45/2001. The key purpose of these rules is to create preconditions for independent functioning of the Supervisor and his team.

The European Parliament and the Council appoint by common accord the Supervisor and Deputy Supervisor for a term of five years, on the basis of a list drawn up by the Commission following a public call for candidates.

Article 42(2) of the Regulation stipulates that the candidate for the post of the

European Data-protection Supervisor must satisfy certain requirements: his independence must be beyond doubt.

According to the Regulation, both the Supervisor and the Deputy Supervisor may be dismissed or even deprived of their rights to a pension or other benefits if they no longer fulfil the conditions required for the performance their duties or are guilty of serious misconduct.

The principle of secrecy is one of the key principles of Supervisor's work. In order to handle the bulk of work consisting of monitoring and control of the handling of personal data throughout EU, the Supervisor is assisted by a Secretariat.

The Supervisor and the Deputy Supervisor are responsible for ensuring that the fundamental rights and freedoms of natural persons, and in particular their right to privacy, are respected by the Community institutions and bodies with respect to the processing of personal data.

An individual may lodge a complaint with the European Data-protection Supervisor if he or she considers that his or her rights have been infringed as a result of the processing of his or her personal data by a Community institution or body. Upon considering the complaint, the Supervisor may then refer the issue to the relevant judicial bodies in accordance with the rights granted to him under the provisions of the Treaty on the Establishment of European Community. The Supervisor is expected to clear the complaint within six months, after which the absence of a response is considered as a rejection of the complaint.

After he receives a complaint, the Supervisor may decide to conduct the enquiry. During the enquiry, he has the right to access all the relevant information and to request full cooperation from all officials in charge of data protection, which exist within every body or institution of EU.

The use and processing of data are daily activities within every EU body and institution. Therefore, the Supervisor has the right to conduct control at any point. The Supervisor submits annual reports of his work to the European Parliament, Council of EU and EC.

More information on the European Data Protection Supervisor can be found at: [www.edps.europa.eu](http://www.edps.europa.eu)

Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ

## NON – GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPEAN UNION

### EUROPEAN CIVIC FORUM

Hundred national, regional and local Association and NGOs from 21 EU countries have signed the resolution "For a civic and popular appropriation of Europe", and became members of the European Civic Forum.

One of the reasons for its establishment was the lack of trust of EU citizens in its institutions, which is evident in their reluctance to vote, lack of understanding and a refusal of EU institutions. Built at the end of World War II to establish lasting peace, Europe is now in dire need of new democratic changes.

Today, across the EU's 25 countries, millions of European citizens are working in hundreds of thousands of NGOs and associations, dedicated to culture, education, social issues, sport, solidarity and more. The main goal of these associations which were created though voluntary organisation of the citizens, is to offer a true education in citizenship and promote commitment. Even those NGOs whose goal is not to achieve common good can be invited to take part in a civil dialogue designed to contribute to reviving democracy in Europe.

Implementing programmes of civic education, these organizations strive to promote understanding of democratic processes and to empower the citizens to participate in them. If they feel that they have a chance to influence decisions of the public organs, the citizens will be more willing to understand, accept and implement these decisions.

Leaders of NGOs and associations engaged in their respective countries on matters relating to citizenship and civic education met in Strasbourg on 17 December 2005, and decided:

- to participate in running the European Civic Forum, a trans-national European network
- to foster encounters and exchange programmes between associations and NGOs in each of the countries involved during initiatives and events of civic nature
- to work on building a European civic dialogue, through exchange of opinions and proposals about the use of civic rights for all and the connection between citizens and Europe's institutions and administrative offices

The list of associations and NGOs who have signed the resolution, as well as further information and news related to the Forum can be found at [www.forumciviqueeuropeen.org](http://www.forumciviqueeuropeen.org).

Prepared by: Vučić ČETKOVIĆ

DR JUDY BATT, EXPERT OF THE EUISS AND MR GORAN SVILANOVIĆ, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE STABILITY PACT, SPOKE AT THE FORUM OF THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION SCHOOLS

## Western Balkan countries to show more motivation



The phenomenon of enlargement fatigue in certain EU member states and its impact on the Western Balkans were the focus of lecture "European Foreign and Security Policy" by dr **Judy Batt**, EUISS expert, held on 6 November at the Faculty of Political Sciences within Forum of European Integration Schools. The lecture was organised by the Centre for Civic Education, Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations and European Movement in Montenegro, with the support of FOSI ROM.

