



**FOCUS OF
THIS ISSUE**
How successful is
the Government
Communication
Strategy for
Informing the
Citizens about EU

INTERVIEW
Snežana Najdenova,
Chargé d'affaires
of the Embassy of
the Republic of
Bulgaria
in Podgorica

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What messages is Montenegro
sending to the European Union





PROBATION YEAR

When, on the eve of the first multi-party elections in the early '90s the ruling party came out with the slogan "Years begin in January", it was an introduction to the overall collapse of Montenegro and a chaos which gave birth to new centres of power, represented by arrogant tycoons with close ties to certain individuals from the top political elite. Today, we could perhaps say that "Probation begins in January". Three days ago, the Council of EU ministers adopted European Partnership for Montenegro, with a precise outline of the road that we are to travel in the next two years if we wish to get closer to EU, i.e. to the values of advanced western democracies. Everything is there, from politics to economy, and the document is in fact an overview of the main problems that Montenegro is currently facing and which must be solved if we want an organised state that no one will compare with Columbia again. The real test of this Government's responsibility already began, and we will not need its whole mandate of three and a half more years to find out which road Montenegro has taken. For instance, EU demands that we change the bad Law on the Conflict of Interests, to eliminate the shortcomings of the Law on Public Procurement in order to avoid protectionism, they ask the Parliament to start making genuine use of its controlling powers, the RTCC to become public broadcasting service... It can all be done in a few months, if the ruling parties show the will to do so. To date that will was obviously lacking. And while the Government representatives shower us with rhetoric on Euro-Atlantic aspirations of the "young Montenegrin democracy", tycoons are going about their business undisturbed. They are buying enterprises, banks, constructing buildings, developing cable TV systems... Nobody can forbid them to do that, some say it is good that the money is being invested here, but the question is whether they really work on their own. Is their business sense so developed, are they really offering the best conditions, or is there somebody in the ruling structures who is showing them the way, closing an eye on their speculations and averting the financial officers away from their firms? Maybe this is why the road to Europe has no alternative... to do away with the untouchables.

N.R.

COUNCIL OF EU MINISTERS ADOPTS THE FIRST EUROPEAN PARTNERSHIP FOR MONTENEGRO

Brussels' homework for Podgorica

It is necessary to reform the judiciary system and to take the responsibility for appointment and promotion of judges away from the Parliament: there must be a transparent procedure for selection and promotion based on professionalism and objective criteria. The system of judiciary must be rationalised and the procedures modernised; administration should be improved, and the financing of the judiciary ought to become adequate and sustainable...

These are some of the recommendations from the European Partnership for Montenegro, adopted on 22 January in Brussels by the Council of EU Ministers. In this document, the EU listed the tasks that Montenegro should fulfil in the short term (2 years) and medium term (3 to 4 years) in order to come closer to the European standards. This is the first European Partnership for independent Montenegro.

"In order to fulfil the European Partnership, Montenegrin government should develop a plan with clear deadlines and specific measures to be taken by Montenegro. European Commission will monitor the progress of implementation of these criteria. The priorities listed in the European Partnership were selected on the basis of realistic assessment of Montenegrin ability to implement them in the next few years", states the document.

Emphasis has been placed on the improvement of efficiency in fight against organised crime and corruption on all levels as well as strengthening of the parliamentary control over defence and security structures.

"Montenegro ought to adopt a new Constitution based on wide consensus, and in line with European standards, especially in the area of human rights and minority rights, organisation of the judiciary, and con-



Opening of the Council of EU session

trol of defence and security structures", says the Partnership. According to the document, Montenegro should also "invest further efforts to implement reforms of public administration, enact transparent measures of employment, professionalism and responsibility", in other words, depoliticise public administration.

"Special emphasis should be placed on the strengthening of the structures working on European integrations on all levels, including ministries and the parliament, as well as mechanisms for coordination of EU affairs", says the document.

Another requirement is to respect and implement the Law on Free Access to Information, to continue with transformation of Radio Television Montenegro into a public service, to implement the Memorandum on Cooperation between the Government and NGOs, and to continue enforcing the Law on Restitution.

"Amend the Law on the Conflict of Interests and implement it with the aim of eliminating all the possible cases of the conflict of interests among the state officials. It is necessary to enhance efforts to implement the anti-corruption strategy, especially by securing the adequate financial and human resources to the institutions responsible for enforcing the law", underlines the European Partnership.

N.R.

A VIEW FROM EUROPE

We will build a renewed consensus on further EU enlargement

Olli Rehn

After the December European Council Summit we had headlines indicating that "EU leaders are closing doors to the East". This was misleading spinning.

The correct headlines should have read "the EU keeps its doors open for South Eastern Europe". This door is kept open for Turkey, Croatia and the other countries of the Western Balkans. Once any of these countries meets the EU's accession criteria, she can, on her own merits, walk through that door.

The first countries that walked through the EU door were Bulgaria and Romania. It is worth celebrating, even if the rest of Europe would not necessarily feel like it. This is a major step for the 30 million new EU citizens in these countries. The fifth enlargement round was completed.

In other words, the EU Summit was not about closing doors, but building a renewed consensus on enlargement. It will enable to maintain the EU's soft power to encourage democratic and economic transformation. Moreover, the December European Council reconfirmed the European perspective for the Western Balkans. This is an important commitment.

I expect that a new reform-oriented and pro-European government in Belgrade will make rapid progress towards the EU. Thanks to its institutional capacity, Serbia should be able to implement the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) quickly once the negotiations will be concluded, and thus open the door to applying for membership.

I look to the new government to demonstrate its clear commitment to achieving full cooperation with the Hague Tribunal without delay. After the SAA, the next logical step for Serbia would be to achieve candidate status for EU member-

ship. As soon as Serbia has achieved a solid track-record in implementing the SAA, the EU would be able to consider an application for membership. This is the clear policy of the EU, as reiterated in the conclusions of the European Council last December. The SAA is thus the gateway to applying for membership.

Kosovo is also moving towards critical times. The EU wants to ensure that the status process succeeds and leads to a sustainable settlement.

The status settlement needs to be politically and legally clear and set out a vision for Kosovo's future development. Kosovo's status question is sui generis, and sets no precedent.

This will give a further impetus for the Kosovo authorities to progress on reforms in the key areas of the rule of law, economy and public administration. We need to guarantee a successful transfer of the responsibility from the UN to an International Civilian Office which will be a guarantor of the status settlement. As final status moves closer, preparations for the EU role in the future international presence are intensifying. The EU's engagement in Kosovo is likely to include our contribution to the International Civilian Office, including an ESDP operation in the rule of law and an EU presence to implement the Community financial assistance.

For the countries of the Western Balkans, another door was opened in December, when these countries established a free trade area (CEFTA). They replaced a patchwork of 32 bilateral trade agreements with one regional trade agreement. This is a strong signal to potential investors that the region is building an attractive, stable and predictable environment for foreign investments.

For ordinary people, the doors will open when the EU finalises the visa facilitation negotiations. The high cost of visas, long queues and rigid bureau-



cracy have created obstacles to the free movement of people. This is a first step towards visa free travel.

Last July I attended the EXIT rock festival in Novi Sad in Serbia. I talked to young Serbs and other young people from the region. The possibility to travel freely in Europe was at the top of their wish list. They do not see the EU as a bureaucratic monster, but as a ticket to peace, liberty and better economic opportunities.

Let me recall the mood in summer 2005: Do you know who cheered most in our neighbourhood after the French and the Dutch referenda? The Turkish nationalists, the Serbian radicals, and the Russian panslavists.

Why? Because they thought that the EU would now turn into itself, withdraw its commitments, and become too weak to project its soft power of peace, stability and European values in its neighbourhood. It is our joint mission to prove those radical nationalists wrong by restoring a renewed consensus on EU enlargement.

