



## ANALYSES

Is the conflict of the Montenegrin government with European parliament detrimental to Montenegrin position in Brussels

FOCUS OF  
THIS ISSUE  
Government of  
Montenegro is  
preparing for the  
Instrument for  
Pre-Accession  
Assistance

INTERVIEW  
Dr Višnja  
Samardžija from  
the Institute  
of International  
Relations in Zagreb





## TESTING THE GOVERNMENT

Early January brought excellent news: 104 young people, more than a half of them with a doctorate or a master degree signed themselves into the database of national experts who are willing to offer assistance to the government's agencies to prepare for the gradual association of Montenegro to EU. Many of them completed their undergraduate and graduate studies at universities in Europe, specialising in European integrations, economics, agriculture, transport, environmental protection, security... Two of them were already contacted by the Ministry of Tourism and Environment and Ministry of Justice to prepare a comparative analysis of legislative harmonisation with *Acquis communautaire*. It seems, therefore, that the CDP (Capacity Development Programme), a joint project by the government, UNDP office in Podgorica and Open Society Foundation is on the right track. It will certainly help the government, but it will also test its readiness to accept new, European practice and benefit from the knowledge of those who are not branded as the loyal followers of the ruling party. The latter is, among other, the key reason that the state administration lacks adequate cadres, and the motive behind European Commission's stubborn insistence on "depoliticisation" of public administration.

More good news appeared in December and should come into force this month: based on the Law on salaries of civil servants, ministers received a permission to issue rewards and bonuses to those who have the most knowledge and show most effort. This approach should prevent outflow of the best cadres from public administration, mostly young people who speak foreign languages, and without whom Montenegro will have a hard time keeping up the pace of accession to the club of EU members. Another test for the authorities: if they continue to reward the loyal and the ineffective, it will be obvious that the government is incapable of learning. And that it values the party more than the state.

N.R.

## CONSTITUTIVE SESSION OF THE INTERIM COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT ON FREE TRADE

# Brussels to offer training programmes



Exchanges between Podgorica and Brussels are becoming ever more tangible – on 22 January in Brussels the first meeting took place of the temporary committee for the implementation of the Interim Agreement on trade and related issues between European Community (EC) and Montenegro.

The Committee adopted a book of regulations and proceedings governing the work of sub-committees in EC and Montenegro. Among them are sub-committees for trade, industry, customs, taxation and cooperation with other candidate countries, agriculture and fisheries, internal market and competition, economic and financial issues and sub-committee for transport.

Director of the Enlargement Directorate in the European Commission **Pierre Mirel** and deputy Prime Minister of the Montenegrin Government **Gordana Đurović** presided over the first session, which was attended by the all the committee members – representatives of EC DGs and Council of EU, as well as representatives of the relevant Montenegrin ministries and agencies of the Montenegrin government.

According to the Government's communication, Mirel said that Montenegro made important achievements in affirming its European perspective, that he expects the ratification of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) to go smoothly in all EU member states, and that he hopes Montenegro will be able to implement the agreement effectively in order to intensify its progress towards EU.

Đurović emphasised the importance of adopting the parliamentary Resolution on the fulfilment of Montenegrin commitments within SAA "which is a positive sign of a clear, continuous political support for the process of European integrations in Montenegro".

Montenegrin delegation reported on the key activities in the area of legal harmonisation with EU regulations and on the strategy for the strengthening of institutional capacities of the bodies directly involved in the implementation of Interim Agreement.

Members of the EC delegation were informed about the progress in policy making and implementation of commitments stipulated by the Interim Agreement in the areas of trade, customs policy, agriculture and fishing, transit, competition policy and the protection of intellectual property, public procurement and state aid.

Montenegrin representatives also presented insights into the state of negotiations regarding Montenegrin accession to World Trade Organisations, hoping these will be completed by the end of 2008. Another issue on the agenda was the course of implementation of CEFTA agreement. Representatives of EC delegation "had a positive view of the achievements in implementing the Interim Agreement and offered to contribute to its quality through their expert assistance and additional training programmes in the areas of transit and agriculture".

N.R.



## GOVERNMENT OF MONTENEGRO IS PREPARING FOR THE INSTRUMENT FOR PRE-ACCESSION ASSISTANCE



by Vladan Žugić

In a few months Montenegro will receive its first millions from European Union through the new support programme: Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) which is a single, unified extension of the existing programmes (CARDS, PHARE, ISPA AND SAPARD) available to the countries striving to become EU members.

This is the beginning of a special trajectory which multiplies the funding at the pace at which the country proceeds towards Brussels. On the other hand, Montenegro now has the chance to show whether it has the skill and knowledge to design and implement quality products. Namely, the European Commission approves only those projects where it estimates that the applicants are capable of conducting them accordingly.

Experiences of the Central and East European countries, now EU members, are far from encouraging. Those countries were only able to absorb up to 50% of the available funds. For the 2007–2013 period the EC allocated some 131.3 million for Montenegro, which makes it the first country in the Balkans in per capita European assistance.

Montenegro, together with other potential candidate countries (Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Albania) can lay claims to funds within two IPA programme components: transition assistance and institution building, as well as regional and cross-border cooperation, while the countries with candidate status (Croatia, Macedonia) can also use the remaining three components – regional development, human resource develop-

# Transport infrastructure first in the line for money

ment and rural development. The fifth component entails the highest funding opportunities the most resources. If the Government's plans come true, Montenegro could compete for the projects in the remaining three components by 2009.

Transition assistance and institutional development component is aimed at ministries and their branches, while the beneficiaries of the second component will be non-profit organisations: local governments, non-governmental sector, associations etc.

The first component carries sizeable amounts of funds, way ahead of the regional and cross-border cooperation. In 2007 Montenegro received 27.5 million through IPA for transition assistance and

institutional development, while the projects in the second component account for some 3.9 million.

The greatest worry for both the Government and the non-governmental organisations is the ability of the local governments and other non-profit organisations to absorb funds in the second IPA component. Most of them lack adequate human resources, especially those located in the border areas such as Bijelo Polje, and they also appear indifferent and disheartened, assuming in advance that their projects will not be accepted.

Projects within the first IPA components are divided into political, socio-economic and European integrations-related projects.

## PROJECTED IPA FINANCING FOR MONTENEGRO 2007–2010 (MIL. €)

COMPONENT	2007	2008	2009	2010	TOTAL
Transition assistance and institution building	27.5	28.1	28.6	29.2	113.4
Regional and cross-border cooperation	3.9	4.5	4.7	4.8	17.9
TOTAL	31.4	32.6	33.3	34.0	131.3

## GETTING READY FOR DIS

Secretariat for European Integrations and the Government are preparing for the adoption of Decentralised Implementation System (DIS) for IPA funds.

This means that in the future Montenegro will be working entirely on its own to implement the comprehensive cycle spanning identification, programming, implementation and monitoring and evaluation of the projects financed from EU funds.

For the time being, most responsibilities lie with the centralised management system under the aegis of the European Commission, responsible for procurement, contracting and financing of project activities.

The purpose of DIS is to prepare the countries that aspire to become EU members to gradually acquire competences from the management of European funds after joining the EU.

IPA 2007 – PROJECT PROPOSAL (MIL €)		
<i>I. Transition assistance and institution building</i>		<b>26.10</b>
AREA	PROJECT TITLE	
<b>1. Political requirements</b>		
Civil society / Media	"Support for Development of Civil Society in Montenegro"	1.00
Fight against corruption / Police reform	"Fight against organised crime and corruption"	3.00
Judiciary / Prison conditions	"Judicial reform"	2.00
<b>TOTAL POLITICAL REQUIREMENTS</b>		<b>6.00</b>
<b>2. Socio-economic requirements</b>		
Development of human resources / Employment / Education / Social policy and services	"Support for development of national qualifications framework in Montenegro (NQF)"	1.50
Education and higher education	Tempus	0.80
	Erasmus Mundus	0.70
Private sector / SMEs / State ownership	"Support for implementation of the development strategy for small and medium enterprises, 2007–2010"	–
Transport (infrastructure & acquis)	"Strengthening infrastructure and management in transportation sector"	6.20
Energy (acquis)	"Harmonisation with energy markets"	1.50
Nuclear safety		0.20
<b>TOTAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC STANDARDS</b>		<b>10.90</b>
<b>3. European standards</b>		
Preparation for DIS / EU integrations	"Support for EU integrations structures: legal harmonisation"	1.10
Agriculture / Phytosanitary policy / Veterinary	"Strengthening veterinary administration"	1.30
Statistics	"Strengthening institutional capacities of the Montenegrin statistics office – MONSTAT"	1.00
Customs		1.92
Public finance / Taxation / Public Procurement	"Strengthening administrative capacities for greater efficiency and effectiveness of Tax Administration in line with EU standards"	0.80
Single Market – Public procurement	"Further development of the public procurement system in Montenegro"	1.25
Single market – quality infrastructure	"Further development of quality infrastructure in Montenegro (standardisation and metrology)"	2.00
<b>TOTAL EUROPEAN STANDARDS</b>		<b>9.37</b>
<i>II. Cross-border cooperation</i>		<b>3.90</b>
New Adriatic cross-border programme		0.73
Other cross-border cooperation programmes		3.17
Basic resources for technical assistance		0.63
RESERVE		0.60
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>31.40</b>

While planning the projects, applicants must take into consideration evaluations and commitments of Montenegro

from the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA), Progress Reports and European Partnership. The basis for IPA

2009 will be the National Plan for Integrations (NPI).

Ministries and their agencies submit

their projects to the Secretariat for European Integrations, which then forwards them to the European Agency for Reconstruction (to be taken over from next year on by the European Commission Delegation in Podgorica). What remains at the end of this process are the best and most urgent projects.

