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According to the Financial Times journalist **Tony Barber**, it was pure political cowardice that led the governments of European Union member states to approve Montenegrin application at the Council of EU ministers for fisheries, in order to avoid publicity.

In my opinion, at the moment when a majority of European citizens is opposing further enlargement, the decision was rather an expression of political wisdom.

Had there not been similar, apparently cowardly moves on the part of the EU in the past, which were often considered "rotten" compromises, it is uncertain whether and in what shape the EU would exist today. Would its citizens still be enjoying the fruits of a common, free market, regardless of all the shortcomings and weaknesses of such Union?

All that matters to Montenegro is that the formal decision of the Council for Fisheries means moving forward along the road to full membership in the EU.

Right now the winning coalition should form the government as soon as possible.

The famous Questionnaire will probably be sent by the European Commission in July, and it will be a great test for the contested Montenegrin administration.

Instead of sharpening their pens to answer the Questionnaire, public officials are still putting together the Government over a coffee break while the ministers and directors of numerous agencies and directorates nibble on the fish and their own nails wondering whether they will be directors and ministers again.

There should be wisdom also in the decisions of the ruling coalition – this is no time to spin nepotistic combinations, reward the loyal party members or haggle over every seat.

V.Ž.

Twinning project for the police (2 April) – the European Commission will finance a twinning project "Fight against organised crime and corruption" worth 1.2 million euros. "the goal of the project, which is to last 15 months, is to strengthen the operative, technical and professional capacities of Montenegrin institutions involved in the fight against organised crime and corruption and to strengthen inter-agency cooperation" said the director of the Police Directorate **Veselin Veljović**. The beneficiaries of the project will be the Police Directorate as the main partner, as well as the agencies for the prevention of money laundering and for anti-corruption initiative.

Negotiations on the joint translation of acquis (6 April) – Deputy prime minister **Gordana Đurović** announced that the Government is negotiating with the neighbouring countries on "several joint projects to translate EU regulations".

Green light to application (7 April) – Committee of permanent representatives of EU member states (COREPRE II) gave a green light to Montenegro's application.

Revision of NPI (9 April) – National programme for European Integrations of the Government of Montenegro (NPI) will be revised by the end of the year, announced the head of the Secretariat for European Integrations **Ana Vukadinović**. She said that since the EU regularly updates its legislation it also increases the number of regulations to be considered by Montenegro on its road to membership, which is why this strategic document also needs periodical revision.

Abolish visas (10 April) – Heads of diplomacies of eight EU member states asked the EU to adopt, without further delays, a decision to abolish visa requirements for West Balkan countries. These were the contents of a letter signed by the Foreign Affairs ministers of Estonia, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia and addressed to the vice-president of the European Commission **Jacques Barrot**, Enlargement Commissioner **Olli Rehn** and the head of Czech diplomacy **Karel Schwarzenberg**.



Little interest in the elections (15 April) – According to the Eurobarometer, a record 66% of Europeans could ignore the elections for the new assembly of the European parliament. Only 17% of Poles plan to vote, which is the lowest percentage in the EU, followed by Austrians (21%), Brits (22%), while 43% of the Germans and 47% of French and Dutch citizens are planning to go to the polls. A majority of voters will turn out for this election only in Malta (56%), Denmark and Luxemburg (62%) and Belgium (70%). In Belgium and Luxemburg voting is mandatory.

Looking ahead (23 April) – The Council of EU for agriculture and fisheries, in line with the procedure defined by the Article 49 of the Treaty on EU urged European Commission to submit an opinion on Montenegro's application.

The opinion takes 12 to 16 months (24 April) – European Enlargement Commissioner **Olli Rehn** said that EC's Opinion on Montenegro's application to acquire membership candidate status will be ready in 12 to 16 months. He said that the Council's decision to consider Montenegro's application was a "result of great effort on the part of its people and leaders".

A VIEW FROM EU

The problem is not the Balkans, but the EU decision-making system

Some of the European Union member states are indicating that this is not the right



by dr Erhard Busek

moment to proceed with enlargement commitments. This is linked to the fact that the Lisbon Treaty has not yet been enforced, and also

The real background of hesitations surrounding EU enlargement is the current voting weight repartition, as well as the lack of qualified majority vote in most of the situations

the mindset for future enlargement in some member countries is not yet quite clear.

So for the EU countries that are reluctant, before they can solve their internal problems, they are telling the countries you mentioned: please, don't do it now!

There's the fact that in Germany at the moment the election campaign is blocking everything and the Germans are reluctant to discuss the issue. Populists are campaigning out of enlargement, but the real background is not the enlargement, it is problems stemming from illegal migration, the financial crisis and so on.

I'm happy that these countries are pushing for their accession, because it's creating a healthy pressure. These countries are in the courtyard of the EU anyway and

their weight is not so big – it is half of Poland by population. The problem is, however, that although these countries are smaller than Poland alone judged by their population, in terms of the number of votes in the Council or the number of MEPs, their weight will be much greater.

Personally I'm convinced that the current voting weight repartition, as well as the lack of qualified majority vote in most of the situations, is the real background of these hesitations.

The efforts and aspirations of

these countries are creating the pressure for changing the systems in the European Union.

It has nothing to do with region, because it's completely clear for all member states that all the Western Balkan countries

Besides Croatia, the West Balkan countries should join EU as one block. Because the real danger – and we have to learn from the experience of Slovenia and Croatia – is that one country blocks the neighbouring country because of bilateral problems

should become members of the EU.

Decision-making in the EU has in some sense become more difficult since the accession of the former socialist countries. It obviously makes a difference if there are 12 or 27 or more discussants in a room.

But I think it's even more complicated, because Europe has not

defined its role now that it has reunited. It was easier before, when we had the East-West division. Now we have to redefine our role, and it very much depends on ourselves. We need to define our relations with the United States, with Russia, in a greater context with China, and so on.

One of the mistakes of the Lisbon Treaty is that it will hardly change anything in the work of the Council of EU.

The crucial question is: is Europe able to act as Europe? Or are we still to be divided, with Great Britain aligning with the United States, with a German-French coalition and so on? This, at the moment, is our biggest problem.

My personal opinion is that besides Croatia, there could be a bloc of entering countries. Because the real danger – and we have to learn from the experience of Slovenia and Croatia – is that one country blocks the neighbouring

country because of bilateral problems. It's a real nonsense, and I think it's better to do it all together.

Excerpts from an interview for EurActiv (The author is the special advisor on enlargement to the Czech EU Presidency and the former special coordinator of the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe)

WHAT WILL BE THE IMPACT OF ECONOMIC CRISIS ON EUROPEAN INTEGRATION OF MONTENEGRO

The road to EU is priceless

Despite of the possible effects of the global economic crisis on Montenegrin



by Danilo Mihajlović

state, the Government will have to find a way to continue with social reforms if it still wishes to advance closer to European Union (EU).

Lack of funds, difficulties with public administration, concern for the already fragile national economies of the West Balkan countries doesn't seem to touch the EU officials too much – they insist that the financial crisis cannot be an excuse to discontinue reforms.

Many analysts and politicians, however, suggest that the EU itself uses the crisis as a pretext to halt further enlargements, and that its officials simply cannot bring themselves to admit that this year the enlargement slid well into the back of the agenda.

Western media was eager to point out the "cowardice" of EU governments whose Council, "anxious because of the enlargement, agreed to consider Montenegro's application at a meeting of EU Ministers of Fisheries", in order to "avoid publicity".

Brussels is still airing encouraging messages that this part of Europe has not been forgotten, but sooner or later somebody will have to explain how a state that first decided to increase its administra-

tion by 18% because of EU requirements and then announced that it will not employ any more people imagines to produce equal results regarding European integrations under both scenarios.

Dr **Rado Genorio**, State Secretary of Slovenia explains that the real question is not whether the crisis will slow down the process of Montenegro's integration, but to what extent it will affect the dynamics of internal reforms.

He warns that the situation is not easy, that other countries of the Western Balkans have to deal with the same problem, and that he expects the solution to appear towards the end of the year.

"The rules of accession to

European Union haven't changed. The reforms must continue... For me, this is a fundamental issue and this is what we are concentrating on right now. The outcome is hard to predict, though. It is still early, maybe we will know the answer by the end of this year, maybe by the summer next year", said Genorio for the *European Pulse*.

He said that for some countries the biggest problems will be that they are "unable to keep up the pace of reforms, and their road to European Union depends on it",

"You see Serbia with the 'stand by' package of the International Monetary Fund worth three billion euros, Bosnia and Herzegovina negotiating their own, we'll also see whether Croatia will apply for



Rado Genorio

help from IMF once the tourist season is over. We don't know the size of the problem yet, it will become clearer in September or October... Knowing the situation, I would not dare to prophesise and give you any concrete answers", Genorio explained.

He added that when he thinks about this issue, he always remembers the process that Slovenia went through with EU between 1998 and 2002.

"That was the time we really managed to generate intensive reform dynamic. We could afford to do that since our GDP grew by 5% annually throughout that period. Had it been negative, everything could have been different... I repeat, right now it is very difficult to speculate about the future, but everything should become crystal clear by October", says the man who lead his country into the elite European club.

In the process of European integrations Montenegro, like all other membership candidates and potential candidates, has to create

Between 1998 and 2002 Slovenia managed to generate intensive reform dynamic. We could afford to do that since our GDP grew by 5% annually throughout that period. Had it been negative, everything could have been different, says Rado Genorio

new institutions, which often means an increase in the number of public servants. According to the National Programme of Integrations (NPI) the Government planned to increase the number of public employees by 18%, from 6.400 to 7.600 in the five-year period from 2008 to 2012.

In the meantime, the executive adopted a decision to curb spending, which means, among other, a cap on employment in administration.

Deputy prime minister **Gordana Đurović** recently said that this decision "does not cause significant



photo VIJESTI

Živorad Kovačević

disturbance at the moment" of the plans for the European integration process set forth in the National plan of integrations.

Genorio agrees with Đurović's assessment that this decision will not disturb Government's plans "at the moment".