After the Dutch and French no-votes, many politicians were ready to relegate enlargement straight to Serie B – or even out of the league. But instead of an almost sure relegation we are still firmly in Serie A, or the Premier League. We will for sure make it to the Champions' League again.

From the speech of Olli Rehn, EU Enlargement Commissioner, on the European perspective for the Western Balkans at the International Conference in Rome, 16 January 2007

HOW SUCCESSFUL IS THE GOVERNMENT COMMUNICATION STRATEGY FOR INFORMING THE CITIZENS ABOUT EU

Everybody "knows" it will be better, but not what the EU will bring to farmers, entrepreneurs...

According to a recent comprehensive research on the processes of European integrations in Montenegro published in April last year by the Centre for Monitoring (CEMI), 75% of the citizens believe that membership in the EU will be good for them, while 66.7% expects it to improve some aspects of their personal life.

On the other hand, 42% of the respondents gave answered negative-

ly when asked whether Montenegro should cooperate with ICTY.

This is, according to the President of the Management Board of CEMI, **Đuro Stojanović**, only one indicator of the poor understanding that the citizens have of the essence of EU accession. The task of informing the citizens about European Integrations, the so called Communication Strategy, should therefore



Đuro Stojanović

be approached very seriously.

"Although we consider ourselves European, our citizens flunk the very first tests. The problem is that they know that the life will somehow be better, but they have not been informed on what the EU membership will bring for their personal and professional lives, what could it mean for a farmer, a businessman...", Stojanović says for *EIC Bulletin*.

He also adds: "The problem will become acute, when the issue of European integrations moves out of the documents and Government's drawers into our everyday lives".

He reminds that this may happen very soon – as soon as the Stabilisation and Association Agreement comes into force, followed by other treaties.

"For example, do the industrial workers today know that their factories will be closed and that they will lose their jobs if their employer fails to fulfil the environmental standards of EU?". Stojanović asks.

In September 2004 the Government of the Republic of Montenegro adopted Communication Strategy aimed at informing the public about the process of Montenegrin accession to the EU, based on which there followed annual action plans

THE BITTER CROATIAN EXPERIENCE

According to the last Eurobarometer poll (published in December 2006), Croats are the most Eurosceptic nation. Political analysts in Croatia claim that the key reason for this is the lack of information among the citizens regarding EU, in other words, it is the fault of the communication strategy of the Government in Zagreb. According to the Eurobarometre, only 32% or Croats believe that membership in the EU is a good thing.

Since 2001, the Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integrations, in cooperation with the Centre for Market Studies, conducts public opinion polls every six months on the attitudes towards EU and the association process.

According to the first poll, published on the Ministry's website, 77.6% of Croats were in favour of their country joining EU. In 2004, the percentage was already 72.4. In 2005, the number of those against EU membership was higher than of those in favour: 47.9% against 41.9%.

The last poll from January 2006 shows that 48.6% respondents are in favour of Croatia joining the EU, with 44% against, although both the media and the analysts are sceptical about the results of the Government-commissioned poll.

The latest research of the agency "Puls" (conducted in December 2006) shows that 44% of the Croatian citizens living in Dalmatia are in favour of EU accession, whereas 55% is against.

"The Puls and other similar polls indicated that "something has gone wrong in communication between the Croatian politicians and the voters", estimates independent political analysts **Davor Gjenero**.

The analysts warn that it is not realistic to expect this scepticism to go away on its own. The government will have to offer clear explanation on how much the accession will cost the Croatian taxpayers and what the membership can bring to different categories of the population.

for implementation.

Last year, for instance, the former Ministry for European Integrations organised a series of seminars, round tables and other meetings in order to promote the process of European integrations.

The Ministry established cooperation with the trade unions, Employer's Union, the Chamber of Commerce and the media community, through the Media Institute. In addition to that, Ministry was also involved with NGOs conducting training programmes for party representatives on the issues of European integrations. During 2006, they initiated an educational project on the level of local self-governments in the form of seminars titled "A European Day in Your Municipality". The Ministry continued with issuing a quarterly bulletin "Euromont", cooperation with programmes such as "European Integration School" and with support of the Foundation Open Society Institute – Representative Office in Montenegro they published "Lexicon of European Integrations".

According to the new Secretary of the Secretariat for European Integrations, **Ana Vukadinović**, the action plan for implementation of the Communication Strategy in 2007 builds on the activities implemented in the previous years.

"By that I mean first of all, direct information and creation of promotional material, including interviews, an interactive web page, publications, bulletins, brochures etc. This segment is generally dedicated to the wider public, meaning that majority of information will be presented in a general manner, while another part will be aimed at special categories – state employees, journalists, entrepreneurs, and other narrower target groups", Vukadinović announced.

The second segment of Communication Strategy consists of media communication, encompassing trainings for journalists, briefings with editors, participation of representa-



tives from the Ministry and Secretariat in radio and TV programmes, and in the press.

"Another important aspect of the Action Plan concerns seminars which are related to the European integrations process, organised independently by the Secretariat for European integrations or in cooperation with donors and partners from the non-governmental sector. Trainings will target specific groups: representatives of the Montenegrin Parliament, Government, local administration, civil society, entrepre-

neurs (farmers, exporters, producers...) as well as students and pupils. This year's action plan will also involve organised celebrations of the Day of Europe in May", said Ana Vukadinović.

The website of the Secretariat should be redesigned to include a number of useful information related to European integrations – numerous documents, database on the process of harmonisation and translations of European regulations, a database of donors and programmes requiring support, presentation of the current

WE DON'T LIKE WEARING SEATBELTS, BUT...

Ana Vukadinović indicated that Communication Strategy is very important at the national level as this is one of the ways to ensure that the European integration process is accepted by all social groups.

"The goal of the Communication Strategy is not to say that everything is great, but to provide all the necessary information to our citizens, gradually improving their knowledge on the issues of European integrations, and to present all the advantages, obligations, challenges and possibilities that accompany the membership in EU. Maybe we are not happy having to tie our seatbelts every time we enter a car, but it is for our own good", Vukadinović said.

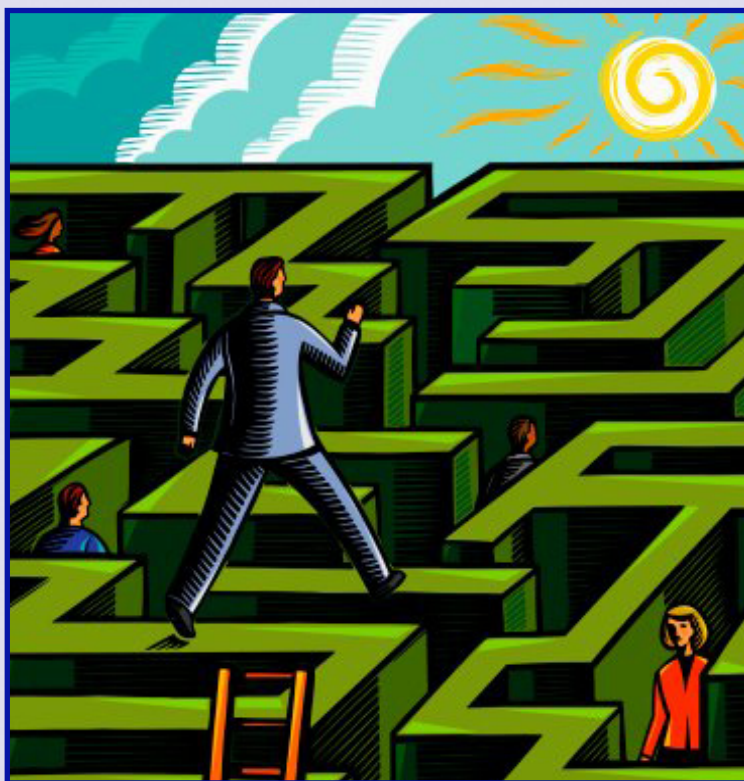
She added that in the next few years the Montenegrin Government will develop an outward Communication Strategy, aimed at EU members, because these states and their citizens are ultimately the ones who will decide on Montenegrin membership in EU.

programmes of technical support and seminars, as well as useful links...