These are then sent to the European Commission in Brussels for approval. Once the funding is approved, the country signs a Financial Agreement with EC, and receives the money within four to six months.

European Commission approved IPA 2007 financial package for Montenegro in November last year. The Montenegrin government should soon meet to discuss the financial agreement and initiate implementation of the projects.

The biggest amount of money from IPA 2007 will arrive for the project "Strengthening the infrastructure and management of the transportation sector". This includes a mini-bypass circling Podgorica (4 million), strengthening administrative capacities in the Ministry of Transport, Directorate for civil air-traffic, harbour and marine directorates (2.2 million).

IPA 2007 also contains a clause binding the potential candidate country to finance parts of the project.

The government defined proposals for IPA-related projects in 2008, and is currently waiting for the green light from EC. According to the project proposal, the largest share of the funds should go to strengthen administrative capacities in local self-governments and upgrade the Agency for the Protection of Environment and the construction of small infrastructural objects related to environmental protection.

Within the second component – cross-border and regional cooperation – whose goal is to erase the borders in the long run, Montenegro participates in 7 projects, 5 with the neighbours and 2 transnational ones.

The former are joint projects with Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia, Albania, as well as the Adriatic project of cross-border cooperation with Italy. Until 2009 these projects will receive 600 000 euros, except for the joint project with Croatia (100 000 less).

The two regional projects are South East European Cooperation project (SEEC) and the Mediterranean project involving Croatia, Montenegro, and several EU

## ESTABLISH COOPERATION WITH ORGANISATIONS ABROAD

Commenting on the fears that municipalities and non-profit organisations will not be able to use the money from the second IPA components, secretary of the Secretariat for European Integrations **Ana Vukadinović** says that the main goal of the regional and cross border cooperation is not to ensure rational allocation of resources but to establish cooperation with the countries of the region.

"The primary goal is to motivate all subjects – municipalities, non-governmental organisations, universities and other non-profit organisations

to create projects that would benefit the community in that region. It is of utmost importance to have these organisations cooperate with similar organisations abroad, to work together on projects that would advance economic issues, tourist potential and stimulate the overall economic growth. Implementation of these projects will span not half, but two to four years. Our intention is to use these projects to forge lasting partnerships. The final goal of these projects and funds for regional development is to suspend ethnic borders in Europe and its surroundings", says Vukadinović.

Asked whether Montenegro has sufficient capacities to use these European funds, considering that East and Central European countries barely managed to secure some 50% on average, Vukadinović answers that Montenegro, according to EAR which was responsible for the CARDS projects so far, has the leading position in the region with regard to the extend of utilisation of such funds.

"There is readiness and ability in Montenegro to implement the projects well, and we hope to achieve the best results in the future projects", Vukadinović said.



Ana Vukadinović

members.

Projects in the second IPA component is still waiting for EC approval and the signing of the Financial Agreement with the Montenegrin government.

The next step is to establish joint cross-border structures. Among others, Kotor will host a joint technical secretariat whose purpose is to offer assistance to potential applicants for projects of interest to both Montenegro and Croatia.

Potential applicants must have a partner in the neighbouring countries (in this case Croatia) in order to receive funding for the project.

Some 15% of IPA 2007 funds will be allocated to the establishment of techni-

cal secretariats, and the rest for projects.

Projects will be selected by a Joint monitoring committee, consisting of seven members from each country.

Kotor's Secretariat is hoping to announce its first Application package in the beginning of the summer, stipulating the conditions for applications. Secretariat for European Integrations, in cooperation with the European Movement in Montenegro and Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations organises special trainings for employees of local self-governments to enable them to transfer their knowledge to the local level in order to motivate more participants for the future.



DR VIŠNJA SAMARDŽIJA FROM THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN ZAGREB

# Educating experts is the top priority

EU accession process is more important than the membership itself. This is the period of deep, demanding reforms that should be implemented as well as possible. Becoming a member without being truly ready for it is neither in the interest of the candidate country nor in the interest of EU, says **Dr Višnja Samardžija** from the Institute for International Relations in Zagreb.

In the interview for *European pulse* Samardžija explained that the key task for Montenegro is to conduct a successful, quality reform process and fulfil the membership criteria, instead of trying to shorten the deadlines in the accession process.

● **In which areas did Croatia have most difficulties to adapt to EU standards?**

Changes are necessary in virtually all areas, but not all of them are equally profound and demanding, and their costs are different. Agriculture is one of the most troublesome sectors. EU legislation is abundant in this area, it requires creation of a new management system, and on top of that you need to work on making your products more competitive, enlarge the land holdings (given the tiny size of average holdings, diversification of activities in family-owned farms etc.). It also requires institution building, fostering market mechanisms and capacities for implementation of rural development policies.

● **Environment?**

Environmental protection is one area where EU regulations are particularly demanding, not to



Višnja Samardžija

mention the sizeable investments necessary for adequate waste management, sewage filters, safety standards. This was equally difficult for the new EU members, especially in financial terms. In addition to these single-area reforms, however, the most important are the horizontal measures.

● **Could you elaborate on that?**

For instance, implementing free market mechanisms on all levels. One of the steps that Croatia must take in order to allow for free competition is to lower the level of state subsidies, which currently amount to twice the European average. The structure and purpose of the subsidies must also change, phasing out support for individual industrial branches and directing them towards the horizontal support mechanisms, through development programmes. Finally, it is necessary to speed up restructuring and privatisation, especially in the steel and shipbuilding industries.

● **Where was harmonisation**

**easiest?**

Croatia has preliminarily closed two negotiation chapters, where I believe the harmonisation process was the easiest. These are Science and Research and Education and Culture chapters. I would add a few more where I cannot see major difficulties for Croatia: statistics, industrial policy, small and medium enterprises and common foreign and security policy.

● **What should Croatia do next to make the process of harmonisation with EU system as quick and successful as possible?**

Harmonisation with the community law is much broader than the issue of purely legal harmonisation. It means harmonising the whole system with the EU one, including legislation, policy and institutions. In the last few years we focused on the legislation and institution building, and we ought to continue in that direction, but we must see that this formal harmonisation is reflected in the policies. Broadly speaking, we must work on implementation, which is the only thing the European Commission really cares about. This is especially important with regard to the fact that Croatia as future member of EU will have to implement *acquis* in all areas from the day it gains membership – there will be no more exceptions and transition periods.

● **What was Croatia's solution to the problem of weak administrative capacities?**

Strengthening institutions through administration and cadre is the first prerequisite for successful

## EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE OF MONTENEGRO IS IN YOUR HANDS

### ● How do you see the European perspective of Montenegro?

After having signed the Stabilisation and Association Agreement in 2007, Montenegro is on the right road to membership in the EU. Ensuring successful implementation of SAA once it comes into force is a huge task, but in the meantime you should concentrate on the Interim Agreement which is in force from this year. The example of Croatia shows that implementation of reforms and fulfilment of criteria is the only way to membership. Every country will be assessed on its own merit, and the speed of the accession process depends on individual progress. European perspective of Montenegro is in your own hands. The key to making this perspective come true is to adopt European standards and laws and develop human resources with European orientation, people who understand that the road to Europe leads through changes on the domestic grounds.

implementation of regulations and the guarantee of effective implementation of all commitments. Legal harmonisation should be parallel to the establishment and adjustment of the institutional infrastructure to EU structures. The first step in building up own capacities was to foster human resources. CARDS-based projects were very helpful in building institutional capacities in the very beginning, as well as PHARE and IPA later on.

### ● What are your recommendations for Montenegro?

In these early periods you should invest in educating experts who will then be able to cope with the challenges issuing from the integration process. One advantage for a country which is a latecomer to the process is that it can learn from other countries which are now ahead. This advantage should certainly be used: learn from the best practice and avoid similar mistakes.

### ● How are SAA negotiations different from membership negotiations?

Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) is focused on a smaller, limited area of *acquis*. Membership negotiations, on the other hand, comprise the full span

of *acquis*, divided in 35 chapters. I would emphasise that in both cases the term "negotiations" is somewhat misleading. The process simply involves agreeing on the means and modalities of the adoption of this body of legislation which is mandatory for all EU members. No country can change the conditions proposed by EU, all that can be "negotiated" are certain delays or exceptions, transition periods for implementation. SAA negotiations consist of agreements on the transition periods with regard to liberalisation of trade in industrial and agricultural products, and the scope of legal harmonisation is limited to the Single Market *acquis*.

### ● And the membership negotiations?

In those negotiations legal harmonisation is gradually expanded to all 35 chapters of the community law. The result of membership negotiations are transition periods stipulated for the implementation of EU regulations, certain protective clauses or derogations, but there is no avoiding the commitment of the adoption of *acquis*. Negotiation process is continuously upgraded and the countries in the stabilisation and association process can make use of the new methods that

did not exist before. Such are the benchmark criteria introduced by the EC when necessary which decide whether the country is at all ready to open certain chapter.

### ● Could you describe these criteria?

They usually involve creation of separate strategies or action plans, restructuring programmes for certain branches, administrative capacity building. This goes to show that in such a process having strict deadlines makes little sense, because it is so difficult to plan ahead. On the other hand, the public must know this, and one should never raise too high and unrealistic expectations.

### ● How do you see the perspective of the West Balkans?

It is slowly becoming a reality. The Reform Treaty in Lisbon solved the problem of institutional capacity of the EU to accept new members. The stabilisation and association process is still the main framework for integration of this region into EU. Lately there has been significant progress in establishing institutional links between EU and the region, including Montenegro. Slovenian presidency gives greater priority to the EU policy towards Western Balkans which is also very good for the region. What is most important for every country is, however, to fulfil the membership criteria and make the implementation process faster and more efficient. Solving the Kosovo problem is certainly an important prerequisite for lasting stability in the region, and will require a lot of understanding and diplomatic maturity. In any case, I am an optimist with respect to European perspective of the region, provided the reforms are not slowed down and that all criteria are observed.