"There is a lot of ill-feeling about the enlargement, and that has to do with the failed Constitution for Europe, but also with many other issues within the EU. However, a public opinion research conducted at the beginning of this year does not demonstrate a convincingly negative attitude of all members towards further enlargements. Only a minority of the old EU-15 members opposes further enlargement", Dr Batt estimated.

According to her, the "enlargement fatigue" has been used as a mechanism for channeling discontent among the Europeans, which arose in response to the inability and incompetence of their own political elites to resolve the key problems plaguing the EU at this moment. She emphasised that there is no fatigue in the new EU members, and the public in the Central and East European countries has nothing against further enlargements.

"It seems to me that EU is keeping the promise that it gave at the Summit in Thessalonica, when it expressed its readiness to extend the membership to the Western Balkan countries... The reason that the accession process is a little slower is the unsuccessful, slow transition in the countries of the Western Balkans", assessed Dr Batt.

She believes that the key question now is whether the EU promise of the future membership can motivate decisive efforts to implement reforms in the Western Balkans.

"Another question is how long will the process of transformation last in Western Balkans and whether it will be faster than in the Central European countries in the 90's. It seems that the internal engines for reform in

the Balkans are not as powerful as those that moved the Central European countries. I see the main problem for transformation here in the attitudes of the people who are often inclined to ask: Why are we doing all this? Why the reforms? I believe this is a wrong question to ask", stressed Dr Batt.

On 21 November, the Forum hosted Mr **Goran Svilanović**, Chair of the Working Table I of the Stability Pact for South East Europe and the former Foreign Affairs Minister of FR Yugoslavia. He spoke on the topic "Regional policy as a precondition of Western Balkans accession to the EU".

Mr Svilanović estimated that the closer they get to EU, the more reluctant certain countries become to engage in regional cooperation.

"EU was founded upon the idea of unity, cooperation between neighbours and establishment of permanent peace and stability in their relations. That is why it is not unusual that EU insists on regional cooperation...". Commenting on some dilemmas that this persistent request for regional cooperation may be in fact substitute for EU to those EU could be distant future, Svilanović stated that he does not agree with this but would rather see it as method for these countries to learn how to function together. He stressed the importance of "big" capital in strengthening regional cooperation in order to expand the market.

According to him, for Montenegro, as a coastal country, Adriatic-Ionian initiative is significant since it offers certain means for projects in the field of environment, sea protection, fishery, etc.

"It is important to value the progress of each country in the region, but we should also pay attention to the issues of balance, in order to prevent the growing gap between the countries and general destabilization in the region, which could sprout tensions. The vacuum created through different paces of progress among different countries should be filled up by regional initiatives", Svilanović concluded.

Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ

CDNGO SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETED THE TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF EU FUNDED PROJECTS

## Graduated new trainers

Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations (CDNGO), in cooperation with the Ministry for European Integrations and European Movement in Montenegro, completed the implementation of the training programme for Trainers in Management of EU Funded Projects. Participants of the programme were trainers and consultants of CDNGO, Ministry employees and members of EMiM. They completed four training modules where they were acquainted with EU funds available for non-governmental organisations, public administration and local governments; they were also instructed in the various segments of implementation of EU funded projects, criteria for the project selection, financial management and training methodologies.

Foundation Open Society Institute, Representative Office in Montenegro, gave its support to the project by providing funds worth 10.776.46 euros.

Completed the training, the new trainers will have the opportunity to spread their knowledge to the employees of the public and local administration as well as NGO representatives, in order to ensure that the available EU funds are used in the best possible way. A new programme – Training for local administrators in the management of EU funded project – also supported by the Foundation Open Society Institute, Representative Office in Montenegro, is to begin soon. The training will include 42 employees of local administrations and 3 employees of the Union of Municipalities, providing information on the available EU funds and skills for the management of EU funded projects. The trainings will be conducted by those trainers who received a certificate on the completion of the course.

## CEDEM seminar

On 17 and 18 November, 2006, in Bečići, Centre for Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM) organised a seminar for Montenegrin judges, prosecutors, lawyers, and representatives of the civil society on the topic "Advocating human rights in Montenegrin legal institutions".

The project is implemented with support of Konrad Adenauer Foundation and Foundation Open Society Institute, Representative Office in Montenegro.



## FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

## CEU SUN 2007

## Program information

All necessary information about courses, specific requirements, funding packages, eligibility, etc. can be found on our continuously updated web site ([www.sun.ceu.hu](http://www.sun.ceu.hu)). The application deadline is **February 14, 2007**.