"The draft of the Action Plan for 2007 also envisages public opinion polls done in cooperation with our partners from the non-governmental sector, as well as one comprehensive annual research which we are planning to conduct together with donors. Public opinion polls are important: the state must be able to see what the citizens know and think about the process of European integrations, about their wishes... This will to a great extent influence the development of our Communication policy", Ana Vukadinović stated.

All the above activities, she emphasises, will be included in the Action Plan for 2007 after discussing it with other ministries and partners.

Our interlocutor could not say the exact amount that the Secretariat will allocate to the implementation of the Communication Strategy for 2007, because the Action Plan has not been fully designed yet, but she explains that the source of funding will primarily come from donors and partners with whom the former



Ministry had excellent cooperation.

Asked whether the annual implementation plans based on this document had the desired impact so far, Stojanović explains that the Government strategy could not have had a greater effect due to its financial limitations.

"The financial allocations for implementation of the aims from the annual plans were so limited that the activities were basically reduced to public promotion of European integrations by the officials of the former

Ministry for European Integrations and Foreign Economic Relations, instead of developing projects for specific target groups", Stojanović said.

He estimated that the popularity of the European integration process in Montenegro is due primarily to the efforts of NGOs and the media.

"The former Ministry for European Integrations was very open for cooperation with NGOs and participated in almost all the activities of the civil sector, but they never financially supported", Stojanović stated, explaining that

the Government failed to adequately exploit available international funds for EU matters, especially with respect to the Communication Strategy.

"One of the reasons lies in limited human resources", Stojanović added.

According to him, for the success of European integrations process and effective information of the public on these issues, it is necessary to adopt a general strategic document for cooperation on EU-related issues and to clearly identify the partners.

The partners, he explains, could be found in highly educated, experienced people at the University, in the NGO sector, media, professional associations...

"Communication Strategy should be focused on these groups, in order to draw them into the process. This would result in a broad base of experts involved in the integration process, who would then spread the information and create a realistic picture of what awaits us in the EU", Stojanović concludes.

INFORMED SLOVENIANS

According to the Eurobarometre research, Slovenians have for the long time been the most informed nation when it comes to the EU processes, and the praise for that goes to the successful Communication Strategy developed by the Government in Ljubljana. The Strategy was adopted in the eve of the signature of the Accession Agreement.

There were special telephones that Slovenians could call to ask all the possible questions related to the integration process. On the other end of the wires the Government employed a couple of students. If they were unable to answer some difficult or unusual questions, they would take down the contact number of the interested citizen and call them back after they consulted the experts. The project was known in Slovenia as EUINFO.

After a certain period, the Government of Slovenia published and sent to all addresses free of charge a booklet with 140 most frequently asked questions and answers.

Vladan ŽUGIĆ

WHAT MESSAGES IS MONTENEGRO SENDING TO THE EUROPEAN UNION

Preparing for a (un)known alternative?

Are Montenegrin authorities or at least some of its circles preparing the terrain for alternative paths of Montenegro which are not necessarily all leading to the European Union? Is the entire Montenegrin government determined to pursue EU standards in reforming the system and to establish liberal markets free of monopolies and individual privileges for those pampered by the centres of power or enterprises whose real owners hide behind series of off-shore companies?

These are some of the questions arising after the New Year's appearance of the president of the ruling party, **Milo Đukanović**, and his message to the public that confused some and upset others – Montenegro should not be following blindly all the instructions of European Union.

"Membership in EU and NATO should not be goals in themselves, but means for efficiently reaching up to the European level of democratic and economic development. Membership should only follow as satisfaction for the good job we did in our own house. It will only come to certify the fact that in Montenegro the standard of living is already comparable to most of the developed European states. It means that the Government of the Republic of Montenegro should not blindly follow all the instructions from the Brussels administration: there is no need to automatically accept certain patterns without prior analysis just in order to prove our loyalty to Europe. Brussels is not expecting it either, which is best illustrated by the example of the new EU members, who all applied those models which were best suited to their national interests and economic structure", wrote Đukanović in an article which was published in the New Year's edition of daily "Vijesti".

And while the Brussels and its diplomatic representatives in Montenegro probably weighted his propositions carefully trying to discern what lie behind them, this message of the Chief of DPS and former Prime Minister could give wings to those whose own views coincide with his and who believe that for Montenegro it would be better not to join EU at all. Some of them are close allies of the Government, some have their headquarters at the University, but none of



From the last year's meeting of Đukanović and Solana

them yet came out in public.

This is not really the problem. A serious debate would be welcome, if we would get at least a rough calculation on what Montenegro gains and what it may lose by eventual joining the EU. The problem is that such messages inspire suspicion and fear that they may be announcing something very different. For instance, has anybody considered whether for Montenegro it would be more profitable to remain an investment haven for money launderers? We know that most of it is now coming from Russia, as we know the strict EU criteria against money laundering. If we calculate the billions that would be needed for this tiny state to harmonise with EU regulations in all areas (from environment through transport to consumers' protection), someone might run to hit the brakes. Perhaps someone already found out that the strict rules of the game are not to his liking and that profit lies in dubious transactions, where a million can be made overnight.

Such questions could appear inappropriate, had Đukanović revealed his positions before, a year or two earlier, when we just began negotiating the Stabilisation and Association Agreement. That could have given the Montenegrin negotiators a better starting position and some space for achieving longer transition periods for implementation of EU norms. However, SAA negotiations were concluded in 2006, for which reason such remarks appear out of place.

Elaborating his basic idea, Đukanović said also the following:

"It is wrong to assume that European

integrations require automatic adoption of numerous directives, laws, and standards: in other words, that the process does not allow the state to adjust them to its specific interests".

Let us compare this with the warning on web page of the Croatian Government:

"Until accession to EU, every candidate country is required to adopt the entire EU *acquis communautaire*, and to be able to apply it effectively. If a candidate country is unable to fulfil these requirements entirely before the date of full membership for objective reasons, or is prevented from fully implementing certain chapters of *acquis communautaire*, it is entitled to ask for a **transition period** regarding that chapter during negotiations. Transition period allows the country additional time for full harmonisation of its national legislation with the EU *acquis* in certain areas after joining the EU. The required transition periods must be of limited duration and content and they cannot interfere with the freedom of competition or affect the internal workings of the Community single market."

It is added that only in rare cases, candidate countries are allowed also **exemptions** as permanent alteration in implementation of "*acquis communautaire*" at certain areas.

This is the lesson from Croatia, which is currently negotiating its membership in EU. Đukanović's argument would not be half as controversial if a number of other interesting messages have not been sent to the European Union from Montenegro lately. The first one is the dubious business of contracting foreign companies for the creation of new identity documents for Montenegrin citizens. After the whole affair, the tender was still not open to the public – again we have Americans and the French competing for the job. Another one is reflected in incomprehensible criteria for the choice of Montenegrin diplomats which cause suspicion that nepotism is still above professionalism. Based on these and other similar moves of the Government, we could very quickly find out whether there is any chance for Montenegro to develop into a serious state.