"She said 'at the moment', and that's correct. We have the

EU will understand that some promises made by the national governments about the future integration process will not be immediately fulfilled because of the crisis. Thus I don't see the reason for a direct impact of this crisis on the pace of accession of individual countries, except for a more general effect on decision-making in Brussels, says Živorad Kovačević

Council's decision and we'll wait to see how will Montenegro respond to the Questionnaire. Then everything will become

clearer. You know, it is very difficult to accomplish this process without a multitude of hands, without a team. But that's just what she said – at the moment", warned Genorio.

He also disagrees with those who argue that in the times of crisis and economic recession in the EU the fears of its citizens for their own jobs and the possibility of immigrant inflows in the case of further enlargement could slow down and complicate the path of the Western Balkans to EU mem-

bership.

"One Montenegro on the European labour market means nothing. Even if the whole country

moved tomorrow to Europe or the US it would not cause a problem for a market of half a billion people", Genorio said.

Former Yugoslav diplomat and president of the European Movement in Serbia Živorad Kovačević believes that global economic crisis has no particular effect on the process of Montenegro's rapprochement with EU, but that its overall impact could slow down the prospects of EU enlargement.

"The discussion is ongoing. High-ranking EU officials – President of the European Commission **Jose Manuel Barroso**, foreign policy representative **Javier Solana** and the Enlargement Com-



missioner **Olli Rehn** – believe that EU enlargement should not become a scapegoat of the global

economic crisis – in other words, there is no particular reason to slow it down. I believe we should only think in those terms", he said.

He added for the *European Pulse* that he does not believe that the crisis can greatly affect the way in which things develop within Montenegro.

The crisis as such will not slow down the integration process and it has no specific impact on different countries, he explained.

"This process should not slow down the enlargement since, after all, the enlargement is about reforms which are necessary for the road to EU" Kovačević said.

He believes that the EU will understand that some promises made by the national governments about the future integration process will not be immediately fulfilled because of the crisis since "all countries are in the same situation".

"Which is why I see no reason for the crisis to have a direct impact on the speed of accession of individual countries, except for the more general impact it has on the decision-making processes in Brussels", he concluded.

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

THE WORLD BANK SEES THE BRIGHT SIDE OF THE CRISIS

The global economic crisis could also have a positive impact on the reforms and European integrations process in Montenegro. Its economy will no longer be able to rely on foreign investments and will have to turn to economic development based on its own strengths and resources. This could lead to an increase in competitiveness and fair market competition in the context of integration conditionality which dictates fight against corruption, strengthening of administrative capacities, and the fulfillment of environmental and other standards.

This is the gist of World Bank's advice, passed to the authorities in subtle diplomatic terms by the head of the WB office in Podgorica **Jan Peter Olters**.

He said that Montenegro, if the current forecasts are right, cannot avoid having to come up with a new model of economic growth which would not be entirely dependent on foreign investments and loans and that any growth in the next few years will have to come from within and be based on innovation and increased productivity.

"There is not a single policy to achieve this, but a range of reforms together with the improvement of business environment", Olters said.

According to him, if there are no new enterprises entering the market, everything should be done to improve the conditions for those already there.

"Such a programme is perfectly in line with the commitments undertaken by Montenegro with the goal of joining European Union", Olters said.

He added that the biggest advantage of Montenegro compared to other countries of the region is its focus on European integrations, since in this way it is easier to overcome and turn around the comparative disadvantages of a small country.

"In a strange way the current crisis facilitates implementation of certain reforms, since the strengthening of public institutions, transparent and equal implementation of rules and regulations, as well as support for companies competing in the European market also have a clear economic dimension", Olters said.

THE HIDDEN MESSAGE BEHIND BRUSSEL'S DECISION TO START CONSIDERING MONTENEGRO'S APPLICATION

Time for a new phase

Montenegro is entering the new stage in the "race" to potential membership in the



by Neđeljko Rudović

European Union, after the Council of EU decided, on 23 April, without discussion, to proceed to consider Montenegro's application for a membership candidate status.

However far the promise lies, the incentive that Brussels sent to Podgorica on this occasion, in spite of earlier insinuations that Montenegro will perhaps have to wait until the end of 2009 can be an important stimulus both for the government as well as for those in the media, non-governmental sector, trade unions, opposition etc. who are fighting for Montenegro as a modern, developed country.

The very fact that all EU members recognised the fact that something is happening in Montenegro and that this country, once among the least developed regions of former Yugoslavia, is making progress, is an encouragement for all those who are not satisfied to wait, but wish to contribute in their own ways to putting their house in order.

The acceptance to start considering application is only the beginning of a new stage, but also a sign that it could be crowned, in due time, with the accession of Montenegro to the "elite club". The objections that the club is less and less elite are worth thinking about, but it is undeniable that its objectives – the rule of law, clear and straightforward rules which are equal

for all and commitment to the freedom of expression are worth the effort.

It is becoming clear that Montenegrin society, and not only its ruling structures, has been moving closer to Europe. This is also recognised by Brussels, and well expressed in the reactions by the Enlargement Commissioner **Olli Rehn** to the announcement that the application has passed the preliminary test.

"The success of Montenegro is the result of great efforts by its people and its leaders", Rehn said.

This conclusion also carries a hidden message that all "leaders" should be aware of – Montenegro is a small society which ought to unite all of its creative forces if it is to achieve genuine reforms, and if these reforms, which are decisive for its future, are to be implemented quickly and effectively.

This means, among other, that the government mustn't treat the opposition, critical media and the non-governmental sector as its enemies, but as potentially useful partners. It also means that the government ought to open up its horizons and stop interpreting every public statement on the part of socially responsible citizens of Montenegro as conspiracy theories whose aim is to "overthrow the regime". This will be the test as to whether those who were given the mandate to lead this country are really committed to its prosperity and to attainment of the two strategic goals – Montenegro's membership in the EU and NATO. If we managed to pool together all serious political parties, university professors, journalists and NGO activists, Montenegro could perhaps finally have a truly competent and visionary Government.

That such cooperation is of utmost importance is confirmed by the upcoming challenges awaiting Podgorica in its

communication with Brussels, the success of which will determine whether the European Council will confirm the application and decide to initiate membership negotiations.

The unwritten rules that can be discerned from past practice suggest that the European Commission will send Montenegro the Questionnaire within three months, to which the Government is supposed to provide substantial response in the following four months. The Questionnaire contains about 4 500 questions regarding the state of affairs in all areas of economy, politics, judiciary and public administration of Montenegro, and the answers are to provide the indicator of the readiness of public administration to weather the EU–Montenegro negotiations.

If the European Commission gives a satisfactory opinion, first the Council of EU and then the European Council decide whether to bestow the status of a membership candidate upon Montenegro and hopefully decide on the date for the beginning of negotiations.

Based on prior experience (Croatia and FYR Macedonia) the unofficial assessment is that the Commission will take 14 to 16 months to formulate the opinion, and that the pace of the process will greatly depend on the speed and quality of responses it receives from Podgorica.

Deputy prime minister for European integrations **Gordana Đurović** warns that "things will not be easy": "Most of the work on the Questionnaire will have to be done in July, August and September. There will be fewer days of holiday for the people in charge of coordinating the most important chapters, but I believe that we are all highly motivated and understand the importance of this task".

MONTENEGRO'S AMBASSADOR TO EU SLAVICA MILAČIĆ

A uniform Questionnaire does not exist

The head of Montenegro's mission to European Union **Slavica Milačić** said that there is no such thing as a standard EC questionnaire, and the questions are always adapted to the situation in the given country. Nonetheless, the questionnaires from Croatia and Macedonia are a good basis for preparations in Montenegro.

Asked by *European Pulse* whether she could say, based on her communication with EC officials, how many questions that Montenegro gets will be identical to those received by Croatia and Macedonia, Milačić explained:

"I spoke to my colleagues in the European Commission about the Questionnaire, and even though I cannot give you a precise answer to this, I would say that the questionnaires sent to these countries will be a very good basis".

According to her, the European Commission will use the latest Questionnaire and adapt it to Montenegro's needs, including the new structure of the negotiations chapter and European legislation that was adopted or developed in the meantime, as well as the specific



ing the process of answering the Questionnaire?

In short, the Mission will try to strengthen communication with the relevant representatives of different

tion and explanations.

Within the standard procedure, after having received the Questionnaire the Commission conducts a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of the overall situation and capacities of the country to fulfil all political and economic criteria as well as the ability to take on the obligations of EU membership. It will also provide an assessment of the future development that can be realistically expected in Montenegro in the next few years. The opinion of the European Commission, the so-called avis will also contain a recommendation about the readiness of the country to begin membership negotiations.

● The mandate of the current Commission is drawing to an end, and some Commissars are bound to be changed. Will the same happen on the level of the technical staff, and

It is generally understood that Montenegro made substantial progress in all four block of the Roadmap, and demonstrated openness and readiness to work towards full harmonisation of our system with EU standards in every aspect of this process. Thus I believe that we can realistically expect Montenegro to be among the first few countries to be proposed for liberalisation of the visa regime

questions and recommendations of different Directorates within the Commission.

"There is no uniform model of the Questionnaire, the questions are always based on the concrete situation of a given country", she emphasised.

● What will be the role of the Montenegrin mission to Brussels dur-

directorates within the commission in order to clarify the demands contained in individual questions, especially those that are more complex or span several areas. The same is true about the process of answering the Questionnaire, either related to the content of individual answers or the need to provide additional informa-

could this influence the speed with which the Commission responds with an opinion on Montenegro's membership application.

As a rule, when a Commissar leaves only his or her cabinet members are changed as well. Besides, the current Commissars will continue to perform their duties until the new ones are elected. This process should not influence the dynamic of European Commission's response to Montenegro's application for EU membership.

- The European Parliament could agree to the elimination of the visa regime with Montenegro in November, but even then some time will have to pass before all technical requirements are in order for Montenegrin citizens to be able to travel freely to the countries of the Schengen zone. When can we realistically expect this to happen?

The process is still ongoing, and at the moment there is a good chance that formal and legal procedures for the abolishment of visa regimes will be completed by the end



of the year for those countries that made substantial progress in fulfilling the conditions set in their Roadmaps. If this happens, the decision could come into force already in 2010.