## EUROPEAN JOURNALISM FELLOWSHIPS

## Application 2007/2008

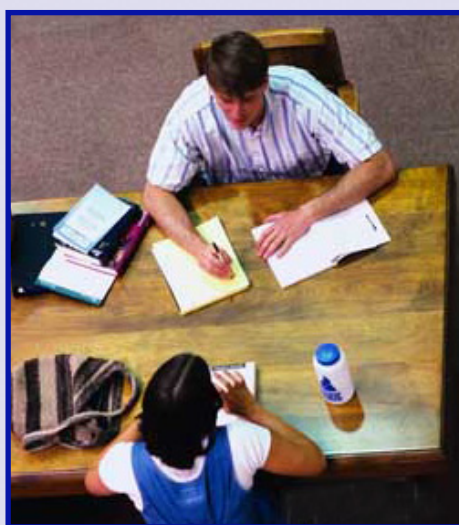
Journalists interested in the programme should apply directly to the European Journalism Fellowship Programme in Berlin.

To apply for fellowships, candidates must submit the following typewritten documents in either German or English:

- a completed application form
  - a curriculum vitae
  - copies of academic diplomas, certificates etc.
  - 2 letters of recommendation (in English or German)
  - a selection of articles, books, or other samples of applicant's work
  - proof of German language skills (by DAAD or Goethe-Institute)
  - a proposal summarizing the applicant's individual research project (3 to 5 pages)
  - review of research proposal by expert scientist or professor – Abgeordnetenhaus of Berlin Scholarship only
- [www.ejf.fu-berlin.de](http://www.ejf.fu-berlin.de)

## Contact:

European Journalism-Fellowships  
Journalisten-Kolleg  
der Freien Universität Berlin



Otto-von-Simson-Str. 3  
D – 14195 Berlin  
phone: +49 – 30 – 8385-3315  
fax: +49 – 30 – 8385-3305

Email: [info@ejf.fu-berlin.de](mailto:info@ejf.fu-berlin.de)

**Deadline for the application process is December 15th 2006.**

## TOL JOURNALISM COURSES

The deadline for applications to join this January's TOL Journalism Courses is fast approaching. We have a few places left on both courses, so if you're looking to improve your skills, or break into journalism, have a look at <http://journalism-courses.tol.org> for more information.

## (1) Business &amp; Economics Journalism Course, January 7-12, 2007.

Learn the essential skills of financial reporting on this intensive five-day course. You'll be trained by a senior editor from Dow Jones Newswires, one of the world's leading financial news organisations. <http://business-journalism.tol.org>

## (2) Foreign Correspondent Training Course, January 6-15, 2007.

Get the best possible introduction to international reporting with this popular 10-day course. You'll get advice, tips and training from a team of correspondents who have written and broadcasted for the BBC, The Economist, The Boston Globe, Radio Free Europe, The Sunday Telegraph, Newsweek and other respected media. <http://journalism-courses.tol.org>

## Why attend a TOL journalism course?

- You'll get practical training from working journalists.
- Our trainers all write for international-

ly-respected media.

- You'll be part of an international group. Meeting fellow students, making new contacts and friends is regularly cited by participants as one of the greatest benefits of our courses.
- You'll be studying in Prague, one of Europe's most beautiful cities.

**The deadline for applications for both courses is December 1, 2006.**

See <http://journalism-courses.tol.org> for more information or contact [bowersg@tol.org](mailto:bowersg@tol.org) if you have any questions.

## THE HISTORY OF POLAND IS THE HISTORY OF EUROPE

(6-10 DEC, Lodz)

The Foundation for Education and Development of Civil Society FERSO and the Institute of History at the University of Lodz organise a historic seminar in Lodz, Poland (6th – 10th December 2006). The programme of the conference covers contemporary history of Poland captured within its European perspective. The main topics are: Poland and the European Union, Solidarity Movement, Litzmanstadt ghetto and Warsaw Rising.