N. RUDOVIĆ

SNEŽANA NAJĐENOVA, CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES OF THE EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA IN PODGORICA

Bulgaria proves that joining EU has its shortcomings, but the advantages prevail

Joining the European Union Bulgaria takes up the place which belongs to it. There are many advantages to this, and they concern every area – economy, politics, culture, education. It is difficult to mention them all, but most succinctly these would be – change in the way of thinking and in governing social processes, acceptance of clear and strict rules which dominate the landscape of stable, developed European democratic countries. On the other hand, with the accession of Bulgaria EU too has gained. It gained in strength and better representation in South East Europe, which is also important for Montenegro. Union also got access to a third sea – the Black Sea, emphasises in the interview for *EIC Bulletin* Snežana Najdenova, Chargé d'Affaires of the Bulgarian Embassy in Podgorica. She also notes that, due to high levels of economic growth, 6.6% in 2006, Bulgaria has

been experiencing a record inflow of foreign investors for four straight years.

"Bulgaria is the link, crossroads between Europe and Asia, which gives it additional opportunities within European economy. Culturally and historically, Bulgaria adds new traits to the European identity; it completes the picture in a unique way. For instance, through Bulgarian language Cyrillic script becomes an official script of European Union".

● **What are the benefits for Bulgaria and are there any disadvantages of accession to the EU?**

It undoubtedly gains a guarantee for democracy, economic prosperity and greater security for its citizens, additional economic resources from European funds and a status of an equal member of the European family of rich and developed countries.

As for the losses – unfortunately, that exists too, and Bulgaria is one of



Snežana Najdenova

the best examples. My country paid the highest price for joining the EU, accepting to close down two entirely safe nuclear reactors "Kozloduj". This entails great economic losses for Bulgaria, and negative consequences for the the whole region, including Montenegro, which will be felt with the increase in the price of electrical energy.

Membership in the EU also brings great responsibility for Bulgaria. We will participate in creating the common European policy. We have Bulgarian who is an EU Commissioner; we have our members in the European Parliament. Through their work and personal development, Bulgaria ought to satisfy the criteria of the European value system, whose incarnation for the rest of the world is EU.

● **What were the greatest problems of Bulgaria in its road towards the EU? How did you solve them?**

All former socialist countries faced more or less similar problems – it was necessary to conduct transfer of ownership, establish rule of law, develop

WE DID NOT JUST OBEY ORDERS FROM BRUSSELS

● **Were you supposed to incorporate completely all the suggestions of EU into your legal system or could you adapt them to fit the situation in the country? Was it possible at all to change and adapt EU rules?**

Establishment of EU legislation and its implementation into the legal system of any member state is a complex and lasting process, which requires joint efforts of more or less every institution in the country. You probably know that European legislation encompasses all areas of social life and its principles are binding for all those who aspire to become a part of the European integration system. However, this is not a dogma which would limit any possibility of individual approach in accordance with specificities of every single country. This is precisely why the process takes so long and comprises more than 30 chapters for negotiation. Within this process of negotiation both parties seek optimal solutions to fit both the European legislation and individual needs of the accession country. I would only remind you that Bulgaria opened its negotiations in 1999, and finished in 2004. Do you really think that it would take us entire five years if we were only executing orders from Brussels?

democratic institutions, create the necessary public administration, implement profound and sometimes very painful reforms.

Bulgaria had further difficulties because of its proximity with the former Yugoslavia, especially in period of Slobodan Milošević's wars and embargo, when the channels of organised crime and corruption took root, encompassing Bulgaria as well.

Compared to the other new EU members, it seems that we were less certain about our path, we were slower in implementing reforms in the field of judiciary and home affairs. I also think that due to insufficiently experienced administration in the first few years of our EU membership we can expect difficulties in absorbing financial assets from the structural funds intended for Bulgaria.

This is also a problem shared by all the new EU members – in the beginning, the absorption rate is 30–35% of the earmarked assets. We hope that Bulgaria will learn from their experience and adapt the working of its administration to the conditions of full membership. This was the main goal of the current reform of public administration and of the system for training and preparation of public officials.

● **How do you assess the situation of Montenegro in terms of the process of European integrations?**

I am glad that Montenegro has taken a decisive step in going along the path of European integrations and that the Government of the Republic of Montenegro expressed its commitment to implement the necessary reforms. Montenegro will soon sign the Stabilisation and Association Agreement, which is the first step towards full membership. For a human being the first step is the hardest – I suppose the same holds for states.

In 2006, Montenegro made its first institutional step in the direction of Euro-integrations. You have one great advantage – you will proceed along the road already trodden by most former socialist countries, and each one of them is ready to give you a hand and share its own experience. It is also important that in Montenegro all political parties agree on working towards

WE WILL HELP YOU TO LEAVE THE NEGATIVE SCHENGEN LIST

● **Do you have a concrete plan for cooperation between Bulgaria and Montenegro and for transferring Bulgarian experience from the accession process?**

The first thing that we are planning to do is to sign an inter-governmental Memorandum on Cooperation in European and Euro-Atlantic Integrations between Bulgaria and Montenegro. Afterwards, we can exchange experiences on concrete issues, which are of interest for Montenegro. It is also necessary to establish direct contacts and cooperation between certain ministries, agencies and other institutions. We should not forget that you can only succeed in European integration through joint efforts by all state institutions.

I follow and highly value the efforts by the Deputy Prime Minister of the Government of Montenegro, Dr **Gordana Đurović** and her team, but unless all ministries begin working in a synchronised way together with her, the result cannot be positive.

Another very concrete thing, also related to European integrations. Because of its full membership status in EU, Bulgaria had to introduce a visa regime for the citizens of Montenegro. Believe me that for the Bulgarian embassy in Montenegro this represents great loss of time and effort, which we would prefer to employ for other purposes of bilateral cooperation. We are ready to share our experiences in terms of the steps that Montenegro must take in order to exit the so-called negative Schengen list. Consequently, Montenegrin citizens would not have to apply for visas with ours or with any other embassy of the EU member countries. I really hope this will happen as soon as possible. I ensure you that Bulgaria is an honest friend of Montenegro and that we will do all that is possible to assist faster pace of European integrations in this country. It is important to us that the whole region of South East Europe becomes a part of EU as soon as possible.

EU accession. Political consensus within the country is extremely important in these matters, and it is even more important to translate this verbal consensus into actions. If such consensus can materialise, success is guaranteed.

● **According to you, which are the greatest advantages and disadvantages of Montenegro on its road towards EU?**

The main advantage of Montenegro is that it already has an open economy which mostly operates on market principles. Other advantages are macroeconomic stability, low inflation, a well balanced budget, and tax policy designed to attract foreign investments. These are extremely important preconditions to even begin to think of European integrations.

There are also unsolved economic problems, consisting of high unemployment and problematic issues with restitution and private property. I would also mention the partial reform of the judiciary and weaknesses in the fight

against corruption and crime. However, I believe that with the new constitution most of these problems will be solved.

● **If you could draw a parallel between Bulgarian and Montenegro, what are the greatest differences and similarities with respect to European integrations?**

I believe that there are more similarities than differences, except that Montenegro for a long time could not pursue its own road to European integrations, due to objective circumstances over which it had little influence.

The main similarity is in the fact that both Bulgaria and Montenegro are old European states and they naturally belong to EU. We are similar also in terms of cultural tradition, language and mentality of the people, and this is something that leaves a mark on everything, even on the processes of European integration.

N. RUDOVIĆ

WHAT FOLLOWS AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN EU AND MONTENEGRO REGARDING THE STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT

SAA waits for confirmation of 29 parliaments, free trade without barriers



by Vladimir Vučinić

Technical negotiations on Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) were concluded in the fifth technical round of negotiations held on 1 December 2006 in Podgorica, after three official rounds. All of the articles of SAA (139 of these) were agreed upon, as well as the protocols and annexes of the Agreement.

After the finalised negotiations with European Commission, next steps are signing of the agreement and finally ratification of the SAA by the European Parliament, Parliament of Montenegro and EU Member States.