Paula PETRIČEVIĆ



## IS THE CONFLICT OF THE MONTENEGRIN GOVERNMENT WITH EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT DETRIMENTAL TO MONTENEGRIN POSITION IN BRUSSELS

# Theatre of absurd

Reminiscent of their "genial" ability to keep sawing a bone of contention among the leaders of the Montenegrin opposition for almost two decades, leaders of the Democratic Party of Socialists succeeded to pit against each other members of the EP Delegation for South East Europe. Exchange of fire and wit from Podgorica, although much of it reeks of cheap theatre of absurd, inflamed some of the hearts in Strasbourg too, except we still do not know what is to be gained by that. Is Montenegro's position in Brussels getting better or worse, is the government in Podgorica ready to face the challenges whose outcome may really determine the European future of Montenegro, or does everything, in the final count, come down to using all means available in order to stay in power. Is Podgorica turning its potential allies into adversaries and is sweeping under the carpet the glaring shortcomings of Montenegrin everyday life the best possible road to European membership? Simply put, what do we gain from polishing the reality and where is Montenegro heading if the only concern of its authorities is to protect the figure and oeuvre of the head of the ruling party, instead of working on establishing an order governed by truly European values. Does it pay off to start a fight with one of the three most important EU institutions, even if we find some of the comments in its December resolution a notch too daring? Or are we fighting for national dignity? Or is it already undermined by the fact that a majority of EMPs voted for a Resolution which says that the Italian investigation related to organised crime may result in an arrest warrant? If it is undermined, is that the fault of the EP or of Montenegro itself, whose former Prime Minister allowed himself during the '90s to befriend some faces from the wanted circulars?

Such are the questions plaguing the Montenegrin public after a sudden visit paid to Podgorica in mid-January by **Marcello Vernola**, EP representative for Montenegro, who flew over to inform the public that he will do his best to oblige MEPs to reject earlier speculations over the arrest of Montenegrin officials on charges of cigarette smuggling.



Marcello Vernola and Miodrag Vuković

Vernola, representative of former Italian Prime Minister **Silvio Berlusconi's** Forza dubbed "unfounded" paragraph 7 of the resolution, which urges Montenegro to cooperate with Italian judiciary and mentions "international arrest warrant"...

In a press conference where he shared the floor with the head of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Montenegrin Parliament, **Miodrag Vuković**, Vernola said

Resolution, paragraph 7 included, but then the embassy of Montenegro put pressure on him so he changed the opinion. That is his personal choice, but be serious about such things. The embassy has the right to lobby, but he must take this seriously", Svoboda said.

After having criticised his colleagues **Svoboda** and **Jelko Kacin** for "meddling" in the internal affairs of Montenegro, Vernola

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that there has been no warrant, and that Montenegrin prosecution offered its assistance to the Italian colleagues, who are suspecting several Montenegrin citizens, among whom former PM and president of DPS, **Milo Đukanović**, of mafia-like organisation and organised crime.

He added that EP will adopt a "decision on error" in its next report on the Montenegrin progress in implementing the Stabilisation and Association Agreement and reject paragraph 7 after he presents to the MEPs in Strasbourg the proofs collected through personal "investigation".

On the very same day came the retort of his boss, president of the Delegation for South East Europe **Doris Pack** and her deputy **Hannes Svoboda** that they have no knowledge of Vernola's trip to Podgorica and that whatever he said on this visit could only be his personal opinion, not an official position of the European Parliament.

"He voted for the last version of the

responded that he came to Montenegro officially, in order to present the EP Resolution, as he could not make it in December. His host, Miodrag Vuković, agrees.

"All communication was very official, this is not my private party", Vuković said.

At the moment, the situation is as follows: Montenegro wants to join EU. In order to do so, it has to show determination to change for the better and accomplish at least some visible results. The government has been insisting that Montenegro should not be treated as a part of the regional "package" (Serbia, BiH...), and demanding that every country should be treated by its own merit, and not wait until the others fulfil the membership requirements. Provided the reforms are really implemented, Montenegro will still need powerful allies in the European centres to accomplish this ambitious goal. Is Marcello Vernola the one?

N. RUDOVIĆ



## SLOVENIA OUTLINES 'DEMANDING' EU PRESIDENCY PROGRAMME

# Balkan tops the agenda

Ensuring the smooth ratification of the EU's new Reform Treaty, pushing ahead with ambitious energy and climate goals and stabilising the Western Balkan region, notably through the prospect of EU accession, will be among the top priorities for Slovenia as it takes over the reins of the 27-country bloc for the coming six months.

The Government of the Republic of Slovenia and the European Commission met in Brdo near Kranj on 8 January for the traditional meeting that marks the start of each EU presidency in order to discuss the key challenges facing the EU in the first half of 2008.

According to Prime Minister **Janez Janša**, Slovenia's presidency will seek to ensure the smooth ratification of the recently-signed Lisbon Treaty so that it can enter into force by January 2009, ahead of European Parliament elections. Janša urged member states to weigh up carefully which path they choose for ratification, as a number of countries, including Portugal, which handed over the rotating EU Presidency to Slovenia on 1st January, are still considering holding potentially risky referenda on the document.

"Europe is very much interconnected and we have to ask ourselves how events in one country influence events in another country where the situation may be somewhat different," he said, urging governments to "bear the broader perspective in mind, not



out the burden among member states for implementing the EU's goals in cutting greenhouse gas emissions and raising the share of renewable energy.

"This will probably be the most demanding task of the Slovenian Presidency. There are also some very

*Janša urged member states to weigh up carefully which path they choose for ratification, as a number of countries, including Portugal, which handed over the rotating EU Presidency to Slovenia on 1st January, are still considering holding potentially risky referenda on the document*

demanding negotiations ahead of us in the relatively limited period between the publication of the European Commission's proposal on 23 January

and the European Council in March," said Janša.

The prime minister also said that his country would work towards fully implementing the objectives of the last three-year cycle of Europe's Lisbon

strategy for growth and jobs, but cautioned that the European economy is likely to face a rougher ride in 2008 than in 2007, notably following the financial market turmoil that followed the US sub-prime mortgage crisis this summer.

"It would be unrealistic of us not to expect certain problems, because of the issues that we have witnessed in the financial markets, because of the rising price of oil and food and the impact of these price increases on the economies of the EU member states," he said, adding that he intended to raise "the problems of the financial markets" during the spring summit, as well as "the measures that need to be adopted as a follow up to the situation, in order to prevent such situations in the future."

In terms of foreign policy, the future of the Western Balkans was high on the agenda, with Slovenia stressing its commitment to helping countries in the region join the EU. "We need to

find solutions that will stabilise the region in the long term," Janša said.

Foreign Minister **Dimitrij Rupel** also said he believed Serbia should sign a pre-membership pact as soon as possible. But the Commission and other EU members object to signing any agreement until Serbia cooperates fully with the UN war crimes tribunal and extradites former war criminals such as **Ratko Mladić**, the former Bosnian Serb military commander wanted on genocide charges.

N.R.-V.Š.

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only the domestic issues but also pan-European issues".

The Slovenian Presidency will also be working hard with the Commission to finalise the energy-climate package, including the details of how to share

# Old Bergman and New Europe

by Brano Mandić

## One photograph

The month of the announcement of presidential elections began with a firm decision to finally, on the eve of the fourth decade of my sojourn on this Earth, I try my luck with putting the apartment in order. Bearing in mind my intimate, consistently reaffirmed European orientation – you could say you are speaking to a Brussels fanatic, hooligan, skinhead of the Partnership for Peace – I naturally stirred clear from the Far Eastern housing spells of the order of feng shui. If I already decided not to spend the rest of my tenant days as a "Balkanisches schwein" but, armed with a vacuum cleaner and a Ghostbusters soundtrack, to bravely face the ghosts of a quasi-bohemian Balkan past incarnated in the chaos of a single's Block V quarter – I had to do the job pro-Europeanly. Something like the positive campaign of Sir **Andrija Mandić**.

No wonder than that my sparkling clear kitchen door woke up one day adorned with a portrait of **Ingman Bergman**, to me more than a tiny black and white homage to European cinematography.

*Elections may lack the historical glimmer of the Serbian ones, but they will certainly set in motion an important region-wide trend: enlargement of political blocks in Montenegro*

What I mean is a portrait of the artist as a young man, a thirty-year old. Drinks coffee and wears a beret, finally a young Bergman, usually appears in the papers as an elderly sorcerer. Portrait from a new angle, somehow in tact with the fresh political burlesques. European politicians in a new light, like no one has seen them before, or at least those of us without access to satellite channels. It all began with an exchange of fire



between Strasbourg representatives in Montenegrin newspapers (excellent for polishing window panes, the latter!). Rejecting, sabotaging, underestimating each other... But let us start from the beginning, from the heights of theory.

## Two Brussels

"People ought to understand that there are two Brussels, one purely administrative-bureaucratic, without subtle understanding of specific environments, whose cold-blooded formulations are forged on

No, it is not **Jacques Derrida** speaking, this is the inspired soliloquy by **Miodrag Miško Vuković**, head of the DPS parliamentary committee. So there are two Brussels, and cooperating with one of them is easier and closer. This we call lobbying. Choosing the partner best suited to own purposes. There are two MEPs whose last names nearly rhyme: **Hannes Svoboda** and **Marcello Vernola**. Opposition chooses the former, government the latter. On his website, Svoboda sports the front page of the independent daily "Vijesti", Vernola of the state-owned "Pobjeda". Myth of a coherent EU power slowly vanishes into thin air. It remains standing only as a fiction harnessed for the purposes of the upcoming presidential campaign.