The European Commission will soon publish its second report on the readiness of these countries to estab-

lish visa-free regimes, which will be followed by consultations with Member States within the working groups of the Council. Then, upon the proposal by the Commission, the Council of EU decides on the abolition of visa requirements. Before it does so, the Council ought to consult the European Parliament.

In other words, all this is still to happen, and we should first wait for the Report, i.e. the opinion of the Commission. Nevertheless, it is generally accepted that Montenegro made substantial progress in all four block of the Roadmap, and demonstrated openness and readiness to work towards full harmonisation of our system with EU standards in every aspect of this process. Thus I believe that we can realistically expect Montenegro to be among the first few countries to be proposed for liberalisation of the visa regime.

If this were the case, and provided all legal and formal procedures within the EU are completed by the end of the year, Montenegrin citizens may be able to travel to EU without visas already in the beginning of next year.

ALL QUESTIONS ARE EQUALLY IMPORTANT

- It is also common for the European Commission to ask additional questions, usually related to the area of highest sensitivity for a given country. In the example of Croatia most of the additional questions related to the cooperation with ICTY. Can you think of the area that will be of special interest to EC and a source of additional questions in the case of Montenegro?

At the moment I cannot think of any special area that would be the reason for additional questions to Montenegro. Such areas always exist, as we have learned from the experience of other countries. Right now, however, I would rather not speculate about which area or areas this could be.

The Commission asks additional questions if the answers provided are not sufficiently complete, clear or precise. In this sense, all questions are important and require equally professional and analytical approach. It is necessary to ensure a uniform level of quality across all areas of the questionnaire as well as precise data.

It is nonetheless true that some questions, i.e. some areas are more complex, difficult or demanding. These are usually the questions related to the rule of law, reform of judiciary, administrative capacities as well as environment and agriculture.

Recommendations from the latest Report by the European Commission on the progress of Montenegro as well as the European Partnership and meetings between European Commission and Montenegrin authorities are also a good indicator.

V. ŽUGIĆ

THE STATUS OF MONTENEGRO'S EUROPEAN INTEGRATIONS

What comes after the Questionnaire?



The West Balkan countries received a clear promise of a membership perspective in European Union (EU) in mid-2003. At the summit of



by Vladimir Pavićević

the heads of state and governments of EU countries and countries of the Western Balkans, held on 21 June 2003 in Thessaloniki, the representatives of both sides adopted a Declaration on Western Balkans which states that all countries of the Western Balkans can become EU members once they have fulfilled the necessary requirements.

With an official declaration of the European perspective for these states, the EU wanted to encourage their citizens and political elites to work more effectively on instituting stability among the countries of the region, fostering the rule of law and establishing a functioning market economy in every country of the region.

Among all the countries that derived from the dissolution of SFRY only Slovenia became a full EU member in 2004, while the others still remain in the waiting hall of EU.

Croatia has the status of an EU membership candidate, it has been pursuing the accession negotiations and is expected to complete them in the course of 2010.

Macedonia, in spite of all problems, received the status of a membership candidate in 2005 and is preparing to begin accession negotiations.

Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina signed the Stabilisation and association agreement (SAA) with EU and are waiting for an opportunity to apply for membership, which is the first step to becoming a candidate. Serbia signed the SAA, but the agreement has not come into force because of insufficient cooperation with ICTY. The process of Serbia's association with EU has been further complicated since on the 17 February 2008 the Parliament of Kosovo adopted the proclamation of independence. This event quickly brought the questions of Serbia's reaction to Kosovo's declaration of independence to the political limelight, relegating the debate on the European perspective of Serbia and its inte-

gration into EU into the background.

Three years after it proclaimed independence the status of Montenegro's integration into EU is certain. Montenegro became an associated member of EU already in 2007, after it signed the SAA and started implementing the Interim Agreement. In December 2008, Montenegrin prime minister handed Montenegro's application for EU membership to the French president and then president of EU, and it is now expected that Montenegro will receive the status of a membership candidate in 2010.

This article will further highlight the most important benchmarks that Montenegro has to go through in order to proceed from the status of an associated member to the candidacy for full membership in the EU.

Membership candidacy

According to the provisions of the founding treaties of EU, every country can aspire to become a member, provided it ful-

With an official declaration of the European perspective for these states, the EU wanted to encourage their citizens and political elites to work more effectively on instituting stability among the countries of the region, fostering the rule of law and establishing a functioning market economy in every country of the region

fills a number of criteria required for membership. Before becoming a member, a country first receives the status of an associated member, in preparation of complex obligations and rights that are bestowed upon every new member of EU.

An official membership application is submitted by an associated member that

wishes to become full member of EU. After submitting its application, the state receives a QUESTIONNAIRE from the European Commission about the measures it needs to undertake in order to become an EU member. The Questionnaire covers the full scope of state activities and the response usually takes about six months. Croatia, for instance, received a questionnaire with 4650 questions, and it is expected that Montenegro's questionnaire will contain about 4000.

After receiving the answers to the Questionnaire, the European Commission (EC) formulates an avis (opinion) on the readiness of the country to begin EU membership negotiations. The Council should endorse EC's opinion, which is legally non-binding, before the country can receive the official status of a candidate for membership in the EU.

The Council then schedules the official start of negotiations with the country in question and issues a recommendation to EC to begin membership negotiations. In the meantime, the Commission develops a framework

for negotiations which, upon detailed consideration by the member states, is endorsed by the Council of Ministers.

Before opening the negotiations the Commission conducts a screening, the process of evaluating the extent of harmonisation of the candidate country and EU legislations and defines the areas where the candidate country must still harmonise its regulations with EU laws. The screening is conducted jointly by the candidate country and EC, whereby EC representatives describe each rule within the community law and then in cooperation with the national administration of the candidate country compare it to the country's legal system. This system of legal testing is in fact the analysis of harmonisation of the state laws and regulations with EU's *acquis communautaire*, whose result is an overview of legal instruments that the candidate country ought to develop in order to bring its national legislation in line with *acquis*. It also forms the basis for membership negotiations between EU and the candidate country. In the last phase of the screening the EU and the acceding country put forth their negotiating positions, before



they embark on negotiations on the pace and forms of legal harmonisation. Formally, the EC is informed about the legal system of a country through the Questionnaire.

The decision to begin negotiations is adopted by the Council at a conference of governmental representatives of EU member states, which is usually reserved for the most important, strategic issues in the EU, including enlargement. When the conference decides that an applicant country is sufficiently ready

to begin negotiations, it instructs the EC to initiate negotiations for full membership.

Croatia received its candidate country status for membership in the EU in June 2004, and began negotiations already in October 1995. Macedonia applied for membership in March 2005 and received candidate status in December 2005. However, in three and a half years since Macedonia was not yet granted the permission to begin membership negotiations. The start of membership negotiations is the moment which irreversibly links one country to the EU, which suggests that in spite of its candidate status Macedonia's integration process is slow and uncertain. Montenegrin government should draw a clear lesson from this, that in addition to the official candidate status, it must lobby and insist in its contacts with EU representatives to define the date of the beginning of negotiations clearly and as soon as possible.

EU membership negotiations

During this process the parties negotiate on those commitments which were not previously included in the SAA, mostly deadlines for fulfilling the requirements necessary to acquire full membership. The conditions are set in advance, and the negotiations mostly concern the pace of their implementation, which depends on the capabilities of the candidate country. The negotiations concern certain areas such as participation in the work of Community institutions (number of MPs in the European Parliament, number of votes in the Council of Ministers etc.), Common Agricultural Policy, regional and structural policies, Economic and Monetary Union and budget policy.

Accession negotiations are mostly related to the third Copenhagen criteria, i.e. full adoption of *acquis communautaire*, i.e. rights and obligations of membership issuing from the fundamental treaties and EU legislation. As a rule, the negotiations proceed from the least controversial chapters to those of a more sensitive nature whose implementation requires establishment of a transitory period. On the EU side the negotiations are led by EC which provides annual assessments on the progress of the candidate country regarding its capabilities for adopting *acquis*.

"*Acquis communautaire*" is a broad term denoting all legal provisions within EU as well as rights and obligations of individual members, and it comprises:

1. Content, principles and political goals of the founding treaties;
2. Legislation adopted for the purposes of implementation of the founding treaties and rulings of the European Court of Justice;
3. Declarations and resolutions adopted by EU;
4. Measures related to the Common Foreign and Security Policy;

5. Measures related to Justice and Home Affairs;
6. International agreements signed by EU;
7. Agreements between member states regarding the scope of EU activities (conventions);
8. Every country aspiring to EU membership, and Montenegro among them, ought to accept the provisions of founding treaties and adopt *acquis communautaire*.

EU membership negotiations are led by the EU presidency (which changes every six months) on behalf of the member states and in cooperation with EC. Once the negotiations are over, the EC drafts the Accession agreement between EU and the candidate country, which must be approved by the Council and European Parliament. The Agreement is signed by the two parties, but in order to come into force it must first be ratified by the member states as well as the candidate country. It is up to the constitutional arrangements in different countries whether the ratification is conducted by a vote in the national parliament or at a popular referendum. After the ratification process is over, the candidate country becomes a full member of EU.

From the moment of accession, the new member state is legally subject to all rights and obligations issuing from the Accession Agreement and to the general EU legal framework. The Agreement stipulates transition periods for full implementation of certain rights and obligations, such as the free movement of workers.

The experience of Central and Eastern Europe, whose orientation towards the new values after the fall of the Berlin wall was clearly defined and inspired by the idea of membership in the European Community provides us with a background to calculate the time necessary for Montenegro to acquire the status of a full EU member. Based on the record of these countries and on the supposition that Montenegro will be highly successful in harmonising its legal and economic system with that of EU, the full membership for Montenegro will be possible in 2017 at the earliest.

Any delays in conducting an effective fight against corruption, delays in the reform of judiciary or public administration and lack of solutions for the structural economic problems could easily extend this period by a year or few.

According to the Reports on the Progress of Montenegro in the European integrations process, annually prepared by the EC, the European values are yet to be firmly established in Montenegro's democracy. It is therefore likely that the accession date will arrive well after 2017.