In order to begin finalising the agreement, European Commission must receive a positive opinion on the agreed text of SAA by all EU member states and by various Directorates of the European Commission regarding different provisions of the Agreement.

Also, before the beginning of the

process, Montenegro must fulfil certain commitments, such as strengthening administrative capacities in areas of key importance for the implementation of SAA, especially in customs and border control (in accordance with the previously adopted Action Plan for the Strengthening of Administrative Capacities), creating an Independent Operative Body for implementation of the competition policy, and adopting a Law on Wine.

Once SAA has been finalised, European Commission prepares a proposal to the Council for signing and concluding the Stabilisation and Association Agreement with Montenegro, and a proposal for the adoption of an Interim Agreement (including trade regulations, services, and regulations which are competence of the Community). These are formal decisions adopted by the Council, verbally or in writing procedure. The final version of the SAA is translated into all official languages of EU.

After the Council decision on

signing the Stabilisation and Association Agreement and Interim Agreement, both documents are signed, and forwarded for ratification to the European Parliament, Parliament of Montenegro, and Parliaments of all EU Member States. Knowing that the process of ratification might take long (in the case of Macedonia it lasted three, and in the case of Croatia almost four years), SAA is accompanied by the so-called Interim Agreement.

Interim Agreement comes into force immediately after the formal decision of the Council EU, and after it receives approval from the European Parliament and the Parliament of Montenegro. In this way, SAA trade provisions will be implemented before the Agreement is ratified by EU member states, as the Interim Agreement contains trade and related regulations between a country in the region and EU. Stabilisation and Association Agreement in its entirety comes into force after it has been ratified by all the EU member states.

SAA STRUCTURE

Structure of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement, which belongs to a particular type of agreement together with Europe Agreement signed by the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (with the exception of Chapter III), consists of: (I) General Principles; (II) Political Dialogue; (III) Regional Cooperation; (IV) Free Movement of Goods; (V) Movement of workers, services, capital; (VI) Legal Harmonisation; (VII) Justice and Home Affairs; (VIII) Cooperation Policy; (IX) Financial Cooperation; (X) Institutional, General and Concluding Regulations. Almost 80% of the Agreement consists of trade provisions, which reflects the goal of SAA: establishment of a free trade area between the country in the region and European Union. The focus of the SAA is therefore on defining transitional periods for mutual abolishment of all fees and quotas in cross-border trade of products originating in the countries of the region and EU.

After signing the Agreement, in the transition period stipulated by SAA, the state signatory must implement necessary reforms to enable itself to join the EU single market. By implementing the Stabilisation and Association Agreement, signatory state gradually begins to adopt legal acquis of the EU in priority areas and to develop a free trade area with EU. Signing the agreement therefore reflects political, economic, democratic and legal preparedness of a country to assume the status of associate member of European Union.

The Agreement should contribute to political and economic stabilisation of Montenegro, and to establishment of close and long-term relations between the signatory parties.

The important thing to emphasise here is that signing the Agreement only means that the hardest work is to begin on fulfilling the commitments and requirements for full membership in EU. In this phase, the ability of Montenegro to adopt European standards and to become a member of European Union will be assessed through its



From the December working meeting between the Government and EC representatives

success in implementing provisions of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement. Therefore, a responsible, dedicated and cooperative approach to the establishment of necessary preconditions for the implementation of comprehensive reforms of the political and economic system of Montenegro will be the key to further progress of Montenegrin society towards integration into the European structures.

Montenegro, as all the other countries of the Western Balkans, participates in the Stabilisation and Association Process, a political framework for the process of inte-

gration of these countries into EU. The framework was introduced on 21 June 1999 at the Summit in Zagreb and presented at the EU–West Balkans Summit in Thessalonica in June 2003.

SAA creates a contractual relationship between the signatory state and EU, institutionalising its relations with EU. The Agreement is an international treaty between the state signatory of the agreement and EU and its member states, establishing a legal framework for mutual cooperation and gradual attainment of European standards. The areas of cooperation envisaged by the Agreement are responsibility of the European Union and/or Member States, making it a mixed agreement which regulates relations of the country in the region with European Union, not only with regard to the single market, but also in terms of the Common Foreign and Security Policy, as well as Justice and Home Affairs.

Therefore, by concluding the Agreement, Montenegro will for the first time have a contractual relationship with European Union, which is the first step towards institutionalising its relations with EU, opening the possibility for full membership in the future.

The author is an official of the Montenegrin Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Associate of the European Movement in Montenegro

A TEST FOR LOCAL PRODUCTION

Montenegro began with negotiations on Stabilisation and Association Agreement with EU on 7 November 2005, as a member state of the State Union Serbia and Montenegro. After restoring its independence, on 24 July 2006 the Council of EU adopted recommendation by the European Commission to grant it a new mandate to negotiate with Montenegro, thereby continuing negotiations where they have been interrupted with the State Union.

During negotiations, a majority of efforts were directed towards harmonising the trade provisions of the Agreement, and agreeing upon the transition periods in which Montenegro is supposed to open its market for industrial and agricultural goods from European Union. In the process, Montenegrin team of negotiators pressed as much as possible to protect the local producers from the superior competition from the EU Member States.

In principle, the Agreement guarantees gradual opening of the Montenegrin market through various transition periods for industrial and agricultural products, allowing Montenegrin producers to improve the quality of their production, and thus enable them to compete once the market has been completely liberalised. The SAA should therefore support further development of competitiveness of the local exporters, and increase investments and employment in certain enterprises and certain industrial branches.

ŽELJKO ŠEVIĆ, PROFESSOR OF PUBLIC POLICY AT GREENWICH UNIVERSITY, UNITED KINGDOM

Invest in young cadre

It does not matter whether we are speaking about nepotism, political, family or regional connections, but we have to remember that we must develop a depoliticised, or, I would rather say, professional administration. The most important thing is to ensure equality of procedure when selecting candidates for a certain position in public administration, says for *EIC Bulletin* Dr **Željko Šević**, professor of Public Policy at Greenwich University in UK.

He believes that investing in young cadre and their education at national universities, private or public, is the best way for Montenegro to strengthen its administrative capacities, which is one of the first requirements that Brussels set for accession to the EU.

"Investing in and education young cadre yield the best returns in the shortest possible period, and is the cheapest. One should develop own capacities, create teams out of a number of young people whom you can offer packages which they could not refuse. Why not give housing to a young state official, a one or two rooms apartment, which would then count as a bonus on his salary for the next five or 10 years", states Šević, visiting professor at several universities around the world.

He explains that education abroad does help strengthen the capacities, but that we must first create quality cadre at home.

"...then the very best students should go abroad for specialisation or graduate degree. On the other hand, brining in foreign experts will ensure continuous development and improvements. During the communism, you had no notion of continuous professional development – you

could hang up your diploma and your brains with it as well. We should make sure that we are always moving two, three steps forward... this is the kind of outlook you need for EU", suggests Šević.

Asked to estimate the period that Montenegro will need to ensure that its entire administration is up to the EU standards, Šević explains that it is difficult to tell.

"First batch of cadre from the Faculty for State and European Studies will be out in three years' time. You may assume that they will be ready for some form of management, if they are talented, in about three years. In six years of so you could say that you have first expert educated cadre in this field. That, according to me, is the minimum", Šević estimates.

He warns that a lot more attention should be paid to the problem of brain drain.

"How do you want to keep your quality cadre if the wages are so low in public administration? This problem will be only exacerbated with the inflow of foreign capital that will offer these people higher wages. It is a problem of all administrations today. While people can be fired from a private job, on the other hand you have the fact that in professional public administration one cannot lose a job simply because of personal antipathies, or because he or she belongs to a wrong family, region... a Minister can "marginalise" somebody, as Japanese would say, give them a table next to the window, but another minister can always bring that person back, give him/her another chance", Šević says.