There, we will have no doubts as to who is lying: Vernola when he says he came officially or **Doris Pack** when she claims he went as a private person. There will be no mention of the disgraceful Paragraph 7 bringing up some long-forgotten investigations. Nor the cheeky reporter Vernola who comes to announce it six months later in Podgorica, exhilarated like he just



discovered the hiding monastery of **Karadžić**. Italian in a circus. He gets to play the role of a clueless harlequin waving papers. Vila Gorica became the fair booth for an illusionist act. The trick was the following: "I will tell you something you already know, but in such a neat way that you forget about it and accept my word as news". Some media caught on the bait, among them some financed by taxpayers' money. The grim moral: politics is always and everywhere played by the same rules. On the one hand, it is healthy to de-mystify European politics. On the other hand, the local party sheriffs could use it to disparage the decisions and political will of our crown partners. And their will is the Resolution of the European Parliament on Montenegro. And its paragraph 7, with or without the blessing of the DPS presidency.

### Three sombreros

In the meantime, the said presidency decided to go to elections with the good old **Filip Vujanović**, candidate with luxurious losing potentials, which should gladden the hearts of the opposition, if we had any. Instead, we have **Andrija Mandić**, the Big Serb and patriot who is more willing to forget the two decades of crimes against his people by the odious DPS than to forgive his opposition colleague **Medojević** his weakness regarding the Constitution. Principled to the bone, like a true revolutionary uninterested in power and social change, Mandić will mobilise his potentials of a hunt beater to gather all the miserable of Montenegro who believe their interests could be best represented by a dude who was pronounced a Četnik duke. On the other hand, the numbly benign figure of Vujanović, morphinely absorbed in thought and longingly dumbfounded at all the



dirty laundry of this world could make every aunt of all meridians declare him as the good guy. Between (fiery) Mandić and (watery) Vujanović, Medojević can choose whether to burn or drown. Poor Medo can do little but make fun of the campaign. And agree with everything his opponents say, for taking Mandić seriously as leader of the opposition is equally laughable as claiming that Vujanović represents some authority.

Rhetoric of the Movement for Changes has its date of expiry.

*For taking Mandić seriously as leader of the opposition is equally laughable as claiming that Vujanović represents some authority*

Medojević knows that the elections might be the last chance to shed his reputation of an eternal young talent, especially as DPS offers a politically dull opponent, ceremonial bore and master of phrases unlimited – nevertheless the current president of Montenegro.

Elections may lack the historical glimmer of the Serbian ones, but they will certainly set in motion an important region-wide trend: enlargement of political blocks in Montenegro. Those parties on the edge of census which did not dare to offer a presi-

dential candidate lost a chance to test their rating and handed their voters over to the others' campaigns. It will all be a little boring without prima-ballerinas of the local business and politics on billboards.

**Đukanović**, on the other hand, chose the perverse role of a leader of the election team, which is a sly way to participate in elections as a shadow demiurge. He demands support for his organisational artistry and the candidate who is dutifully observing all the instructions of the head of campaign, a.k.a. head of the party.

His return to the position of Prime Minister has already been announced as a sacrifice to the altar of homeland, which is a piece of news commanding a lot more saliva from the political analysts than the choice of future president who is to line up the guards and receive accreditation from the diplomatic representative of Uganda in the royal city of Cetinje.

The catharsis is again in the hands of Primus, and the political public eyes eagerly the moves of a millionaire who values money less than the call of homeland. Patriotism

thus acquires a new dimension: it comes to mean an escape from business, forsaking the earthly blessings in the name of the common good of party members and sympathisers. DPS ceases to be a party, it becomes vox populi, mentality-based measure of reality without the option of resistance, awareness or rush. Will the worthy Chief sit at the head of electoral campaign or government is of marginal importance.

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

## FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENTS TO DECREASE FOREIGN TRADE DEFICIT



by Dr Jelena Žugić

By the way it looks, further trade liberalisation between European Union and Montenegro ensuing from the Interim Agreement on trade and trade related issues with EU will bring no improvements to Montenegrin competitiveness or exports towards the markets of the 27 member states.

*In wood processing industry, for instance, where there is some potential, key export items consist of raw or crudely processed timber. It entails low value added and is frequently based on inadequate exploitation of natural resources. In this sense, Montenegrin export profile resembles that of the underdeveloped third world countries*

The key reason is the weak home base – Montenegro has low product diversification, making its economy vulnerable and amounting to a long-term problem. Montenegro can afford greater export volumes for barely three products: aluminium, iron and steel, all of which face fierce competitiveness on the international markets.

Only three countries account for 70% of our exports: Serbia, which is not an EU member, as well as Italy and Hungary. High

## If the economy remains uncompetitive, EU agreements will be in vain

export concentration is another hurdle to jump. Other Montenegrin exports are of a too low volume to become serious competition on the EU markets. This, in turn, could hamper motivation in local producers to improve their products and become competitive first on the local and later on EU markets, once Montenegro has fulfilled the IA commitment to open its borders entirely for the quality products from EU members.

In wood processing industry, for instance, where there is some potential, key export items consist

of raw or crudely processed timber. It entails low value added and is frequently based on inadequate exploitation of natural resources. In this sense, Montenegrin export profile resembles that of the underdeveloped third world countries.

Interim agreement in itself will do little to mend this situation unless Montenegro changes its export strategy in the near future. Those companies that managed to live up to the existing standards had little trouble exporting to EU

even before the agreement was signed, in line with the Autonomous Trade Measures adopted by Brussels already in 2000. Those who did not, however, are up for a struggle when faced with tariff-free European imports.

In the recent years the rate of imports has been steadily accelerating against the rate of exports, propelling foreign trade accounts entirely out of balance. To an extent, this has been the trend of the last ten years, in consequence of three key factors: dissolution of SFRY, war in the neighbouring countries and international sanctions, as well as drastic reductions in economic ties to other countries. At the moment we are facing inability of our economy to cope with competition in the international markets, coupled with re-channelling of investments towards the service sector. Weak competitiveness of the local economy reflected in low quality and inadequate prices, underperformance regarding international standards, growing purchasing power of the population and focus on the service sector are the key ingredients of the tide of imports in Montenegro. The most worrying is the fact that food and beverages account for 2/3 of these imports, in spite of the fact that local production could be stimulated to



decrease such import-dependence.

For the time being, Montenegro lacks quality standards, price competitiveness, production standards and, most importantly, knowledge to cope with the EU market. Our companies certainly have products that can be placed in the EU markets, but are short of fulfilling the necessary requirements of this demanding market.

In order to decrease trade deficit and boost quality of the local products, Montenegro will need to harness the assistance of foreign direct investments (FDI). FDI can be effective and economically justified only if it contributes to increased volumes of foreign trade, export competitiveness and employment, while decreasing current account and foreign trade deficits.

Montenegro, however, is an economic phenomenon in its own right: the more impressive our record of FDI inflows the greater the foreign trade deficit. According



for the Agency for the Promotion of Foreign Investments, FDI in 2007 amounted to some 650 million euros. In both per capita FDI inflows and FDI share in gross domestic product Montenegro ranked the first in Europe.

On the other hand, foreign trade deficit in the first three quarters on 2007 topped billion euros, or one half of the projected GDP

(2.004 billion), also highest in Europe.

The key question regarding FDI is therefore: how efficiently it has been utilised and how much it contributes to economic development in Montenegro?

In Montenegro, foreigners have largely invested in real estate – according to the Central Bank of Montenegro, such transactions account for 57% of total FDI in Montenegro. Practice has taught us that the foreigners who buy up ancestral lore on the Montenegrin coast do not use the land to initiate production or introduce new products, but keep it for entirely private purposes. The nationals who sold their real estate to the foreigners for huge amounts of money rarely put it to productive uses, but channel it towards covering living expenses. FDI, which is the developmental opportunity for Montenegrin companies and the best road to long-term improvements in production, employment and living standards thus remains thoroughly underutilised.

A country where FDI does not help to produce goods that would be competitive first in the domestic and later also in the foreign markets is a country doomed to import dependence and uncompetitive exports.

Without a credible strategy to attract FDI in the recent future and to create business environment which would stimulate local entrepreneurs to engage in productive activities, leading to higher employment, greater competitiveness of domestic products and decrease in foreign trade deficit, Montenegro risks to miss out on the potential advantages of the Interim Agreement.

*The author is professor at the Faculty of Business "Montenegro Business School" in Podgorica*

*The most worrying is the fact that food and beverages account for 2/3 of these imports, in spite of the fact that local production could be stimulated to decrease such import-dependence*

## EXPORT POTENTIAL IN FOOD, ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES AND WATER

Montenegrin enterprises should begin to think more seriously about intensifying trade with EU countries. In order to have a competitive product, they ought to specialise and create a domestic base for a group of products that have export potential for the EU market. In addition to the existing export items, agricultural products characteristic for the region (wine, beer, strong alcoholic beverages, cheese, ham and water) could strongly contribute to the future export offer for EU markets. This must be accompanied with growing product quality and production planning for each sector in addition to a quality system necessary for entry to EU markets. Montenegro should also consider expansion in the future in the sector of fish and seafood. The production volumes are currently small, but have a potential for growth.

It would be pure self-deception to believe that Montenegro can have production capacity to engage in mass production for international markets. One should first focus on the competitive products that can satisfy the local market, and orient narrowly specialised products to the EU markets.