The author is a lecturer at the Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Belgrade

NEGOTIATION CHAPTERS

The chapters of *acquis communautaire* that Montenegro will have to adapt to in the process of EU accession are:

1. Free movement of goods
2. Freedom of movement for workers
3. Right of establishment and freedom to provide services
4. Free movement of capital
5. Public procurement
6. Company law
7. Intellectual property law
8. Competition policy
9. Financial services
10. Information society and media
11. Agriculture and rural development
12. Food safety, veterinary and phytosanitary policy
13. Fisheries
14. Transport policy
15. Energy
16. Taxation
17. Economic and monetary policy
18. Statistics
19. Social policy and employment
20. Enterprise and industrial policy
21. Trans-European Networks
22. Regional policy and coordination of structural instruments
23. Judiciary and fundamental rights
24. Justice, freedom and security
25. Science and research
26. Education and culture
27. Environment
28. Consumer and health protection
29. Customs union
30. External relations
31. Foreign, security, defence policy
32. Financial control
33. Financial and budgetary provisions
34. Institutions
35. Other

My corner of the planet

by Brano Mandić

Praise my deep involvement with the very heart of the NGO sector in Montenegro, fortunate circumstances and commitment of the organisers of another seminar brought me to Oslo, a capital which is not in the European Union since Norway anyway has plenty of fish and oil. I just returned from the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs where they organised us a meeting with a Man in Charge of the Balkans. Next to him sat the Man in Charge of Montenegro. The latter took half a minute to remember in which form the Montenegrin state had a diplomatic presence in Norway.

When it dawned upon him that all consular hassle can be done at the Serbian embassy the cold intermission was over and we could move on, to energy. This is where Norway

If Europe is a place where young people love to work although they could afford not to work and slouch about pubs and communes on public money, we're talking a civilisational distance of 1000 years, forwards of backwards is not up to me to decide

can, wants to and will invest and it feels that Montenegro could be a partner. My indulging seminar-going personality prevented me from engaging in a discussion on my native country and its energy system. I don't like such debates on the foreign terrain, especially if your position is that of a laic and a consumer and you're not calm enough 'cause you're not heating with wood and you're blaming it all on Montenegro's electric power monopoly and in no time you'll become a quisling slandering his own country in the very homeland of the said traitor.

Beyond conversations with ministers, it's the common people on the



streets and in the bars that can give us the right diagnosis of the system to which we also aspire, at least in our agendas.

It borders on madness that in Scandinavia state aid is considered some kind of disgrace. Living off the state, the ancient dream of our forefathers is considered by the citizens of Oslo as something filthy, barely fit

for a handful of dubious Somalis, Lirian queens of the night, a few Arabs and so on further East.

How many seminars are needed to change the attitude towards public property? I feel there's no hope and that I won't live to see in this incarnation another receptionist like the 20-year old **Richard** from hotel Anker in Oslo, telling me that he loves to work, he wants to work and couldn't live having the money and no job. The limits of one's English do not allow a man with self-respect to engage in philosophical discussions on such occasions, but I really had to explain to the young Richard Worker's Heart that we in Monte-

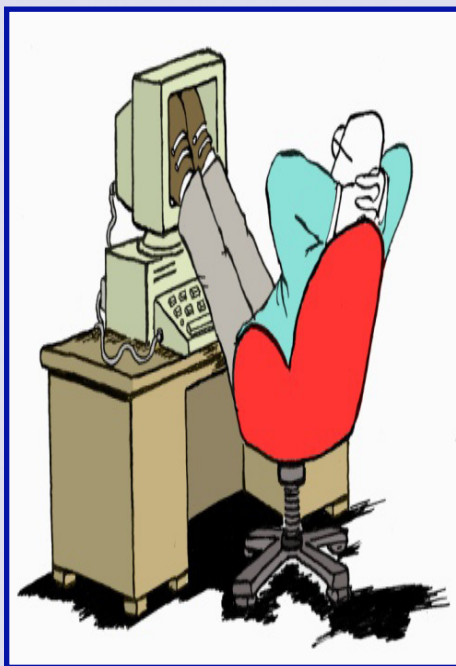
negro love being idle and leeching on the state money and that we love them both and together like we love our coffee with mineral water. Even our greatest poet from the heights of Lovćen told us that its best drunk mixed.

Joking aside, if Europe is a place where young people love to work although they could afford not to work and slouch about pubs and communes on public money, we're talking a civilisational distance of 1000 years, forwards of backwards is not up to me to decide, 'cause I'm not a philosopher. What is very good to see is that all immigrants chewing on the Karl Johan street are happy that the state has enough money for their mentality and their white sneakers that could never fit a white man so well. And the state does have the money, because a beer is 7 euros, a Lucky Strike ten and a barrel of oil whatever it is these days, and all that social-democratically, with Protestant precision redistributed for the last 50 years.

Norway is the best example that one doesn't have to be a member of European Union in order to be culturally superior. Just like Montenegro can join European Union sooner or later and yet there's no EULEX on

this Earth that could drive away the coffee sippers on Hercegovačka at all working times from May to November.

What is important is that this concept of responsibility that one acquires in the early childhood is still nowhere to be seen in Montenegro. In other words, if you have children, tell them it's the best and smartest to have big balls and that they should always talk back, which then means that they always talk and never listen to others. This is the educational method that Montenegrins carry on to every activity and thus the recruitment favours those whose parents and the media have been most persevering in teaching them slogans and patting them on the back. On the other hand, mister citizen who does not wish to become a stock market guru or chess champion but a quiet family guy with an average salary and



fifth decade of their lives, which is human. But if those people are to tell us about the EU, it's better if we all keep quiet.

Norway is the best example that one doesn't have to be a member of European Union in order to be culturally superior. Just like Montenegro can join European Union sooner or later and yet there's no EULEX on this Earth that could drive away the coffee sippers on Hercegovačka at all working times from May to November. What is important is that this concept of responsibility that one acquires in the early childhood is still nowhere to be seen in Montenegro

long weekends is the species under threat of extinction in this country, and with him also a normal worldview, middle ground between a pauper and a thief... while I'm just about to discover the wheel.

To lighten up the tone a bit, let's say there's still hope. If every third Montenegrin student goes abroad, maybe we'll have a chance. Linking up with the symbols and language of the European streets, European institutions, struggle against common places and prejudices which ought to be fought while your education is still financed by your parents is crucial for planning the seeds of future healthy members of our tiny state. The lack is painfully obvious if we only look at some Montenegrin politicians. They went abroad for the first time in the

A single trip across the border makes things a lot clearer. First of all, you can see that time is money and that nobody is waiting for

Abolishing visas is one of the most important benchmarks Montenegro has to wait for. It will be even more important than the date we enter the EU, even more important than the holy Referendum. This will be the date when the better ones among us will have a chance to integrate into the world to which they have belonged since their birth

Montenegro. That the life goes on differently, fundamentally embedded in a paradigm which is still totally alien to Montenegrins. It can also cause the sense of emptiness and the feeling of not belonging to that world. You've been waiting for ten years for the permission to visit the continent they all claim is your own. Repenting the sins of the slaughterers from the

nineties, entire Balkan generations have gone to hell in the meantime and their fear from journeys and changes is so thick you can cut it with a knife on every foreign airport in the queues under the touching sign "non EU citizens".

Abolishing visas is one of the most important benchmarks Montenegro has to wait for. It will be even more important than the date we enter the EU, even more important than the holy Referendum. This will be the date when the better ones among us will have a chance to integrate into the world to which they have belonged since their birth. For the time being, we have the Joint Application Centre where Montenegrins get their visas for EU countries, a place with rude staff and a few scandals to its name. Which is also a picture of EU. It's a little puzzling that they feel no need to make this image more attractive for us but then again, seen that we've been crooning under their windows for years, maybe it isn't necessary.

The summer terraces and the croak of Norwegian seagulls are calling out, so I'll finish this short report in the Balkan manner, romantically and abruptly. Can't wait to go back to Montenegro and keep quiet about the events of the journey.

Share with nobody the wonderful moments of proximity with another culture, colours and smells.

Preserve the picture of another world which tempts and frightens.

There's no place like home and other party bullshit, it's after all true.

In that name, greetings from Anker with a patriotic slogan – Norway, my corner of the planet!

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

THE NEW PARLIAMENT AND THE NEED FOR A DEMOCRATIC ADVANCE

Time for a different relationship between majority and minority

At the parliamentary elections from 29 March 2009 Coalition Euro-Montenegro – Milo



by Stevo Muk

Dukanović consisting of the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS), Social-Democratic Party (SDP), Bosnian Party (BS) and Croatian Civic Initiative (CCI) won 48 seats. Socialist People's Party (SPP) led by **Srdan Milić** won 16 seats, the New Serbian Democracy and its leader **Andrija Mandić** 8, Movement for Changes headed by **Nebojša Medojević** 5 seats. One seat each went to parties and coalitions representing the Albanian national minority: Democratic Union

It is time to consider an alternative relationship between majority and minority in the Montenegrin Parliament

of Albanians and its candidate **Ferhat Dinosh** with the, **Nazif Cungu's** Forca, and Coalition of Democratic Council Alliance in Montenegro and Albanian Alternative with their respective candidates **Mehmet Bardhi** and **Gjergj Camaj**, as well as the Coalition Perspective, led by **Almir Hollaj**.

Democratic Party of Socialists is a heir to the Communist League of Montenegro. Its current name dates from the 1992 Congress. Since 2008 DPS is a full member of the Socialist International. Before the elections, 33 MPs in the Parliament of Montenegro came from its rank, as well as the President and an overwhelming major-

ity of Government officials.

Movement for Changes (MfC) was founded in July 2006. Its founders previously belonged to the non-governmental organisation Group for Changes, which existed from 2003 to 2006. PZP has ties with the European People's Party. After the 2006 elections it held 11 seats in the Parliament of Montenegro. A number MfC's officials and members left the party in 2009 to form Democratic Centre (DC), a party which ran for the elections in coalition with the Liberal Party (LP) but failed to pass the census.

Socialist People's Party was founded in February 1998 after the internal division of DPS. Before the last elections, SNP had 7 MPs in the Parliament of Montenegro. In the 2006 elections it ran together with NS and DSS and was a leader of the block of parties advocating state union with Serbia. President of SNP is also president of the National Council for

European Integrations (NCEI).