In terms of Montenegrin future, Šević recommends that we think of



other options too, not only of the membership in EU.

"In every situation in politics you should have an alternative. If you do not have alternatives, than there is no need for politics. I feel that in Montenegro there is no alternative and I believe that one should give the people an alternative look at the EU. Why do we see everything through the lens of "general strategic solution"? I am not saying that this is perhaps not the best solution, but why not allow, maybe for 10% of chances, some other possibilities? Maybe EU will fall apart by the time we get there. Then what?", underlines Šević.

He claims that as time goes by EU resembles more and more the old Yugoslavia.

"I see the problem in the fact that the 10 new members should have in reality joined only in 2009, Bulgaria and Romania in 2013 – maybe together with Croatia, or Croatia should have been there even earlier. But these were all political promises, desire to expand the Union. One must always remember that decisions on membership were dominantly political, that these countries were not quite ready for joining EU", Šević assesses.

Montenegro my family

by Brano Mandić

Bush the Elder might have thought once in his Oval Room: I have an able son, I call him Junior, he just solved his alcohol problems and he turned to the Evangelist Christianity.

It could have made an opening for the parallel tale of the Iraqi slaughterhouse. Obviously, if we took a genealogical reading of the Government plots, following the family tree of an American family whose surname means "forest". As everywhere, in Montenegro, the jungle of political nepotism is made up of trees whose chips are making sure not to fall far from the log.

Then again, it would be rude and utterly inappropriate to dub, for instance, the mayor of Podgorica a log. It is a fact that his successor got a sinecure in Bushes own county, the fortress of Washington, which means that the splinter, at least physically speaking, does not follow the dictum of the ancient proverb (or, in the sevdalinka verse: it is far from Washington to Mareza).

That passing the state exam is also rather far from the greenhorn Mugoša has been announced already by the dailies, which, at the very beginning of a political carrier, throws a dark shadow and a dubious inquiry: why did his appointment sidestep the legal procedure?

The possibility was lazily denied by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with delay, with a single sentence statement. And they said: he is an able educated young man. If we may add, decently provided for, and genetically predisposed for politics.

And now we end up in the domain of political anthropology and the old dichotomy politics – kinship.

It would be hasty to conclude that the category of kinship automatically excludes the category politics. It may be true in Benelux, but in acephalous, tribal and non-state societies the examples of intermingling between family and politics abound, one of them being the May 22 in Cetinje when the master of ceremony announced the Prime Minister as the "greatest son of our nation". All is in the language, once again.

For instance, in the Tonga tribe

in Malawi, according to anthropologist Balandije, political relations are expressed in words which belong to the vocabulary of kinship, and manipulating kinship constitutes one of the means of political strategy.

The situation is similar in the tribes of Ganda, and in all Montenegrin tribes.

The system of kinship and godfather capillaries the circulation system of corruption, strengthened by customary rules, serves to affirm the tribal wisdoms such as "to whom will you do good if not to your own", and thus survives as a relict of tribal redistribution of power by principles of bloodline subordination.

If on top of all that you ask the young Mugoša to even have all of his exams passed, you could be easily branded a frustrated miserable jealous of the gifted, internationally educated son of pure blood – or of the business genius of the brother of the ex Prime Minister.

It is possible that your interested observer is only being picky about equal rights for all citizens and their children, armed with principles of equality on the eve of the new constitution. This is something worth fighting for on this road to EU, especially if we bear in mind the recent history. Family ties can indeed be a powerfully homogenising ideological enzyme, as illustrated by numerous family feats and perhaps the army of brothers, fathers and sons who all got lock stock and barrel promoted into national heroes after the World War II.

What else could be asked for by the government that wishes to portray itself as just and irreproachable, with its structure anchored in a finely synchronised family

harmony, unity and heritage. It is horrifying, and often grotesque (as when in a Juventus jersey the whole Europe is being left breathless by the lack of talent of son of Muammar al Gaddafi!).

But, things have not gone that far in Montenegro, all the more since a few media decided to point at the possible "blood crimes" in embassies.

One should also say it: it is more suspicious, for instance, that we find director of the Democratic Party of Socialist in the Board of Directors of the privatised Nikšić steel mill, than the fact that the same board has two members with the same surname.

Familiarity is moving into the way of addressing the EU too. Who could keep tears away from his eyes when s/he heard that the "youngest democracy on Earth" is rushing into the arms of the "family of European nations". And the best way to rush to a family, of course, is with all the family members on board. In the name of the Father, the Son, and the holy integration spirit.

Father Mugoša said nothing, he did his job well. During the years of general economic epilepsy, this agile doctor managed to provide his heir with decent education. Which is indeed a duty of every parent around here: deprive your young of the lively reality of the homeland where television reports of celebrating Christmas contain the sentence "the event ended peacefully".

A propos, it is the right moment to remind the reader once more of the fact that Montenegro has restored its statehood peacefully and without a single bullet shot.

It seems that the story is yet to be repeated in every cocktail and conference for at least the traditional five years period. In the meantime, the siestas behind cameras are imbued with rumours of cadre combinations mantras and populated with family gatherings, while the young democracy increasingly resembles one happily stoned family.

Montenegro, my family, said once a benevolent visitor in Cetinje.

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



HOW FAR CAN WE GO IN SAYING THAT MONTENEGRO SHOULD NOT BLINDLY FOLLOW THE EU STANDARDS



by Maja Vujašković

The tale of standards begins with the European Union enlargement policy which began to take shape in the late 80s, after the East Central European countries expressed their desire to "return to Europe". These years were marked by significant political shifts on the international scene. The fall of the Berlin Wall facilitated establishment of diplomatic ties with these countries, and enabled them to distance themselves from the influence of USSR. Both Europe and the US wished to secure their influence on this large, suddenly available market. As early as 1988, Europe greeted the upcoming change in these countries and offered them its full support, agreeing to grant the Commission the leading role in establishing cooperation. Obviously, the economic and political systems of these countries were drastically different at the time from those found in Western Europe, and a policy towards them required a degree of creativity and flexibility.

These are the beginnings of the enlargement policy as we know it today, because the previous four enlargements happened with little preparation. The level of development in those countries was often similar to the EEC members, or at the

Rules cannot be avoided

least they were considered to be democratic systems with market economy. In certain cases (Greece), it was the strong political will of the European Council to push for their membership.

The early stages of relationship between Central and Eastern European countries (CEE) and EU were characterized by numerous short-term initiatives, until Germany, France and the Commission demanded that a long-term strategy be defined for this group of countries. The UK proposed revision of the

Accession Agreements to create Europe Agreements which were concluded with the ten CEE countries between 1991 and 1996. The last one was signed with Slovenia. Finally, in 1993, in Copenhagen, the famous membership criteria were defined for the first time.

What distinguishes the enlargement policy from other EU policies is that it is not an independent policy regarding one specific area or issue. It is a complex policy which encompasses numerous economic and political issues. Although economic

TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT

Insistence on conditionality clearly illustrates importance of the fulfilment of EU standards. The political will in Union is known to sometimes get the best of realistic economic indicators, but securing political will is something we must leave to our state officials. And, honestly, it is no small feat. In order to gain a "discount" on the progress of our country in European integrations, we must have something that the EU badly needs, and cannot get otherwise. Unfortunately, there is hardly anything one could pretend to add to a market of nearly 500 million consumers.

The second issue regarding the assimilation of European rules and standards is to what extent one ought to copy (and implement) them or adjust them to the local conditions. Certain "margin of freedom" definitely exists during the negotiations, in the way in which Malta managed to wrestle out some privileges for its key economic sectors (e.g. fisheries). This, again, depends on our negotiators and on what we define as Montenegrin priorities, but one should remember that in those areas where the members states already achieved a high level of integration, the general rule is "take it or leave it".