## RESULTS OF EUROBAROMETER, PUBLIC OPINION POLL CONDUCTED BY EUROPEAN COMMISSION

# Two thirds of EU citizens believe in the advantages of membership

Support for membership in European Union is the highest in the last decade, according to the findings of the latest Eurobarometer, public opinion poll conducted by the European commission from 22 September to 3 November 2007.

Eurobarometer found that 58% of the European citizens, a one point increase compared to spring 2007 supports their country's membership in EU. Exactly the same figure (58%, -1) thinks that their country benefits on balance from membership.

Support for membership is highest of all in Luxembourg (82%), with strong

port for future membership in Croatia: 6% higher in comparison to spring 2007.

Most enthusiastic are the Irish, 87% of whom believes that their country has profited from membership, which is also the case with 83% of Poles, 81% Lithuanians and 80% Estonians and Greeks. At the other end of the scale, a low share of the Cypriot and UK polls (both 37%) think that their particular countries have benefited.

Evolutions in the candidate countries present a mixed picture: on the one hand, a majority of Croats (47%) now think that they would benefit from being

Generally, Eurobarometer shows rather high trust in EU, especially in comparison with the national institutions.

Almost half of respondents (48%) tend to trust in the EU while 36% express the opposite view. By contrast only 59% distrusts national governments, while 56% does not trust their parliaments.

In most countries, the EU is more trusted than distrusted. Exceptions to this are the UK (53% distrust), as well as Germany, Sweden and Finland where some 40% trusts the Union while a greater percentage thinks the opposite.

In Turkey, as in Croatia, fewer respondents trust in the EU (25 and 32%), and some 60% do not trust. In Croatia the government and parliament are also trusted by a low proportion (20% both), whilst in the former trust for these institutions is high: parliament 64%, government 63%.

Only in Macedonia is the trust in the EU at 63% is nearly twice as high as for the the national government (36%) and parliament (23%).

**Support for membership is highest of all in Luxembourg (82%), with strong results also seen in the Netherlands (79%), Belgium and Ireland (both 74%), while the "opposition" prevails in the countries that traditionally rank lowest in terms indicators of favourability towards the EU: the United Kingdom (28%), Austria (26%) and Finland (21%)**

results also seen in the Netherlands (79%), Belgium and Ireland (both 74%).

There are no countries where support for EU membership is outstripped by opposition. The highest proportions of respondents opposed to membership can be seen in the countries that traditionally rank lowest in terms indicators of favourability towards the EU: the United Kingdom (28%), Austria (26%) and Finland (21%).

Support for future EU membership is running very high in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (76% think this would be a good thing). In the other candidate countries it stands at 49% in Turkey and 35% in Croatia.

Overall results are very close to those seen for spring of this year and changes in results for individual countries are few and low in magnitude. Exceptions are Greece, Luxembourg and France where support for EU increased by 7-8%.

There is also some increase in sup-

a future member of the EU, whereas Turkish support has dropped dramatically (from 62% in spring 2007 to 51%).

## PESSIMISM RULES CYPRUS

Over two-thirds of European citizens think that next twelve months will be at least the same (44%) for their national economy and at best improve (24%), whilst around a quarter (26%) think that it will worsen.

Overall, economic expectations remain in a similar state of balance as seen in the Eurobarometer of Spring 2007, and are thus well ahead of what they were in Autumn 2006 – where 20% believed their economy would improve and 35% that it would worsen.

The economic optimism index is highest in Romania (+18), followed by Malta (+15), Austria and Poland (both +14). The index is strongly negative in Cyprus (-44) and Hungary (-40) and less so in the Czech Republic and Portugal (both -23).

Compared to spring 2007, the economic optimism index has fallen considerably in the Netherlands (-34, to stand at -5), as well as in Lithuania (-24, now +2) and Estonia (-21, currently -3).

In both Luxembourg (from -25 to -4), Greece (from -36 to -17) and Croatia (from -18 to -1) there has been a significant increase in economic confidence from the more pessimistic outlook seen in spring last year.



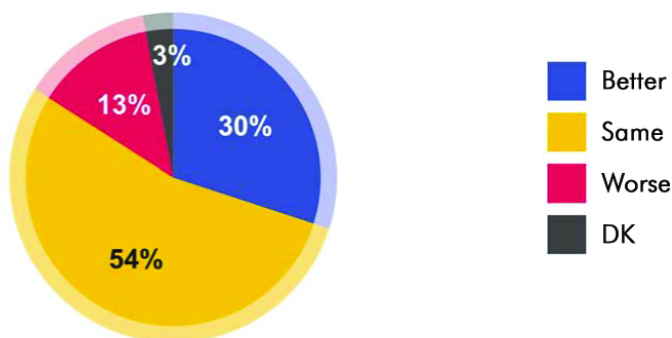
Citizens of Romania, Belgium and Slovenia tend to trust EU institutions (around 65%).

In Estonia, trust in the EU (67%) is high as it also is for the Estonian government (62%). The difference is most striking in Poland, where 62% respondents have trust in the EU with both the Polish government (17%) and parliament (10%) trusted by few.

Around 48% of European citizens consider their national economy to be in a good state (a 4 point fall from spring 2007). The proportion of respondents who say their national economy will be in a better condition 12 months hence has fallen (4 point decrease to 24%) whilst the share thinking it will stay the same has risen to 44% (+6). Only 30% believe their lives in general will be better over the course of the next year (-7), this figure being the lowest since 1995.

It is believed that these evolutions are as much due to the particular cir-

What are your expectations for next twelve months:  
will the next twelve months be better, worse or the same,  
when it comes to your life in general?



cumstances over the earlier part of the year (which led to a peak in results) as they are to current conditions.

At the same time we do see that cit-

*As for the candidate countries, a majority of Croats (47%) now think that they would benefit from being a future member of the EU, whereas Turkish support has dropped dramatically (from 62% in spring 2007 to 51%)*

izens exhibit an increasing concern over rising prices (26%, +8), albeit with fears

connected to unemployment declining (27%, -7).

As for the EU institutions, 55% (-1) express trust in the European Parliament and 50% (-2) in the Commission. These marginal declines still leave the results above those seen in autumn 2006.

One exception from the positive trend is trust in the EU as a whole, which has fallen by 9 points to stand at 48%. However, in the context of

similar evolutions for national governments and parliaments, this looks to be much more of a manifestation of changes in institutional trust in gener-

al, rather than being related to any EU-specific factors.

An absolute majority of respondents consider there will be no significant change in the status of their lives in general over the course of the next twelve months: 54% of European citizens believes that their lives will stay the same over this period, 30% consider that their lives will get better and 13% that their life will get worse.

The highest current optimism index can be seen in Sweden (+38), followed by Denmark (+33). Spain, Ireland (both +29) and Romania (+28) all have optimism indexes over ten points higher than the European average.

There are just three countries with a negative personal optimism index: Hungary (-22), the Czech Republic (-5) and Portugal (-1).

There is an overall drop in the optimism index in almost all countries since spring 2007. The largest falls are seen in Lithuania (-22, to stand at +13), Slovenia (from 27 to 6), Latvia (40 to 21) and Cyprus (from 22 to 4). Younger respondents are very more likely to be optimistic for their future than the oldest group.

## LITHUANIANS AND POLES EXPECT EMPLOYMENT GROWTH

Concern over inflation continues to increase as that over unemployment declines. The most common view regarding employment situation is that things will remain the same (43%), with remaining answers evenly divided between the belief that the situation will be better (26%) or worse (25%).

Employment optimism runs high in Lithuania (+35), followed by Poland (+26), Sweden (+23) and the Netherlands (+20). At the very bottom are Hungary (-44) and Cyprus (-33), with low results also seen in Portugal (-27) and Ireland (-23).

Respondents to the poll were asked to name what they consider to be the two most important issues currently facing their country. The results are largely similar to spring 2007, with two exceptions: concern over inflation is rising, standing at 26% of those who identify it as the biggest current problem.

Outside of purely economic issues, crime still features as a concern, being mentioned by 24% of respondents. There is very little difference between results from the euro zone countries and overall results. Two exceptions are unemployment (mentioned by 32% of euro zone respondents compared to 27% overall) and healthcare (mentioned by 14% of euro zone respondents compared to 21% overall).

Compared to other member states, there is a large drop in concern over unemployment expressed by Swedish and Finnish respondents (-33 and -18, respectively), while almost half of all Polish interviewees are now worried about their healthcare system (49%). There is a drop in the concern of French citizens over unemployment (from 52 to 38%), accompanied by an increase in concern over pensions (20%).

V.Š. – N.R.

LJUBIŠA PEROVIĆ, DIRECTOR OF THE GOVERNMENT'S OFFICE FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

# We have a strategy, but no critical mass

It is fairly clear that the situation in some of the sectors is far from the principles of sustainable development. In spite of the high-level documents and political decisions, however, there is not yet a critical mass in the public of people who would understand the seriousness and importance of this issue. We will need a lot of effort to change this, because the time is running short, says **Ljubiša Perović**, director of the Government's office for sustainable development.

In the interview for *European pulse* he said that the concept of sustainable development is one of the key ingredients of Montenegrin integration into Europe and a fundamental precondition for successful development.

"Montenegro made a decision already in the 1991 to become an ecological state. At the time we perhaps had more space and opportunity for choice. The timing was, however, not the most fortunate. It is good that in the last few years Montenegro has regained the strength to reinvent, strengthen and promote this idea within the broader principle of sustainable development", Perović said.

He added that Montenegro has all the arguments in favour of such development "which makes the concept of sustainable development the superior solution for the future of Montenegro".

"If it continues like this, Montenegro can give its small but significant contribution to the global efforts to promote sus-



tain elements for the framework: Strategy of sustainable development and the Council for sustainable development", Perović said.