Social-Democratic Party of Montenegro was founded at the Congress uniting the SDPR and Socialist Party of Montenegro in June 1993. The party is a full member of the Socialist International since 1996. Before the elections, SDP had 7 MPs in the Parliament of Montenegro and a number of officials in the Government.

New Serbian Democracy (NOVA) was created in January 2009 though a merger of the Serbian People's Party (SPP) and People's Socialist Party (NSS).

Bosnian Party (BP) was founded as a party of Bosniak minority with head-

quarters in Rožaje though political merger of four parties: International Democratic Union (IDU), Party of Democratic Action (PDA), Bosniak Democratic Council (BDC) and Party of National Equality (PNE). At the previous elections BP ran together with the Liberal Party, winning 2 parliamentary seats.

Croatian Civic Initiative (CCI) is a political party founded in May 2003 with the specific goal of promoting the rights and freedoms of the Croatian nationals in Montenegro. In 2006 elections CCI ran together with DPS and SDP when it won one seat.

Democratic Union of Albanians is a party of Albanian minority founded in January 1994. Before the last elections it had one MP. One of its representatives was also the Minister for Human and Minority Rights.

The New Democratic Force – FORCA – a party of Albanians with headquarters in Ulcinj was founded in October 2005. In the previous elections it failed to pass the census.

Democratic Alliance in Montenegro and Albanian Alternative won one seat each in the previous elections, while the Albanian Coalition – Perspective made it into the Parliament for the first time in this year's elections.

Constitution of the new assembly of Montenegrin Parliament is also a chance to constitute a new relationship between the parliamentary majority and minority. This time, the majority is likely to consist of the parties members of the winning coalition plus the DUA. Parliamentary minority, on the other hand, will comprise the three larger parties – SPP, NSD and MfC as well as the three smaller Albanian national

parties, i.e. coalitions DAM and AA, Perspective and Forca.

In the past, the ruling majority in the Parliament often used various forms of pressure, obstruction and dilution of proposals, initiatives and demands coming from the opposition. The opposition, on the other hand, often resorted to boycotts of plenary sessions as a means of pressuring the parliamentary majority and the Government, largely because of the abolishment of live broadcasts of parliamentary sessions by the public service RTCG.

It is now time to think of an alternative form of relationships in the Montenegrin Parliament. During the constitution of the new assembly, and especially with regard to the appointment of deputy Speakers and presidents of parliamentary committees, the MPs should take seriously the recommendations of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe from the Resolution 1601 of 2008, titled "Procedural guidelines regarding the rights and obligations of opposition in a democratic parliament".

Appointment of a deputy Speaker from the ranks of the opposition would be a new value and a democratic

Appointment of a deputy Speaker from the ranks of the opposition would be a new value and a democratic advance in the functioning of the Montenegrin Parliament

advance functioning of the Montenegrin Parliament. Consensus between the parliamentary majority and minority on this issue would be a contribution to political culture, dialogue and respect for regulations. The Book of Regulations of the Parliament of Montenegro stipulates that one deputy Speaker should be elected, on the proposal of the opposition, from the ranks of the opposition. This was, however, not the case in the previous assembly of the Parliament, since the majority refused the proposal to accept nominations of one MP from the ranks of the Serbian List and vice president of the Serbian People's Party, with justification that these two parties did not recognise the existence of the state of



Montenegro and its symbols, rendering their nomination unacceptable for such an important state office.

In the previous assembly of the Parliament president of the Committee for Human Rights and Freedoms was an MfC MP, whereas the Committee for Economy, Finance and Budget had a president from the ranks of SPP.

During the election of presidents of the new parliamentary committees the MPs should bear in mind that the said Resolution of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe recommends, among other, the following:

"Presidency over permanent com-

step towards overcoming of the current situation in the Parliament of Montenegro. The European Commission report on the progress of Montenegro for 2008 also warns that "the Parliament is not making good use of its working bodies" and that "observance of the Book of Regulations remains problematic. Moreover, the mechanisms of check and balances instituted by the Book of Regulations are not sufficiently used. The work of the Parliament is still far from efficient and transparent, especially with respect to timely scheduling of the agenda and submission of the relevant documents to parliamentary committees".

The EC says further: "the Parliament has made substantial improvements in monitoring defence and security structures, which is a key priority of the European Partnership. However, there is still space for improvement with regard to monitoring and control of the key functions of these bodies. The monitoring function of the Parliament remains generally weak".

Adoption and implementation of the said recommendations would be very much in line with the statements issued by the representatives of the joint monitoring mission of OSCE and the Council of Europe after the last parliamentary elections, which emphasised the importance of inclusiveness in the post-election processes.

The author is the president of the Board of Directors of the Institute Alternative (IA)

mittees is allotted to the parliamentary groups based on proportional representation: an MP from the opposition should preside over at least one committee; presidency over the committees in charge of monitoring the Government, such as committees for budget and finance, audit or monitoring of security and information services should be offered to an opposition MP".

It would be very important to ensure that, unlike in the practice so far, in the future the parliamentary majority allows for equal treatment and debate of opposition's proposals and drafts, as well as its initiatives to fulfil Parliament's role as a check on the Government.

This would be a very significant

YOUNG PEOPLE IN MONTENEGRO SEE NO ALTERNATIVE TO EU

EU, my dream!

I have a dream – said dr **Martin Luther King** on 28 August 1963 in front of some 250 000 people



by Andrej Milović

in Washington.

He had a dream. He dreamed of equality between blacks and whites.

Today, half a century later, without intending a parallel between myself and

I dream of travelling without visas just like EU students do, I dream of applying to one of the famous European universities, working in an EU institution...

Martin Luther King, but with a desire to emphasise the power of dreaming, I will tell you that I also have a dream. I dream of Montenegro being a member of the European Union.

Perhaps my dream is less of a challenge than the one that led Martin Luther King. Still, many challenges lie ahead, not least of them the prejudices, our own selves, our habits and traditions that stand between us and our dream.

As a student, I dream that with the accession to EU I will become part of a big family of European states, I dream of having the same status as my colleagues from Milan, Paris, Berlin, Madrid, London... I dream of travelling without visas just like EU

Our participation in the decision making processes is the foundation of a healthy process of moving our country forward

students do, I dream of applying to one of the famous European universities, working in an EU institution...

Unfortunately, my dream is still only a dream and it is uncertain when

it will come true.

I am still happy because even here the values of EU are well understood and people want to move in the direction of the Union. The change is therefore inevitable. Our Balkan habits are working against us, and indeed we are the biggest obstacle on our road to Europe. We will have to sacrifice ourselves, for the price of our sacrifice is small compared to the goal we are striving for. If we want to change our country for the better, we ourselves must change – the country cannot change on its own if we remain the same.

By joining the EU we remove all

the cultural, ideological and many other barriers standing between us and developed Europe. By travelling and meeting new people outside of our

Our Balkan habits are working against us, and indeed we are ourselves the biggest obstacle on our road to Europe

homeland we broaden our horizons, establish connections and communication with our peers, build new experiences and perceptions from the very differences in the traditions and lifestyles and break away from our Balkan single-mindedness and nationalist limitations that deprived us from a carefree youth and took away thousands of lives.

Our participation in the decision

making processes is the foundation of a healthy process of moving our country forward. On the other hand, our passivity can lead to a "long road to Europe", drag us all behind, con-



Martin Luther King

demning even the future generations to the agonies of the 1990s and a life with the same consequences we are currently coping with.

Therefore, my fellow students, let us do things differently. Let us show to the grown-ups how to behave, how to approach work, let us invest in knowledge, work on ourselves constantly and never let any disappointments take us off the right path.

I believe that we ought to lead this country to European Union, to be

the engine of the process, for we love this country and we wish it well. We have, I hope, finally understood that the homeland is best defended with beauty, with honour and knowledge, with life and good manners, to quote the poet **Ljubivoje Ršumović**, and not with nationalism and weapons.

European Union is an ideal for all of us, the bright guiding star of all young people from Herceg Novi to Ulcinj, from Pljevlja to Rožaje, from Podgorica to Nikšić. We want to see our star among those 27.

There is no alternative to EU!

The author is a student at the Faculty of Administrative and European Studies

WHY DO I WANT TO BE A CITIZEN OF EUROPEAN UNION

We must cross the river

I was born in Montenegro. In the country with invaluable natural wealth, tireless rivers, gorgeous mountain ranges,



by Marko Sekulić

history in the spirit of the old age that carved Montenegro out as an ecological diva, a place where everyone can find his or her own place.

Should this Montenegro be a part of European Union, and all of us its equal citizens? Is Europe a closed fortress without gates or bridges, which only angels can reach?

Someone whispered to me once that bridges are everywhere, when this river originated, at the moment of union and reconciliation, European Union rested on overcoming its struggles from the late XX

Everything has its advantages and disadvantages, but the balance will always be positive

and early XXI century. This was part of a common, brave effort of all of its citizens, defiant economy, breathtaking stability and unity that defies the "higher forces". As such, the EU has become a world player, consistent in its role and committed to a multi-national, ethnically harmonious society, promotion of human rights, freedoms, democracy, neoliberal trade, assistance and all other values that make this creation worthwhile.

Such values cannot be imposed. Yet they exist right here, within my hand's reach. All I need to do is to get to know my partners from the other side who are stretching their hands towards me, to assume responsibility in order to recognise and improve these values now. I am certain that in the fight for the idea of cooperation among European nations in such controversial contexts of, for instance, great economic diversity, many will falter. Some of them suffer from an

inferiority complex which they try to hide with negative attitudes towards their own acts or towards issues of identity.

The desire to enjoy the same rights, as a citizen of Europe, is stronger. The very thought of immense opportunities I would encounter and prise them open one by one like birthday gifts, and learn incessantly, insatiably, wins over these petty, irrelevant concerns and directs me towards the greater goal. Every day I would have a new task, a new journey, new victories, sometimes also a call for joint assistance across the invisible borders.