The debate on whether Montenegro should join the EU at all or not has lately appeared in the Montenegrin political circles. The question is fully legitimate, as long as it is supported by an informed cost-benefit analysis, in order to ascertain whether such a tiny economy, with limited export capacity, would be able to profit from joining the European market. One should also consider the costs (e.g. the cost of a single EU presidency) or on the other hand the maximum political power that Montenegro could wield in such an organisation. With such analyses at hand it would make sense to have a discussion on the topic, just as it happened in Malta (which, with its 400.000 inhabitants is perhaps the most similar to Montenegro).

These arguments could be relevant to consider, provided they are not just eloquently packaged initiatives to preserve the things just as they are. On the other hand, with due respect for economic calculations, what is the alternative to European integration?



From the 2003 EU-South East Europe Summit in Thessalonica

prosperity is in fact the final goal of the accession, EU insists equally on the fulfilment of both economic and on political criteria. EU has learned very quickly that the promise of economic benefits to the countries aspiring for membership may be a powerful tool for convincing them to accept the political criteria as well.

This is worth remembering, for those who believe that cooperation with ICTY or regional cooperation were invented solely for the purpose of torturing our region. The so-called "conditionality policy" was present even in the early years of EEC, when economic cooperation with former colonies of its members was made contingent upon respect for human rights. The conditions stipulated by EU are never the same: they are tailored to suit the concrete issues confronting a given country, and this in itself is a proof of EU's uniqueness and flexibility.

Today, EU is such a powerful trade partner and it encompasses so much of the European continent that even if you do not wish to become a member, you must harmonise your laws with the *acquis* to a great extent, and you must adhere to the European standards in order to be able to maintain business relationship with this international giant (see the example of Norway). From any point

of view, it seems that you cannot simply ignore its standards. Avoiding them could cost us a great deal, and we should learn from other examples in the region.

This is particularly important now that the enthusiasm for further enlargement is on the low within European Union, and while they are still digesting the consequences of the Bing Bang enlargement from 2004. It has become clear that tolerance of certain shortcomings in political and economic reforms soon comes back as a boomerang. Bulgaria and Romania felt the consequences of this deceptive *laissez-faire* attitude in the form of special protection clauses in their accession agreements, which are an absolute novelty. Every next country will have to face ever broader and more numerous requirements and their observance will be strictly monitored.

The point is best illustrated by the recent "Strategy on Enlargement and Main Challenges in 2006/2007" which clearly states that the conditions for further enlargements will be fair and same for all, but that the implementation of the requirements will be rigorously controlled. This is a lesson learned from the accession of Bulgaria and Romania, bearing in mind that these countries had a weak record particularly in the judiciary

reform, and it would come as no surprise if we were from the very beginning pressed to work harder on these very issues. Without a powerful ally among the old EU member states, and in this situation, we have no choice but to diligently and decisively begin changing our society from its very core.

Theories of "altering the standards to fit the local conditions" could be dangerous, if by local conditions we mean preserving corruption, nepotism, lack of professionalism, problems in the judiciary and other shortcomings, which have been spelled out to us already, and which will become all the more urgent the further we get along the road of European integrations. On the other hand, if we are talking about preservation of specificities in our culture, tradition, history, those are the things which we definitely should cherish and promote as best we can, because this is precisely the kind of "spice" which European Union will always welcome. Its motto, after all, is "United in Diversity".

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OLIVE GROWING IN MONTENEGRO DOES NOT FOLLOW IN THE STEPS OF MONTENEGRIN ASSOCIATION WITH EU



by Emil Kriještorac

While other Mediterranean countries are continuously increasing the production of olives, Montenegrin olive-growing is not advancing as expected – neither with respect to the number of trees nor in terms of production and quality of olives, although things have been gradually changing in the last couple of years. Especially regarding the capacities for the production of olive oil, with acquisition of modern, smaller-capacity oil mills, but also with recovery of older orchards. Significant improvements have been made by the non-governmental sector, which is organised in several associations, whose role is of paramount importance in negotiations with the EC and in the process of drafting the pre-accession strategy and other platforms for negotiations of the protection of local producers, in order to secure subventions and quotas that still major features of the EU agricultural policy.

In the last few years, Montenegro made several big steps in creating a legal framework and provisions which are necessary for the

Not even a registry of olive orchards

regulation of this field. On 8 August 2003, the Law on Olive Growing came into force, and soon afterwards the Strategy for Development of the Production of Food and Rural Areas was adopted, as an expression of national orientation towards the development of agriculture and its integration into the agricultural policy of the EU. The strategy is naturally also a framework for the adoption of a series of laws and for implementation of the demanding, comprehensive EU regulations. It is enough only to mention that the EU legislation in agricultural policy comprises some 4000 documents on more than 40.000 pages, and, what is even more problematic, they are constantly being changed and amended.

Olives cover a third of the total orchard area in Montenegro. Those are mostly autochthonous sorts and

older trees, mainly used for the production of oil, but also for the traditionally conserved olive products.

According to the information from the Ministry of Agriculture listed in the Strategy for Development of the Production of Food and Rural Areas, olives cover some 3.2 thousand hectares of land in Montenegro. These consist of 420 000 olive trees, with annual harvest amounting to half a tone per hectare. Total production is 1.3 million tones of olives.

An especially important aspect of EU legislation consists of limits set for the amount of land that can be used for olive-growing. By a series of regulations within the EU legal framework, every tree is kept under control by GIS (Geographic Information System), established by Regulation 1638/98.

It is therefore very important that Montenegro creates as many

CROATIANS PLANT HALF A MILLION TREES EVERY YEAR

Olive-growing in Croatia is the leading agricultural sector, even ahead of wine production. More than half a million of new olive trees are being planted every year, according to the Operative plan of the Government of Croatia for the development of permanent orchards before entering the EU.

Croatian ambition is to plant as many trees as possible so that on the day of accession it would have an olive fund of around 6.000.000 trees or 30.000 to 35.000 hectares of olive orchards, yielding close to 60 million kilograms of olives and 10 million litres of oil every year. Development of orchards brings together multiple actors, from the government, to counties to local governments.

Croatians expect to plant a further thousand of hectares of new orchards in 2007 (on government forest land leased for the period of 50 years), with involvement of about fifty important investors.

orchards as possible before joining the EU, because the decisions on support, quotas and subventions are always formed on the basis of current situation, not on the basis of wishes and intentions. Fulfilment of the said conditions, on the other hand, requires establishment of a registry of olive trees in Montenegro. Although it has been set as an obligation by the current law on olive-growing, there is still nothing being done to create such a registry. Further steps entail harmonising a number of Montenegrin regulations with EU requirements, in terms of production, market, sustainable development, environment, and high EU standards of food quality control.

Comprehensive regulations in the area of olive-growing consist mainly of regulations issued by the Council of EU. The most important regulations concerning the establishment of registries in olive-growing are 154/75; 2366/98 and 1513/01. These are only some of the regulations concerning development of cadastres, because the process also involves implementation of the requirements stipulated in other areas of agriculture (statistical data, control of subventions and other). In itself, a cadastre of olive orchards is a registry of all territory covered by olives and in must contain complete information on the position and legal status of all such land, as well as other data relevant for the entire process of olive oil production.



Regulation 1638/98 requires that the work done on registering olive-growing should be directed towards creating, renewing, and using the Geographic Information System. The importance of establishment of such registry and the need for accelerated development of olive growing in Montenegro in the upcoming period is best illustrated by the article 4 of the Regulation, which states that "Additional olive trees must be planted in the framework of renewal of the old olive plantations, while the new orchards in territories covered by the programme authorised by European Commission can be developed within the defined borders".