He nevertheless warns that "in spite of the established goals and choices, developments on the ground level are disappointing, as testified by the Second overview of the environmental situation of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, which was adopted by the Government and recently presented to the public".

"The document emphasises incongruence between the aims and their implementation, arguing among other that "Montenegro has many strategies, but

relevant subject in its competence as Secretariat of the National Council for Sustainable Development, bringing together government agencies, scientific institutions, local self-governments, non-governmental and business sector, and to promote international cooperation on the issues of sustainable development.

"Today, our priority is to reform the Council and the entire system of sustainable development, which in itself must be sustainable and efficient in order to face such serious task and challenges. Last year's council meetings which were called to discuss the Energy Strategy and the Spatial Plan revealed profound structural shortcomings of the system. We truly believe that the debates and clashes between the Government on the one side and local NGOs and international institutions on the other will help to create more fruitful and harmonious relations. The first signs early this year provide some hope in that direction", Perović said.

He adds that the Office has established good contacts with the European Commission and hopes to profit from the expertise and material and political support of the EC to the concept of sustainable development.

"In this context we find very valuable the EC recommendations with regard to the renewable energy sector and greater efficiency of energy consumption. Bearing in mind the global character of the issue of sustainable development, as well as the integration goals of Montenegro, the most important task for the Office in the following months will be establish contacts with new partners and strengthen cooperation with the existing ones in the area of sustainable development", Perović announced.

He maintains that Montenegrin Constitution has committed this country to the path of sustainable development, in addition to its responsibilities for the current and future generations.

"The basic principle promoted in the founding concepts and philosophy of sustainable development is: "we have borrowed this planet from our children", Perović said.

***We truly believe that the debates and clashes between the Government on the one side and local NGOs and international institutions on the other will help to create more fruitful and harmonious relations. Some of the signs early this year already provide some hope in that direction***

tainable development, the neglect of which is already giving rise to disconcerting phenomena. Sustainable development is a priority in the EU, and Montenegro now has an opportunity to attract support for its right choices, and to acquire certain individuality and competitive advantage in the course of the integration process. Montenegro also has the potential to become the pillar of regional approach to this issue, having already established cer-

unfortunately little has been implemented". We could also see that through the fact that the Office, i.e. the entire system of sustainable development has been non-operational throughout 2007", Perović said.

Office for Sustainable Development was established in October 2005 in order to strengthen Montenegro's decision to develop as an ecological state in line with the principles of sustainable development; in order to coordinate cooperation of all

N.R.





by Paula Petričević

We all agree that the West Balkan region is somehow considered a part of Europe, even as its black hole, the antimatter as it were, and the question should rather be: Why do I want to be a citizen of EU? My answer is best summarised in the notorious demand: I want to be a citizen of EU because I loath having to consider the most basic things an achievement. Because that offends my intelligence and my dignity. Let me illustrate this with an experience which I considered for a while, or at least until the fury and frustration passed – an accomplishment.

When a month ago I finally decided to learn how to drive, I never dreamed it would turn into an adventure out of all proportions. Every beginning is an opportunity, I thought, finding myself in a new town, and decided to learn to drive before the age of thirty.

We stood waiting for fifteen minutes in front of the building in whose basement we were to acquire our first insights into this magical art, after a brief and intensive theoretical introduction. The thought crossed my mind that it may be somewhat irresponsible of the lecturer to be late for the very first class and to keep us in the rain and cold instead of letting us into the classroom. I waved it away, trying to keep myself in good faith and better mood. At first, I did not think it would be necessary to reach for the superior powers of autogenous training in mimicry of some borderline situation, i.e. survival under extreme conditions.

I did indeed suffer profound con-

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

centration problems during the lessons (none of which started on time), due to the teacher's techniques of keeping our attention and sympathies, which largely came down to a crash course in misogyny and creative construction of gender stereotypes that are the unalienable trademark of every true driver, bastion of masculinity.

Our exams did not necessarily contain such questions that could be readily answered by the Cro-Magnon ways of thinking and acting. Nevertheless, no lesson could pass without another example of women's virtuosity in driving, or comparisons of the traffic signs, vehicles or situations with the prettier, and therefore pleasantly incapable sex. I cannot resist sharing with the reader some of the true pearls of wisdom accumulated from the printed lighters and coffee mugs and drawn from a lengthy experience that the fervour of drinking nights has turned into solid adages.

*To make it clear: I cherish no silly hopes that the EU has the mysterious powers, a magic wand of sorts whose single touch will transform our behaviour overnight bestowing us with the manners of civilised communication, elsewhere taken for granted. But I do look forward to the painful and traumatic "harmonisation" process to be encountered in every manner and on every step of the road to EU*

In order to initiate us into the secrets of the "thick line", the poet offered a comparison with woman: "The line is like a woman, you can be next to her, around her, but never on top of her". Explaining the essence of the driving act known as "giving priority to another", through the mist of blue smoke streaming from his nose he referred to it as "typically female", in driving as in life.

My personal favourite is the anthropological comparison of woman with a trailer: "A woman is like a trailer – it lacks the front axle, so it has to be towed on somebody's back all life long". Not to mention the elaboration on the "rigid transmissions", conveniently illustrated by

the encounters with his wife in quiet evenings etc. etc.

With time, and to my great surprise, I came to find some perverse pleasure in collecting these proverbs, and I nearly regretted having to sever my cooperation with this renowned driving school. The decision to ask for a return of advance payment was sealed by the fact that twice in a row, in the worst of weathers and soaked to the bone, we had to wait for the teacher who in the end never showed up. "The return of advance payment" turned out to be the highlight of our gloomy relationship: in spite of the reproachful glances, half-witted and half-threatening remarks the money was finally transferred to my account. The feeling of triumph that swept through me in that moment could be compared to the landmark victories in the struggles for human rights. Which is exactly the most depressing part of the story, alongside the above mentioned

deprivation of the unprecedented heights of the balkanoid mental constructions.

To make it clear: I cherish no silly hopes that the EU has the mysterious powers, a magic wand of sorts whose single touch will transform our behaviour overnight bestowing us with the manners of civilised communication, elsewhere taken for granted. But I do look forward to the painful and traumatic "harmonisation" process to be encountered in every manner and on every step of the road to EU.

*The author is the participant of the VI generation of European Integrations School and Programme associate in CCE*

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ON THE  
COMMISSION'S 2007 ENLARGEMENT STRATEGY PAPER

# Closer partnership before membership

Parliament advocates commissioning an external study which should consider critically the Union's enlargement strategy so far, contrast it with the expectations of our neighbours and suggest alternative forms of contractual relations between the Union and its adjacent countries. This study, which could lead to an exchange of views with experts, could lay the ground for a more extensive strategy in this direction, states the Working paper of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the European Parliament on the Commission's 2007 Enlargement Strategy Paper.

The document, presented by the head of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, **Elmar Brok**, reminds that EP has advocated differentiating as much as possible between the two groups of countries (East and South) covered by the European Neighbourhood



Elmar Brok

EU foreign policy cannot be reduced to the simple equation "membership or nothing".

"We therefore need to develop new forms of relations with our neighbours: relations which take

political, geographical and historical reasons for recognising that the countries of the Western Balkans have a natural vocation to become members of the European Union.

"These reasons must be properly explained to our citizens so that at the end of the integration process no objections or reserves are raised in relation to these countries' accession to the EU", warns Brok.

He adds that if Europe wants to become a global player, it must be "a credible and reliable partner, whose word can always be trusted".

"Recent talk about enlargement fatigue has eroded Europe's credibility in the Western Balkans. This must be counteracted. Our commitment to integrate the Western Balkan countries must translate itself in tangible steps and measures. Increased financial and technical assistance to reform their administrations, strengthen their democratic institutions and develop their infrastructures is an important factor in this respect. European (military and civilian) presence in these countries should demonstrate our political commitment towards integrating the region into the EU rather than be perceived as an obtrusive, quasi-colonial power", emphasises the document.

It continues to remind that EU is not just about economics, but a union based on common values. The Draft Reform Treaty spells this out and mentions tolerance, respect for the rights of minorities, as being at the very heart of the

*Bilateral or multilateral relations can offer an enhanced partnership with the Union for those countries which have a "European vocation" but no membership prospects yet, or provide an intermediate step towards full membership for those countries which enjoy such prospects*

Policy and has called for the Eastern European Countries "clearly identifiable as European deep free trade agreements in the context of a possible 'European Economic Area Plus'".

The paper emphasises the issue of enlargement as "crucial" and reminds of the earlier conclusions that "the EU commitment towards the countries of the Western Balkans is undisputable", but that

into account their aspirations to be closely tied to the Union. These bilateral or multilateral relations can offer an enhanced partnership with the Union for those countries which have a "European vocation" but no membership prospects yet, or provide an intermediate step towards full membership for those countries which enjoy such prospects", states the document.

It also emphasises abundant



# WHAT KIND OF PROJECT FOR EU

**B**efore deciding whether new countries should join we should therefore ask ourselves what kind of project we want, explain this project to our citizens and ensure that applicant countries share the objectives we want to pursue before they join. Only thus can we promote a strong European identity and maintain political momentum in the Union, says Brok in the EP working paper.

He warned that European accession should not be primarily a technocratic-driven process: "it should be a political one, one which involves subscribing to a common political vision besides fulfilling the Copenhagen criteria".

"The membership prospect for the Western Balkans must be credible. Fast accession negotiations with Croatia could give a positive message in this respect. However, there can be no doubt that the accession of the Western Balkan countries can take place only if and when their internal and external issues are solved.

The cases of Bosnia Herzegovina's institutional reforms and of Kosovo's status come to one's mind. The transition process for some of these countries is inevitably a medium to long-term goal. The question is: how can we keep the reform momentum in these countries going? How can we provide real incentives on their path towards EU full membership? Recent events in Bosnia Herzegovina show how difficult it is to keep the prospect attractive", says the document.