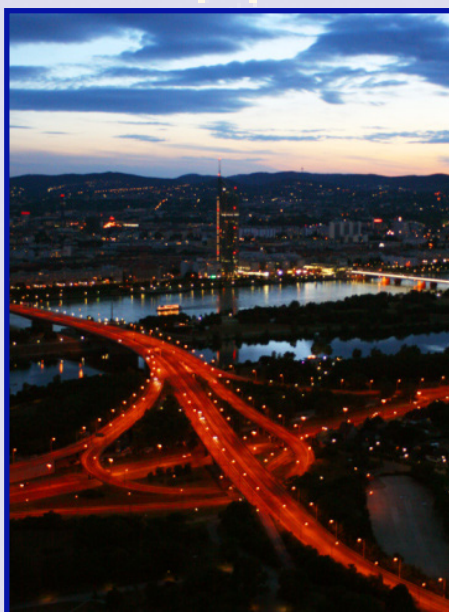
But what will this responsibility con-

I always believed that Montenegro has much to offer to enrich the culture of the European family of united peoples

sist of, is it too much for me? Is it enough to stay and help one family here, meet one's friends and waste each day of hope for a better tomorrow?

Perhaps the answer is to stay forever and live here in the noose of the Western Balkans that gets tighter by the day. Never to say "I'm sorry" for the part

of this not-so-distant history which only brought us war, destruction and sorrowful memories.



I believe that the real answer lies in the history of European Union countries. This is what makes me aware of the meaning of its existence and gives me a clear answer to why I want to be its citizen.

I know, there are challenges ahead. The ship with a helmsman who awaits me and leads me, the citizen of Montenegro into the waters of European Union. This time I will not hesitate, because the end is certain. As a citizen of tiny Montenegro in European Union, a citizen of Europe, I will expand my knowledge and horizons, and than

embrace them and share them with others. Such harmony will not be an invisible complex any more, or another fairy tale somebody read to me before going to bed – it will shape my life in all of its guises, the society will be able to breathe with full lungs again.

Everything has its shortcomings too, but the balance will certainly be positive.

I have spent my student life in this European Union. I had a chance to share in equal opportunities and yet preserve my difference and uniqueness.

I always believed that Montenegro has much to offer to enrich the culture of the European family of united peoples.

In that name, the status of a citizen of Europe is worth waiting in queues in front of embassies, persevering in the line for "non-EU" and for a bit longer gather the strength and complete the marathon race.

I am now living this dream, like a traveller looking for an oasis for thirsty caravans. When I find it, it will be a dream no more, but reality, reality without limits, filled with countless answers to the question "why".

The author is aspirant in the Ministry for Economic Development of the Government of Montenegro. He attended VIII generation of the European Integrations School

Gray economy on the rise

While almost every other part of the EU economy is declining because of the recession, one sector – the black market – is starting to bloom, according to a research by an Austrian expert, **Johannes Kepler**.

According to this study, shadow economy – comprising untaxed trade in goods and services (i.e. cash payments in construction or car repair, and excluding serious offences such as illegal trade in drugs and prostitution) – should rise this year from 0.3% to 0.9% in the 14 richest countries of EU which are also part of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation

and Development (OECD).

The highest growth, 0.8 to 0.9% is expected in Ireland, Great Britain and Spain, whereas the lowest expectations for the rise in gray economy are for Belgium, Austria and Germany.

The growth of gray economy in the former communist states, now members of European Union, which have not been part of the research, is expected to be at least as high, if not higher.

If the predictions turn out to be correct, this will be the first turn upwards for shadow economy, after a steady decline of 15 years.

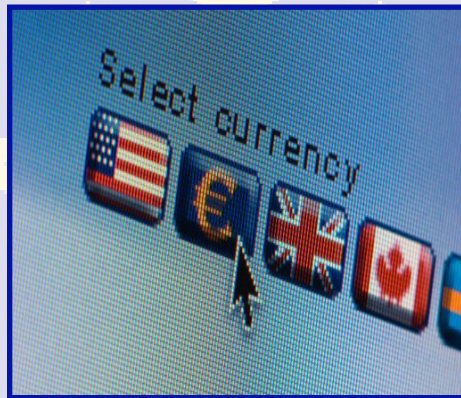
More and more users of ".eu"

Big multinational corporations, small and medium enterprises, as well as non-governmental organisations, scientific institutes and individual citizens all seem to be rather enthusiastic about the new European internet domain ".eu", which is more than confirmed by the register of three million users, says the European Commission.

This brings ".eu" to the fifth place among the most highly ranked "national" domains. The top of the list with 13 million registered users goes to the Chinese national domain ".cn", the second is occupied by the German ".de", the third goes to British ".uk" and the fourth the Dutch ".nl".

The greatest number of ".eu" users is in Germany, which accounts for 30% of all registered users of the European domain.

In the meantime, Sweden became the first EU member to create an official page in the domain ".eu" for its upcoming



EU presidency. The official address of the website will be www.se2009.eu.

Registrations for the European internet domain ".eu" started on 7 December 2005 and was initially available only to public administration bodies. Since March 2006 it has also been opened for registration to EU citizens and EU-based organisations.

Britain is no paradise for children

According to a study conducted by the University of York, the standard of living for European children is the highest in the Netherlands and Scandinavian countries,



while the UK ranks on a low 24th place out of 29 countries analysed. Still worse are Romania, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Latvia and Malta.

The research deals with children and youth up to 19 years of age, and the researchers used 43 different criteria in their assessment, from mortality rates to the quality of housing.

Britain's low ranking, in spite of its leading position among the developed world economies is "primarily caused by the high numbers of children living in families where both parents are unemployed".

Economic governance

The governments of EU member states will receive 1.79 billion euros back from the savings made in the 2008 common EU budget, the EC announced.

The Commission said the surplus was a result of "efficient budget management and continuous efforts to ask the members to only pay for what is strictly necessary".

Germany, the biggest contributor to the EU budget, will receive 356.7 million euros. France will get 280.1 million, UK 270.7 and Italy 222.7.

According to EU regulations, all money that remains unspent from the Community budget must be returned to the member states. The total EU budget for 2008 was 116 billion euros.

Stop dangerous products

According to the European Commission report, 1 866 dangerous products were withdrawn from the European market last year, 16% more than in 2007.

Among the retracted products most were toys (498), electrical appliances (169), motor vehicles (160) and textile products (140). Up to 909 products were originally from China, and most dangerous products (205) were discovered in Germany.

Island wants to join EU

Island's prime minister Johanna Sigurdardottir said that EU membership will be the first priority of her government if she wins the upcoming general elections. She believes this country will be able to adopt Euro within four years from the start of the new mandate.

Island's membership in the EU is one of the main issues in this year's election campaign. The voters are highly divided, as many worry that the country will be unable to protect its fisheries, which have become the key sector of the economy since the financial collapse last autumn.

The latest public opinion polls shows that a great majority of Islanders wants to begin negotiations with the EU – 64.2%, although at the moment only 39.7% hopes to join EU.

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND MEMBER STATES HAVE DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO ILLEGAL LOGGING

Walking the plank

While Montenegro is witnessing both re-forestation actions which are supposed to result in 650 000 young trees being planted all over the country and affairs shaking the Directorate of Forests on account of alleged fraud and mismanagement, the EU took a step towards taking action against illegal logging.

At the European Parliament session of 22 April, the MEPs voted in favour of stricter rules on timber sold within the bloc's markets, including the introduction of sanctions against offenders.

The Parliament adopted a report authored by Green MEP **Caroline Lucas** (UK), strengthening the Commission's proposals on timber trade.

According to MEPs, all actors in the timber supply chain must be made responsible for ensuring that illegally-sourced wood does not find its way to the EU market.

The Commission originally proposed a one-off check by the operator which placed timber on the market for the first time. The Parliament, however, wants to make all traders and producers

responsible for clearly indicating the source of their products and the supplier of the timber through a traceability system.

Two years after the regulation enters into force, member states would have to ensure that all timber products on the EU market are labelled with this information.

Moreover, the Parliament's move effectively criminalises illegal timber trading, obliging EU member states to impose financial penalties on operators in breach of the law. The co-legislators' amendments to the proposal stipulate that these penalties must represent "at least five times the value of the timber products obtained by committing a serious infringement".

The adopted text also provides for improved monitoring, urging the competent authorities to carry out controls on the supply chain. In case of infringement, these authorities should take "corrective measures", such as "the immediate cessation of commercial activities" and "the seizure of timber and timber products," MEPs say.

The tough stance reflects the extent of the problem. A WWF



report last year estimated that almost a fifth of timber coming into the EU market was from illegal sources.

However, while the Parliament has made quick progress by producing its first-reading stance on the rules governing the timber trade, the 27 member states are yet to present their views. The Czech Presidency is aiming to have a common position agreed upon by June, which would then be taken further by the Swedes, who assume the EU helm for six months in July.

According to *EurActiv* the reason the negotiations were taking longer in the Council is that they had taken a very different line compared to the Parliament. It said the Council had to tackle technical problems in the draft text, such as how to make the monitoring systems and the organisations charged with overseeing compliance work together.

"The Parliament's approach is more ideological," said an unofficial source argued, adding that the obligation for all operators to check the origin of their timber would place a heavy burden on the industry. There is also a need to

UP TO 40% OF TIMBER FROM ILLEGAL LOGGING

Caroline Lucas, Green MP in the European Parliament stressed that the EU had been preaching against illegal logging for many years, while simultaneously providing one of the world's biggest markets for illegally-sourced timber and timber products.

She said the extent of the problem was vast, with 20-40% of EU imports coming from illegal sources. "That depresses timber prices, it strips natural resources and tax revenue, and it increases the poverty of forest-dependent peoples", Lucas warned.