The seminar is a meeting of those interested in the history of our continent for those who would like to know more both about Europe and about Poland. We want you both to gain some knowledge and touch Poland, therefore besides strictly academic lectures we've planned for you a lot of additional activities with field trips and more informal integrative events. So, if you:

- are a student of any of Europeans universities
- are interested in history and its impact on contemporary world
- want to visit and experience Poland
- are willing to meet people from different countries

- are open-minded, creative and active  
You are the person we are looking for! The organisers cover all the conference fees, accommodation and food expenses (full board). The participants are expected to pay only for the journey from their country to Poland. For further details concerning the conference please contact Aleksandra Bukowczyk ([olab\\_ferso@yahoo.pl](mailto:olab_ferso@yahoo.pl); +48 600 284 388) or Monika Dabrowska ([ziri@gazeta.pl](mailto:ziri@gazeta.pl); +48 660 712 777)

## ENSEMBLE EN EUROPE

(Deadline: 1 dec)

Association des Etudiants Francophones-AEF, lance le projet "Ensemble en Europe", qui vise l'intégration des enfants provenant des milieux sociaux défavorisés dans la société.

Comment pourrais-tu participer à ce projet? Il fallait justement allouer 3 par semaine à la préparation de ces enfants pour l'examen National de Capacité et, pourquoi pas, les aider à apprendre des langues étrangères. Ces 3 heures par semaines pourraient signifier pour eux la change de pouvoir choisir un meilleur avenir.

Participez, vous aussi, à ce projet! Envoyez-nous vos CV accompagnés d'une lettre de motivation au courriel: [contact@aetf.ro](mailto:contact@aetf.ro) jusqu'au 1Decembre.

Pour plus d'information sur AEF visitez les sites **web: [www.aetf.ro](http://www.aetf.ro)** et **<http://blog-aef.over-blog.com>**



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## FELLOWSHIP: ROMA ACCESS PROGRAM 2007

Dear Colleagues,

The Roma Access Program is a 9 month preparatory course for international post-graduate studies for promising young Roma. Full scholarships will be awarded, covering travel, tuition, housing and living stipend. The applications of young Roma from Central and Eastern Europe who have:

- A university/college degree in any field (preferably in the Social Sciences or Humanities)
- Strong interest in post-graduate university education
- At least pre-intermediate English language skills
- Desire to study in a multicultural environment are welcome!

Please, find the announcement and the application form on our web site: **<http://www.ceu.hu/sep/spo>**

If you have any questions regarding this program please contact: [romaac@ceu.hu](mailto:romaac@ceu.hu)  
Tel: (+36-1) 327-3000/2585, Fax: (+36-1) 327 3190

## EUROPA PROGRAM, NEW EUROPE COLLEGE, BUCHAREST

### CALL FOR APPLICATIONS 2007-2008 EUROPA FELLOWSHIPS PROGRAM

The New Europe College – Institute for Advanced Study in Bucharest, Romania – , announces the EUROPA FELLOWSHIPS PROGRAM, supported by the VolkswagenStiftung (Hanover, Germany). The program targets researchers and academics from South-Eastern Europe (including Romania), as well as young Western scholars working on South-Eastern Europe. Applicants must be doctoral students, or hold a Ph.D. title. Duration of the Fellowship: a) a full academic year (10 months, October through July) or b) a one-term fellowship (October through February, or March through July).

**Location:** the New Europe College in Bucharest, Romania.

The Fellowship consists of a monthly stipend of 600 Euro (tax free), accommo-

dation, international transportation to and from the home country of the Fellows at the beginning and the end of the Fellowship, as well as for season holidays. The Fellows who stay for the whole academic year are offered a one-month research trip abroad to an institution of their choice (2,560 Euro for transportation, accommodation, and per diem).

The Fellows will be invited to work as members of a team in the framework of a general research topic entitled Traditions of the New Europe. A Pre-history of the European Integration in South-Eastern Europe. (Please see the appended document for the description of the general research topic!)

This year's theme-within the general research topic-is focusing on the issue of Inhabiting. (Please see the appended document for the description of the theme!)

Each Fellow will contribute with his/her own research, and will take part in scientific events organized by the New Europe College. At the end of their Fellowship, each Fellow is expected to hand in the research paper comprising the results of his/her work over the duration of the Fellowship. The papers will be included in a NEC publication.

**Working languages:** English, French, and German. A good command of English is desirable.

The deadline for submitting the completed application by regular mail is December 15, 2006. The applications will be evaluated by the Scientific Board of the NEC. Subsequently, the applicants will be notified both by e-mail and regular mail on the results of the evaluation process.

The application form and additional information regarding the Program and the New Europe College can be downloaded from: **[www.nec.ro](http://www.nec.ro)**

### Contact person:

Irina Vainovski-Mihai, Program Coordinator  
Tel. (+40-21) 307 9910, Fax: (+40-21) 327 0774, E-mail: [imihai@nec.ro](mailto:imihai@nec.ro)  
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