It also emphasises the necessity of developing a new concept for the architecture of Europe, with the EU acting as a gravitational centre.

"This new architecture should encompass different forms of contractual relationship between the Union and some of its neighbouring countries. For two years now, the European Parliament has been calling on the Council and the Commission to devise the form and contents of an enhanced partnership status, something which could be termed as "more than neighbour but less than member state". Different formulas come to mind: European Economic Area Plus, a strengthened ENP, European Commonwealth", concludes the EP paper.

European political project.

"This is why our enlargement strategy towards the Western Balkans must take into account the specificity of their recent history (compared with the history of the countries of Central Eastern Europe). The wounds of recent conflicts must be healed; inter-ethnic and interstate reconciliation pursued with determination; regional cooperation revived", states the working paper.

"Reform of the judiciary and of public administration should be addressed at the early stages of the negotiations and considered a pre-requisite for tackling other chapters of the EU body of law. No dis-

counts should be allowed because they are neither in the interest of

*Is membership the only means the EU has to persuade other countries to pursue reforms which are in their own interest? Is the EU bound to enlarge indefinitely in order to be a catalyst of stability, asks Elmar Brok, author of the EP draft comment*

the Union nor not in the interest of the countries concerned. The quality of future enlargements is more important than their quantity", warns the document.

Acknowledging that "we all recognise that membership of the EU has been a powerful tool for promoting democratic, economic and social reforms", the paper adds that "this can work also for the

Western Balkans countries provided we maintain this prospect clear and make it tangible".

"However, expectations around us are growing. Some of our neighbouring countries (and some EU Member States) argue that we should open the possibility to accede the Union also to some of our neighbours to the East. According to this view, the lack of European prospect would mean that our policy to promote peace, stability and prosperity at our borders is doomed to failure", says the draft.

Brok believes that the issue boils down to a simple question: is membership the only means the EU has to persuade other countries to pursue reforms which are in their own interest? Is the EU bound to enlarge indefinitely in order to be a catalyst of stability? "How could we in this case, in the face of waning public support, maintain the credibility of our enlargement policy? Alternatively can we devise other ways to establish around us an area of peace, stability, democracy and prosperity? How can we anchor safely into our political sphere those neighbours who want to develop close ties with our Union? The European Neighbourhood Policy is not an

adequate answer to such expectations because it tries to address, under one framework and under one label, two geographically, politically, culturally different areas. This creates frustration amongst our Eastern Neighbours", warns the document.

**N. RUDOVIĆ  
V. ŠĆEPANOVIĆ**

## EU SEEKS FLEXIBILITY ON RENEWABLE ENERGY TRADE

# One fifth of energy to come from renewable sources

Member states will be authorised to meet their national renewable energy targets using green power certificates bought from other EU countries under plans being considered by the European Commission. The scheme could even be extended to countries outside the EU.

In March 2007, EU leaders committed themselves to an EU-wide target of producing 20% of energy from renewable sources by 2020, setting the stage for heated debate about how the overall target should be divided between member states.

According to the Commission, only about 8.5% of EU energy consumption currently stems from renewable energies, meaning an 11.5% increase is needed to reach the 2020 target.

Trading of green energy certificates is the central element of a draft directive on renewable energy recently presented by the European Commission.

In practice, this means that member states that do not produce sufficient amounts of renewable energy will be able to buy these certificates in order to meet the national targets.

Meanwhile, Belgium already expressed its concerns regarding its national target for renewable energy. In a letter to Commission President **Jose Manuel Barroso**, Prime Minister **Guy Verhofstadt** said that the current burden-sharing calculation would force Belgium to increase its share of renewables to 12.1%, way above its



current level of 2.2%. Such a target would be "unrealistic", the Belgian press reported Verhofstadt as saying.

Renewable energy is defined as the kind of energy which can be

renewed at the same pace it is exploited. It includes wind, solar and hydro-energy, geothermal energy and biomass. Biodiesel is the liquid renewable energy source derived from biomass, i.e. oils extracted from plants and recycled oil. Renewable energy is dubbed "green" or "clean" energy as it does not pollute air or water.

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The proposal, unveiled on 23

January, says member states will be responsible for issuing 'guarantees of origin' (GOs) to producers of heat and electricity coming from renewable energy sources. The certificates

could be traded between EU member states so as to help meet national renewable energy targets. "The overall approach is for member states to retain discretion as to the mix of these sectors in reaching their national target," the draft says.

The national targets are still to be decided and are the subject of heated negotiations between the



Commission and the member states.

The Commission's latest thinking is to mandate a 5.75% increase in renewable energy consumption for all countries as a first step towards the overall target. The remainder would be modulated according to each country's Gross Domestic Product to arrive at a 20% figure for the EU as a whole.

National targets are to be set out in national action plans and broken down into individual targets for electricity, heating and transport together with "the measures to be taken to achieve" them.

"Minimum interim targets" are to be defined as well, taking 2005 as the starting point "because that is the latest year for which reliable data on national renewable energy shares are available."

However, the 2005 starting date is raising concerns among those member states which already have a high share of renewables in their energy mix. Those include Austria



and Sweden, where renewable energy accounted for 23% and

*Renewable energy is defined as energy that can be renewed at the same pace it is exploited. It includes wind, solar and hydro-energy, geothermal energy and biomass*

almost 40% of final energy consumption in 2005 respectively.

Another concern, raised by Germany, is to make sure the national support schemes that are already in place are safeguarded by the new EU law. In Germany, power companies are obliged to buy renewable energy produced by private generators at a fixed price or feed-in tariff determined by the government, a scheme which has so far proved successful in increasing the share of green power.

The updated draft directive addresses German concerns by stipulating that EU countries "may, in order to safeguard the viability of national support schemes, impose objective, transparent and non-discriminatory terms or limits on the transfer of guarantees of origin to or

from other member states."

Under the scheme, green power certificates could be cancelled and therefore made unfit for trading if the energy has already received some form of government support. The system would avoid "interference with support schemes granted to existing installations" as well as "over-compensation of renewable energy producers," according to the draft.

Another option currently debated in EC relates to international trading of renewable energy certificates. According to the draft, "electricity produced from renewable sources in third countries and consumed in the Community" may be taken into account in achieving the national target.

However, this option would be allowed only if the country "has adopted a national overall target of a degree of rigour at least equivalent" to the EU.

## GREEN POWER MUST BE PRODUCED, NOT TRADED

The renewable energy industry and green groups argue that a trading option will act as a disincentive for investment, as those member states with low renewables potential or under-developed markets will simply purchase credits from abroad.

"If you can buy cheap certificates from a country which has a strong renewable sector, the temptation will be to do that instead of developing your own," said **Esther Bollendorff**, energy campaigner at Friends of the Earth in Brussels.

She says "serious breaks and restrictions" should be imposed on this, for example by allowing trading "only once you reach your intermediary target."

EWEA, the European wind energy industry association, expressed "concern" about the impact of trading on the renewable energy business. They claim that the impact of such trade on SMEs, which form the majority of companies in the sector, as well as on investment to the grid infrastructure had yet to be considered by the Commission.

It also expressed "significant concerns" about the directive's plans to assess the need for an EU-wide support scheme for renewables in 2012. "Containing such a proposal within the legal text will have a negative impact on market stability and create investor uncertainty," EWEA warned.

"In effect the Commission is proposing to (...) require numerous and frequent reviews, and possibly changes, in national support mechanisms for renewable energies, rather than allowing Member States the flexibility to develop successful national support tools best suited to differing national circumstances."

N. RUDOVIĆ  
V. ŠĆEPANOVIĆ

## A GUIDE TO WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS FREQUENTLY USED BY THE PEOPLE WHO ARE PROFESSIONALLY DEALING WITH EU INTEGRATION



People within the EU institutions and in the media dealing with EU affairs often use 'eurojargon' words and expressions that they alone understand. Eurojargon can be very confusing to the general public, which is the reason we decided to introduce those terms for the benefit of those who are new yet entirely comfortable with the field of EU integrations.

**Cultural capitals:** Every year one or more European cities are designated as the "European capital of culture". The aim is to publicise and celebrate the cultural achievements and charms of these cities and so make European citizens more aware of the rich heritage they share.

**Democratic deficit:** Lack of democracy or democratic deficit is primarily used to claim that the EU's decision-making system is too remote from ordinary people, who cannot understand its complexities and its difficult legal texts. The EU is trying to overcome this "democratic deficit" through simpler legislation and better public information, and by giving civil society a greater say in European policymaking. Citizens are already represented in EU decision-making via the European Parliament.

**DG – Directorate General:** The staff of the main EU institutions (Commission, Council and Parliament) are organised into a number of distinct departments, known as "Directorates-General" (DGs), each of which is responsible for specific tasks or policy areas. The administrative head of a DG is known as the 'Director-General' (a term sometimes also abbreviated to 'DG').

# Eurojargon

**EC:** This abbreviation refers either to the 'European Community' or to the 'European Commission'.

**The European Community:** Is the present name for what was originally called the 'European Economic Community' (EEC).

**The European Commission:** Politically independent institution that represents and upholds the interests of the European Union. It proposes legislation, policies and programmes of action and it is responsible for implementing the decisions of Parliament and the Council.

**EEA:** This abbreviation refers to the European Economic Area, which consists of the European Union and all the EFTA countries except Switzerland. The EEA Agreement, which entered into force on 1 January 1994, enables Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway to enjoy the benefits of the EU's single market without the full privileges and responsibilities of EU membership.