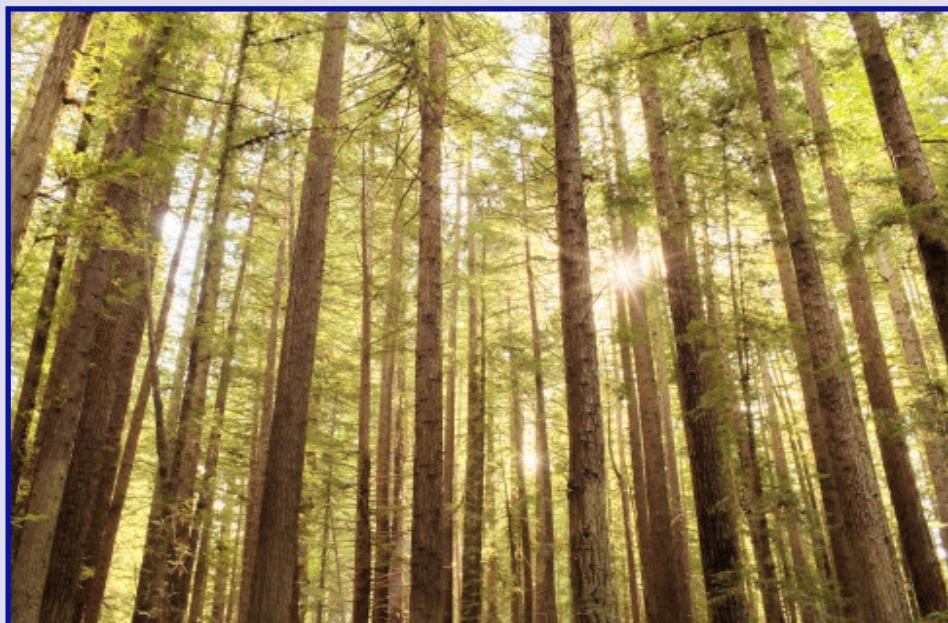
clarify whether the EU even had the competence to criminalise the use of timber from illegal sources, or whether this in fact fell under the jurisdiction of individual member states.

A Swedish government official said, however, that while member states had different interests, as some are clearly importers of wood products and some are producers, the negotiating difficulties should not be exaggerated.

"It is common that a completely new regulation in an area that has not been regulated before takes time. I would be more worried if we had a clear position after just four months," she said.

A source from a member state with a large forestry sector said the problem for wood-producing EU nations is often that they already have well-functioning legislation and monitoring systems to combat illegal logging in their own countries. They are now worried that these might not be compatible with the European framework, it said.

Countries which import a lot of



timber from third countries, including the UK and the Netherlands, on the other hand, face different problems. Illegal logging is mainly associated with tropical wood, while EU countries in general have relatively well-regulated timber markets. Even if the monitoring system is relatively painlessly introduced for the latter, it may be difficult or even impossible to track the origin of timber from some third countries.

However, some member states, such as Bulgaria and Romania, are having problems enforcing legislation to combat criminal activity in the sector.

Sweden is hoping to finalise the new timber legislation during its EU presidency, but has acknowledged that there might be delays here, because administrative processes will need to be clarified once the new Parliament is in place following June's elections.

The EU first addressed illegal logging in 2003 when it published the Forest Law Enforcement Governance and Trade Action Plan. The document included provisions to conclude so-called 'Voluntary Partnership Agreements' between the EU and timber-producing countries, and promoted public procurement policies in favour of legally-harvested timber.

The action plan contained only voluntary measures, and did not prove to be enough to halt the entry of illegally-logged timber onto EU markets.

Moreover, the EU has so far only concluded one such partnership, with Ghana.

EU LAGGING BEHIND US

The EU, traditionally a front-runner in environmental legislation, is now lagging behind the United States in combating illegal logging.

Last year, the US extended its oldest wildlife protection law – the Lacey Act enacted in 1900 – to cover illegal logging. The law now makes it possible to prosecute any actor dealing with illegal timber.

The EU is discussing rules on timber trade under the wider umbrella of deforestation and forest degradation, an area where it is actively promoting international action. The Parliament recently adopted another resolution, which urges EU leaders to make sure that the new UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change) climate agreement due to be agreed in Copenhagen in December tackles deforestation.

However, green groups have pointed out that there is a discrepancy between the EU's efforts to address deforestation and its slow action on illegal timber.

"The EU cannot drag its feet on timber laws while claiming that it is critical to address deforestation and forest degradation," says **Sebastien Risso**, EU forest policy director at Greenpeace.

He added that the EU's credibility would be on the line should it fail to speed up the adoption of legislation to combat illegal logging and regulate timber markets.

V.Š.-V.Ž.

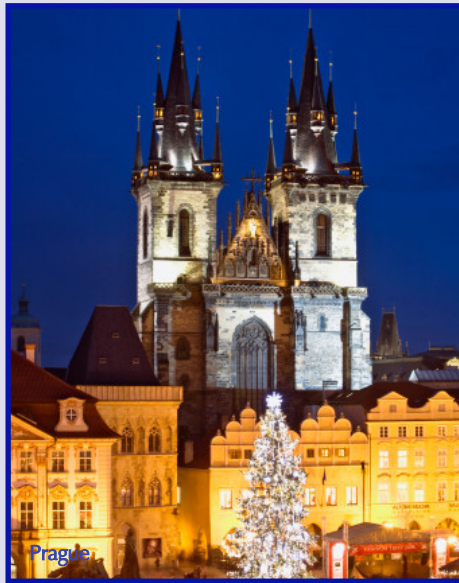
STATEMENT OF THE CZECH EU PRESIDENCY ON WESTERN BALKANS

Fostering the integration momentum

It is necessary to "foster the integration momentum" of the West Balkan countries while, at the same time, each country's progress towards the European Union must be based on "individual merits and rigorous conditionality, guiding the necessary political and economic reforms".

These are the conclusions of the statement of the Czech EU presidency issued on the occasion of an informal meeting of Foreign Affairs ministers (Gymnich), held on 29 March in Hluboka nad Vltavou.

The two-day meeting brought together representatives of the Governments of the Member States of the European Union, the candidate countries, the potential candidate countries of the Western



The statement adds that strengthening people to people contacts represents the most tangible benefit of the European integration

A visa free regime should be established with all Western Balkan countries as soon as the benchmarks defined in the visa liberalisation roadmaps are met

Balkans, the Secretary General of the Council and European Commissioner for Enlargement as well as Special Representatives for Kosovo and BiH.

Conclusions from the meeting state that the Stabilisation and Association Process will remain the overall framework for the European course of the Western Balkan countries all the way to their future accession.

"By making solid progress in economic and political reform and by fulfilling the necessary conditions and requirements, the remaining potential candidates in the Western Balkans should achieve candidate status, according to their own merits, with European Union membership as ultimate goal", states the document.

for the citizens of the Western Balkans.

"A visa free regime should be established with all Western Balkan countries when the benchmarks defined in the visa liberalisation roadmaps are met", says the document, adding that student and young professional exchanges represent a particular contribution to fostering harmony and overcoming prejudice among the people of the Western Balkans and should be further promoted.

According to the Presidency's statement, good neighbourly relations and the need to find mutually acceptable solutions on outstanding issues with neighbouring countries remain essential elements of the region's way towards the EU.

"Regional cooperation among

the Western Balkan countries is a key element of the Stabilisation and Association Process. It contributes to a shared understanding in the region and to finding solutions for issues of common interest, such as in the fields of energy, transport, trade, fight against organised crime and corruption, refugee return and border control. In this context, the participants commended the first year of work of the Regional Cooperation Council and reiterated that regional cooperation needs to be inclusive", concluded the representatives of EU governments.

"The countries of the region will continue to benefit from EU support to economic stability and development and will also receive focussed support from the Crisis Response Package under the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance", states the document, emphasising that all participants assessed positively the cooperation during the recent gas crisis.

Referring to current and upcoming elections in the Western Balkans region, the Presidency recalled the importance of ensuring free and fair elections in line with international standards and commitments.

It was also reiterated that the implementation of the Interim Agreement and the ratification of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement with Serbia will commence as soon as the Council decides that Serbia fully co-operates with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.

"An early implementation of the Interim Agreement is desirable", recommended the participants.

V.Ž.-V.Š.



Centre for civic education

New young leaders

Centre for Civic Education (CCE) completed the selection of participants for the V generation of the Youth Leadership School on 15 April 2009. In the next three months 22 new participants will have a chance to attend various forms of seminars on the issues of democracy, leadership, tolerance, discrimination, conflict and non-violent conflict resolution, human and minority rights, identity, active citizenship, gender equality, stereotypes, public relations and European integrations. The seminars will take place once a week, and will be coordinated by the CEE team of trainers through workshops and interactive participation of participants.

After they complete the training, the participants receive a diploma and acquire the right to participate in further courses. Youth Leadership School has been successfully attended by about eighty high-school students so far, who will soon become actors in our social reality and decision makers, and the skills and knowledge acquired in the Youth Leadership School will be of immense assistance in their social and professional life.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPEAN UNION

ILGA EUROPE – INTERNATIONAL LESBIAN AND GAY ASSOCIATION



It is a non-governmental umbrella organisation which comprises about 200 member organisations promoting the rights of LGBT persons on the European level.

ILGA-Europe enjoys consultative status at Economic and Social Council of the United Nations

(ECOSOC) and participative status at the Council of Europe. It is a member of the Platform of European Social NGOs. ILGA was founded in 1978 and has an office in Brussels.

ILGA's vision is of a world freed from any form of discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation, gender identity or gender expression; a world of equality and freedom.

ILGA-Europe's mission is:

- to act as a European voice for the rights of those who face discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation, gender identity or gender expression;
- to promote the right to equality and freedom from discrimination by lobbying and advocacy;
- to educate and inform the European and international institutions, media and civil society about LGBT related issues;
- to strengthen the capacity of European human rights organisations fighting against sexual orientation, gender identity and gender expression discrimination
- to engage in advocacy, campaigning and networking in order to strengthen awareness on the need of full recognition of human rights of LGBT persons
- to be the point of exchange of best practices and networking of related organizations active in Europe and to create joint actions and strategies.

ILGA has managed to ensure introduction of anti-discrimination provisions of the Treaty of Amsterdam, and the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights.

ILGA's activities have also lead to the introduction of anti-discrimination legislation and obligation to respect rights of LGBT persons among the criteria for accession to European Union. This measure has been highly effective in pressuring the governments of candidates countries to repeal discriminatory laws.