**EEC:** Abbreviation for the European Economic Community – one of three European Communities set up in 1957 to bring about economic integration in Europe. There were originally six member countries: Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. In 1993, when the Maastricht Treaty came into force, the EEC was re-named the European Community (EC) and it forms the basis of today's European Union.

**EFTA:** Abbreviation for the European Free Trade Association – an organization founded in 1960 to promote free trade in goods amongst its member states. There were originally seven EFTA countries: Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom (UK). Finland joined in 1961, Iceland in 1970, and Liechtenstein in 1991. In 1973, Denmark and the UK left EFTA and joined the EEC. They were followed by Portugal in 1986, and by Austria, Finland and Sweden in 1995. Today the EFTA members are Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland.

## NON – GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPEAN UNION



## MIGRATION POLICY GROUP (MPG)

Migration Policy Group is a non-governmental, non-profit organisations established in 1995 with a seat in Brussels.

MPG's vision are open and inclusive European societies in which all members – those with and without an immigrant background – have equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities and a commitment to contribute to the economic, social, cultural and civic life of our diverse societies.

MPG's mission is to contribute to lasting and positive change resulting in open and inclusive societies by stimulating well-informed European debate and action on migration, equality and diversity, and enhancing European co-operation between and amongst governmental agencies, civil society organisations and the private sector.

MPG articulates this mission through activities focused on harnessing the advantages of migration. To this aim, the organisation works on gathering, analysing and sharing information about migration, creating opportunities for dialogue and mutual learning, mobilising and engaging stakeholders in policy debates and establishing expert networks whose task is to work on enhancing understanding of migration and of the status of migrants in European societies.

MPG has well developed publishing activities, and most publications, guides and monthly issues monitoring current affairs in various aspects of migration policies within and without EU can be found on their website. Detailed information about the organisation can be found at: [www.migpolgroup.com](http://www.migpolgroup.com)

Prepared by: Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ



CCE and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung publicise AN ADVERTISEMENT for participants of XI generation of:



## DEMOCRACY SCHOOL



School comprises 5 modules lasting totally four months. The courses will be held once or twice a week for 2 hours. All expenses are covered by the foundation Friedrich Ebert and Centre for Civic Education, with obligation of the participants to attend not less than 80% of the programme.

Upon finishing of the School the participants shall receive a certificate and be eligible for further educational development.

The right to participate have candidates who want to contribute to development of democracy and civic society in Montenegro. All candidates are welcome, regardless of age, gender, nationality, religion or personal convictions, with the indication that advantage has activists of the political parties and non-governmental organisations and all individuals who are showing high level of social activism.

Moderator of the School is Professor Radovan Radonjic, PhD, and beside him eminent domestic and foreign lecturers will be working with participants.

All interested candidates may submit their application with short biography not later than 15 February 2008.

Centre for civic education  
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EUROPEAN MOVEMENT IN  
MONTENEGRO ESTABLISHES  
COOPERATION WITH  
ALBANIAN CIVIC SECTOR

## Regional cooperation towards EU

European Movement in Montenegro in cooperation with NGO MJFT and with support of Balkan Trust Fund, begun with implementation of the "Montenegro and Albania – Meeting Each Other" project whose main object is to make a network of organisations, political and social elites, and to increase level of knowledge about these societies on both sides.

Within this project, from January 23 to 26, representatives of civil society from Montenegro visited Tirana where they had many meetings with prominent representatives of public life in Albania. Returning visit to Montenegro is planned during February and both NGOs will also organise study visits for its MPs.

European Movement in Montenegro stipulates that this project will contribute to founding quality regional cooperation among decision makers, which is one of the important preconditions for association to European Union for both states.



FORUM OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION  
SCHOOLS CONTINUES WITH ITS  
PUBLISHING ACTIVITIES

## EU documents on Montenegro for 2007

Within the Forum of European Integration

European Commission Progress Report of Montenegro 2007 and Resolution of European Parliament for Montenegro 2007 have been published.

Publishing of these documents should contribute to better understanding of complex processes of the European integration and position and role of Montenegro on its path to the European Union.

Reading these documents par-

ticipants of education programmes will have an opportunity to get image of Montenegro from EU throughout accomplishes and challenges standing before Montenegro. Furthermore, this publication will be distributed to all Montenegrin MPs, responsible bodies of Montenegrin Government, NGOs involved in European integration affairs, University of Montenegro, political parties, media, etc.

School organised by Centre for Civic Education, Centre for Development of NGOs and European Movement in Montenegro with the support of the Foundation Open Society Institute, Representative Office in Montenegro, translations of the

## FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

## 4-YEAR PHD SCHOLARSHIPS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

**University of Dublin, Trinity College Six Fully-funded Four-year Ph.D. Scholarships Department of Political Science, Trinity College Dublin**

Starting **October 2008**, covering fees and stipends of up to €16,500.

The Department of Political Science at Trinity ranks among the best political science departments in the world according to independent evaluations of its research and teaching (e.g. in the global ranking of political science departments conducted by Professor Simon Hix at the London School of Economics). Ph.D. researchers also benefit from the Department's strong links with Institute for International Integration Studies at Trinity College Dublin (<http://www.tcd.ie/iis>). This Institute brings together researchers from different disciplines to study international integration. In addition, the Department is involved in the Dublin School of Social Sciences, which provides graduate training in collaboration with University College Dublin.

The doctoral programme is designed to impart substantive knowledge about politics, and to train students in the techniques, including quantitative methods, necessary to recognize, design and implement cutting-edge research. The writing of a dissertation of original research follows a rigorous training in how to design and conduct research.

We seek outstanding and motivated graduates for entry to our doctoral programme in October 2008. Applicants are particularly welcome from students who wish to conduct research in areas in which the Department has particular research strengths: comparative European politics, EU politics and policies, Irish politics, public policies, electoral systems, political parties, public opinion and electoral behaviour, the politics of international law, international organisations, and political theory. The Department also invites applications from students whose research develops innovative quantitative methods, such as the quantitative analysis of political texts, as this is another strong area of research among staff.

Prospective students are encouraged to consult the webpages of members of staff (<http://www.tcd.ie>), and to email individual staff members who could be potential supervisors for their Ph.D. dissertations. General enquiries may be directed to the Director of Graduate Studies, Dr. Robert Thomson ([thomsor@tcd.ie](mailto:thomsor@tcd.ie)).

The deadline for applications to the doctoral programme for entry in October 2008 is **April 1st 2008**.

## LAUNCH OF THE BALKAN FELLOWSHIP FOR JOURNALISTIC EXCELLENCE

The Robert Bosch Stiftung and ERSTE Foundation announced on 16/01/2008 the launch of the second year of its fellowship programme for journalists in the Balkans to be run in cooperation with the Balkan Investigative Reporting Network, BIRN, the initiative will each year give ten reporters the chance to run their own research project.

This programme aims to foster quality reporting, regional networking among journalists and balanced coverage of topics that are central to the region as well as to the EU.

Journalists from Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania and Serbia, are encouraged to submit research proposals on this year's theme – ENERGY. It's a topic that preoccupies officials, politicians and citizens across Europe – and arguably one of the biggest challenges facing this continent and the international community. In 2008, applicants for the Fellowship programme are invited to explore the subject of energy. But not only headline issues such as the supply of fuel, climate change and renewable resources. Entrants are also encouraged to look at human energy such as the energy of ideas, energy for change and energy for reconstruction as well as destruction.

Ten fellows will be chosen on the basis of research proposals, which should include plans for cross-border research within the Balkan region and European Union member states, drawing on examples of cooperation or the lack of such collaboration, making comparisons and highlighting know-how.

They will participate in the fellowship programme, which features an introductory seminar in Berlin, supervision and mentoring, individual research trips to another country of the region and the EU, and a concluding seminar and award ceremony in Vienna. Supporting seminars also feature meetings with Austrian and German political and economic actors as well as with the Fellowship's media partners – *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *Der Standard*.

Successful applicants will receive a fellowship of 2000 Euros and a travel allowance of up to 2000 Euros, while the programme's selection committee, composed of local and European journalists and experts, will award one fellow an individually-tailored opportunity for further professional development, to the value of 8000 Euros.

Fellowship reports will be published at the end of the year, and disseminated widely in all local languages, English and German.

Applications must be received no later than **29 February 2008**.



Application forms and guidelines are available at [fellowship.birn.eu.com](http://fellowship.birn.eu.com).

## SUMMER COURSE ON "TEACHING LAW, HUMAN RIGHTS AND ETHICS"

**Course Dates:** July 7–11

**Location:** Central European University (CEU), Budapest, Hungary,

**Course page:** [www.sun.ceu.hu/teaching-law](http://www.sun.ceu.hu/teaching-law)

**Detailed course description:**

<http://www.sun.ceu.hu/02-courses/course-sites/teaching-law/detailed.php>

**Course Directors:**

Edwin Rekosh, Public Interest Law Institute, Budapest, Hungary

Lusine Hovhannisian, Public Interest Law Institute, New York, US

**Course Faculty:**

Philip Genty, Columbia University School of Law, New York, US

Peter Rosenblum, Columbia University School of Law, New York, US

**Target group:** Junior law faculty, with 1–2 years of teaching experience; basic knowledge of international human rights law and commitment to educational reform

**The language of instruction:** English

**Tuition fee:** 250 Euro a week. Financial aid is available.

**Application deadline:** **February 14, 2008** (for scholarship places), **April 30, 2008** (for fee-paying applications)

**Online application:** <https://online.ceu.hu/osun/osun> (attachments to be sent via regular mail).

For further information queries can be directed to the SUN office by email ([summeru@ceu.hu](mailto:summeru@ceu.hu)), via skype ([ceu-sun](https://www.skype.com)) or telephone (00-36-1-327-3811).

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