In 2004 ILGA-Europe played a significant role in the events leading to the withdrawal by the President of the European Commission of Mr Buttiglione's nomination for the position of Commissioner for Justice and Home Affairs, on account of his highly conservative views on LGBT and women's rights. These are only some of the illustrations of ILGA's credibility within EU institutions.

ILGA has widespread publishing activities, and a regular overview of its activities related to various political, economic and social issues with regard to LGBT can be found in its monthly reports.

More about this organization and its activities can be found at www.ilga-europe.org

Prepared by: Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ

A long road to harmonisation of trade practices and EU single market

The final conference in Bečići on 3 and 4 April 2009 marked an end to the TRIM MNE project, worth more than 2 million euros, and financed from the European funds with the objective of providing support to the Government of Montenegro to accelerate the pace of legal harmonisation and build up administrative capacities in the area of trade and single market. Bastian Viegel, director of the TRIM MNE

project, Leopold Maurer, ambassador of the European Commission Delegation, Gordana Đurović, deputy prime minister of Montenegro as well as Matjaž Logar and Zvezdan Čadenović as representatives of the project summarised the activities conducted in the framework of TRIM MNE and presented the future challenges and demands lying ahead of the Montenegrin administration on the road to

European Union.

The conference itself was dedicated to the harmonization of trade practices and EU single market, and consisted of several round tables titled "Trade", "Competition", "State Aid" and "Consumer Protection", and gathered national as well as EU experts on these issues. Milo Radulović, programme associate, attended the meeting on behalf of the Centre for Civic Education (CCE).

Balkans between Europe and history

In cooperation with the Centre for International Relations from Poland, and with support of the European Commission Centre for Civic Education (CCE) is currently working on a project titled "The Balkans – between Europe and History". As a part of the project, CCE organised a meeting of editors of press and electronic media from Western Balkans and Poland between 21 and 25 April 2009 in Warsaw.

The goal of this gathering was to offer the participants new insights into different phases of EU accession, exchange experiences and knowledge with their colleagues from Poland, and to contribute to the establish-

ment of firm foundations for a continued exchange of information, experiences and good practices among the media professionals from the West Balkan countries and promote their individual achievements so far in the areas concerned.

The participants also had a chance to meet several public figures from Poland.

Participants from Montenegro at this event were **Milka Tadić Mijović**, director of the weekly "Monitor", **Rajko Šebek**, news programme editor at IN TV and **Petar Komnenić**, journalist of the Radio Free Europe and editor at TV Vijesti.

Perspectives for stabilisation and integration of the Western Balkans

Daliborka Uljarević, executive director of CCE participated in the conference "Perspectives for Stabilisation and Integration of the Western Balkans" on 21 April 2009 in Dijon (France), organised by the Bourgogne Balkans Express with support of a renowned French educational establishment Science Po Paris, European Commission, NATO and various other partners.

The conference gathered well known researchers and activists working in the area of European integrations in order to facilitate exchange of ideas, information and political opinions about some key issues in the future of the Western Balkans, and in order to discuss realistic solutions to the chal-

lenges facing the region of the Western Balkans today. These issues were discussed through the prism of European perspectives, stabilisation and value frameworks. Moderators were renowned journalists from Le Monde, Economis and Courier International.

Uljarević spoke on the panel dedicated to "The phenomenon of corruption and the legal frameworks in the Balkans: key reforms and dark spots through the reports of the European Commission".

The event was opened by **Pierre Mirel** on behalf of the European Commission and **Francois Patriat** on behalf of the regional council of Burgundy, as well as representatives of the SciencesPo.

Active citizenship for Europeanisation

On 22 April 2009 German Organisation MitOst in cooperation with NECE network organised expert discussion on the topic "Perspectives of Informal Civic Education in Central, Eastern and

South-Eastern Europe".

Daliborka Uljarević, executive director of CCE presented the experiences from Montenegro and its neighbouring countries in this area at the first session of the debate.

With civil society to EU

From the 23 to 25 April 2009 in cooperation with the London Euclid network CEDEM organised a seminar for NGO representatives "Unification with Europe through the strengthening and linking the third sectors", with support of the UK ministry of foreign affairs.

The seminar focused on the issues of the sources of finance for NGOs, strengthening mutual cooperation and capacities in order to foster organisational and financial sustainability of the NGO sector in Montenegro and offered examples of best practices from UK.

The participants had a chance to learn specific techniques and skills of raising funds through the procedures specified for EU financing, but also to learn about social entrepreneurship as a form of financing activities of general public interest which proved very successful in the West European context.

The last day of the seminar was organised as a conference titled "The development of civil society in Montenegro" featuring, in addition to NGO representatives, representatives of public institutions, political parties and international organisations in Montenegro. Among the speakers were **Kevin Lyne**, UK ambassador to Montenegro, **Nicola Bertolini**, head of the operational sector of EC Delegation in Montenegro, **Vanja Grgurović**, deputy Secretary of the Secretariat for European Integrations as well as **Goran Đurić**, director of CRNVO.

The participants had a chance to discuss their views of the challenges facing the leaders of the NGO sector in Montenegro today.

Centre for Civic Education was represented at the conference by **Ana Vujošević** and **Ivana Tatar**, programme associates.

FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:



INTERNATIONAL MASTER IN SOCIAL SCIENCES, BERLIN AND ANKARA

The German Turkish Masters Program in Social Sciences at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany (HU) and Middle East Technical University Ankara, Turkey (METU) is accepting applications for the 2009/10 academic year. GeT MA is an international Masters Program in Social Sciences at two leading universities in their respective countries.

Courses in Political Science, Sociology and International Relations offer students a specialized perspective on politics and society in Turkey and Germany, German-Turkish relations as well as the European dimension of domestic and foreign politics in both countries. Furthermore, students gain practical experience through an internship in either Turkey or Germany between their first and second year. Upon completion of the program, a Dual-Master of Arts in Social Sciences is awarded from both HU and METU. The GeT MA program prepares students for international careers in government agencies, NGOs, administration, journalism and research.

Language of instruction both in Ankara and Berlin will be English. Students are not expected to have German or Turkish proficiency. Language courses will be offered as part of the GeT MA program. GeT MA offers students from Germany, Turkey, and from around the world the opportunity to attend language courses either in German, Turkish, or a third language. To practice three languages in one MA program is a unique feature of GeT MA!

All GeT MA students receive comprehensive academic advising and have access to comprehensive student services. Students are assisted from the moment of acceptance, throughout their time in the program as well as after graduation as program alumni.

Application deadline: May 29, 2009

For further information about the application, please visit our website or contact us!

Homepage: www.bgss.hu-berlin.de/masters/getma (Berlin)

Homepage: <http://www.gtss.metu.edu.tr/> (Ankara)

Mail: infogetm@cms.hu-berlin.de

Telephone: 0049-30-2093-4456

INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS PROGRAM SCHOLARSHIP SPAIN

This is the opportunity for international students to acquire a multinational business culture and at the same time improve their Spanish by living in Spain through our International Business Program. The Program is based on the same practical methodological approach that is common to all FUNDESEM programs and covers the key areas involved in running a successful company.

On completion of the program, the students will:

- Understand the full complexity of a company.
- Be aware of how company departments are interrelated and how they are affected by corporate decisions.
- Be able to apply leadership skills to implement corporate renewal in a changing global business environment.

There are five 100% scholarships available, the candidates must write a motivation letter explaining why they would like to study this program and send it to Enrico J. Ahrens ejahrens@fundesem.es, the scholarships do not include housing expenses.

The deadline is July 31st 2009

Website: http://www.fundesem.es/jr/ENGLISH_IBP.pdf

SUMMER SCHOOL IN RESEARCH ON RELIGION, CULTURE AND SOCIETY IN EUROPE LEUVEN, BELGIUM

Date: 17-26 August 2009

The 2009 Summer School on Religion, Culture and Society in Europe (1750-) offers its students a closer and refreshing look at the complicated historical relationship between religion and modernity. Participants will get a solid introduction to the very different domains in which religion has influenced, (re)shaped and even embodied the modernisation process, but also to the continuous adaptation and transformation processes of the religious domain itself, thus finding a clear contemporary reflection in Europe's cultural identities. Participation in the summer school is limited to 40 students.

The Board welcomes students, academics and professionals who are actively interested or involved in research on the subject. By way of a merit-based selection, preference will be given to those with a Bachelor's, Master's or Research Master's diploma in History, Art History, Theology and Science of Religion. Graduates of other disciplines will also be considered, depending on their research background.

European and third country students will pay a fee of 200 €.

Ph.D-students and professionals will pay a fee of 400 €.

Website: http://kadoc.kuleuven.be/summer_school/

Email: summerschool@kadoc.kuleuven.be

WORKSHOP / 11TH MEDITERRANEAN RESEARCH MEETING (MRM)

ADRIATIC FRONTIERS: COMMUNICATIONS ACROSS CULTURES, SPACE AND TIME

Date: March 24-27, 2010.

Location: Montecatini Terme (near Florence).

Keywords: Eastern Adriatic; Venice and the Ottoman Empire; Bosnia, Dalmatia, Albania, and Montenegro; Muslim, Christian, and Jewish cultures in the Mediterranean; commerce and cultural exchange; frontiers and borderlands; region and space.

The workshop "Adriatic Frontiers: Communications Across Cultures, Space and Time" seeks to provide a forum for the study of the multifaceted history of a region that has remained on the margins, despite the increased interest in the Mediterranean. Please also see the full concept [3 pages] at http://www.eui.eu/RSCAS/Research/Mediterranean/mrm2010/desc_pdf/MRM2010_Ds11.pdf

There will be no registration fee. Most selected participants are eligible for a bursary. Participants from SEE, Turkey and Middle Eastern countries will receive a lump sum of 550 euros to cover their expenses (airfare, accommodation). Participants from Western Europe, the USA and Canada will receive a lump sum of 130 euros. Paper proposals must be submitted online before July 15, 2009.

Abstracts of 500-1000 words are to be pasted in, CVs of max. 5 pages are to be uploaded to, the online form at <http://www.rscas.org/medform.asp>

The workshop is directed by Maximilian Hartmuth (hartmuth@su.sabanciuniv.edu) and Amanda Phillips (amanda.phillips@orinst.ox.ac.uk) and hosted by the European University Institute (Florence).

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