With the Council Regulation no. 865/04 on the joint organisation of

the market for olive oil and table olives, there have been certain changes which forebode a comprehensive reform of the market for olives and olive oil. As olive-growing ranks high in the common agricultural policy, the said regulation encompasses 22 areas linked to this market, with a focus on the stabilisation of the market through various measures. One of these measures is the obligation for the member countries that produce 3000 tones or more of olive oil in a predetermined reference period to establish a special Control Agency for Olive Oil. The purpose of this agency is to conduct checks on the assistance issued by the Community for the production of olive oil. The agency must have a full administrative autonomy, a sufficient number of adequately trained employees, and it must be capable of proposing and monitoring annual plans whose purpose is to ensure that the Community regulations on olive oil are adequately enforced.

MEDITERRANEAN HOLDS THE RECORD

The Roman philosopher Columella said about olive: *Olea prima omnium arborum est* (Olive is the first companion to men). Its origins are in the Middle East, on the territory of Syria and Palestine. In the XII century BC it was brought to Egypt and Africa. The culture of olives remained concentrated for a long time in the Mediterranean region, and only in XVI century it was transported to South America, and later to USA. However, the Mediterranean countries remained the biggest producers of olives in the world.

The author is Senior Official of the People's Party. He completed IV generation of European Integration School.



by Jakov Milatović

I am going to Slovenia tomorrow. I am looking forward to it – more than half a year has past since the last time I have been to Europe. This time, I am going through a faculty programme – a study trip for the best students of the University of Montenegro. And once again I have been through the boring, exhausting operation of getting the necessary documents to apply for a visa in an EU country.

So much paperwork to go to Ljubljana for seven days, or to Rome, or Paris, Brussels... or anywhere else beyond the steel border separating Western Balkans from European Union.

Why so much paperwork? Do they not trust us at all? Are we that suspicious? Do they have a good reason to be? I am thinking... they do, of course they do.

What is it that my country is lacking, what is it that sets it lagging behind EU? All sorts of things. It lacks courageous, self-confident and more cultured people, it lacks justice and law, more freedom, non-selective punishment, it lacks humanity, upbringing, intelligence, it lacks equal chances for all... It lacks the rules of the game which must be equal for all. This is what the state should provide for us. It has what the God has

Why do I want to be a citizen of Europe?

given her, but it lacks what the people should build – legally, or in any other sense.

I am 20 years old. I live with my parents and brothers in a modest apartment of several dozens of square metres, in the capital of a small mountainous, Mediterranean, Balkan country. I am only one of my peers who all live just like I do, dreaming of many things, but asking little.

Many of them were born in poor families, and while growing up they were faced with the troubles of life, struggling to forge themselves as good people. In the hilly Balkans, being and remaining a good person has always been the most difficult thing.

I managed to get to know Europe much before my peers. And I do not want only to be a citizen of Montenegro. I want more, better, more beautiful, more just, moral, civilised... I want to be a citizen of Europe! Since my early years I have been seeing, reading and hearing about a community of some European countries which realised that their common interest lies in joining their forces, in transferring a portion of their powers to a common level, believing that it is for the best of them all. I have read and dreamt about that civilisation, this super-state – which has always been so close, a few hundred kilometres away from me, a few hours of driving – and yet so far.

I take the geographic atlas and I look at the map of Europe. Geographically speaking, a perfect whole – a big and somewhat strange peninsula which gave birth to and buried so many things. Europe is a

land of diversity which managed, through bloody wars of dynasties, perverse minds which held it in their grip, authoritarian regimes and people, medieval tyranny of the Church, to build, maintain and promote various moral values. Their absence would break the wheel of our civilisation, of all that has been built for centuries. Where are we in all that – in geographic, political, and civilisation sense?

What is the place of the Balkans? How much did it contribute to the European civilisation? Did it contribute at all?

Of course our region, too, gave a hand in building this edifice that we know as European civilisation. To what extent is a disputable question today, but the fact is that our peoples too were part of the Roman Empire; as all the other, they too accepted Christianity and contributed to its spread and promotion. Our people too yielded a number of those great minds, such as Diocletian, Nikola Tesla, Mihailo Pupin, Marco Polo... who each gave their contribution to the European civilisation...

So, why are we today not considered European by other Europeans? Why are we so much behind Europe, if we were a part of it once, moving side by side by the rest of the continent? Why is being citizen of Balkans today a bad thing?

When did I fall in love with Europe, its civilisation, history, moral values, the lights of Paris, the antiquity of Athens, eternity of Rome, tradition of London, discipline of Berlin, the songs of Lorca's Andalusia... prestige, peace, humanity? When did feel Beethoven's Ode to Joy as my own anthem?

It all began in the third grade of high school. I was chosen to represent my school at the competition Hello Europe! That was a competition organised by the European Commission Office in Belgrade. The questions were not only about European Union, but also about the knowledge of EU member states in many aspects – economics, culture, sports... With me, there were Iskra, Draško, Marko and professor Smilja Vukićević. We studied hard and analysed every country of EU. At the competition, we came third and as a prize we got to spend ten days in France, representing our country at a traditional gathering of youth from all countries of the world in Paris.

In the evening of 8 July I landed in Paris, and for the first time I stood on the ground of real Europe – Europe which denounces death penalty, invests into development of science and education of its youth, into preservation of culture and all was inherited from their ancestors, a Europe where "vox populi" is not a phrase but an element of governance, Europe that respects knowledge and people who know, Europe with freedom of movement of people, goods, services and capital, Europe that managed to bring down the Berlin Wall (metaphorically speaking).

The irony of ironies: We do not



have a physical wall, but in so many ways it still stands firm. Freedom!!! We are still far from understanding in full the meaning of this word.

I was not yet a student when I started believing that a society where students are not satisfied with life is not a good society. Later I realised I was wrong. A society where students are discontent and always critically oriented is a healthy society, a society that knows that through these rebellious generations and through their discontent it manages to repair

its shortcomings and to develop. Students here are never discontent...We are a land of people whose ideals have been betrayed!!! And that hurts.

I do not want to think of Balkans as an important region which all the world powers tried to invade. We are not only a European people: with centuries of influence from Byzant and Turkey, we mix the elements of the East and the West. I have once read an article by Đinđić where he says that our people went through an odd series of events: first they were considered to have betrayed communism for 40 years, because they were closer to modernity than other countries in the East (we were never proper communists, so to say!) and yet, in 1990, we defended communism most fiercely, even when it ceased to exist in Moscow itself.

It a bit weird, and nowadays when the East European countries turned in the direction where we were heading for so many years, we took the opposite road. Either the life is toying with us, or we are toying with life, not knowing how to value it properly.

The author is the youngest participant of the V generation of European Integrations School. He is a student of the Faculty of Economics of the University of Montenegro.

Southeast European Times

Montenegro seeks to boost agricultural competitiveness

by Antonela Arhin

Montenegro is a country of traditional vegetable markets and small farms. Production costs are high, and export potential has yet to be realised. As it moves towards World Trade Organisation membership and EU accession, major reforms are inevitable.

Food production and agriculture play an important role in Montenegro's economy, with the primary sector alone amounting to more than 10% of total GDP. However, a government analysis shows that Montenegrin agriculture is marked by relatively low price competitiveness — many products are more expensive than their European counterparts. As Montenegro prepares itself for the European — and ultimately the global — marketplace, the problem will become more acute.

Shortly after Montenegro's split from the state union with Serbia, the government adopted a strategy for rural development and agriculture, with the goal of aligning policy, legislation and the institutional framework with the requirements of the EU's Common Agricultural Policy. Increasing competitiveness is one of the main goals.

In general, Montenegrin products can be classified into three groups. First are those that are costlier to produce than in most European countries, and are thus less competitive. This group includes potato, milk and dairy products, fruits, poultry and pork. Second are those which are comparatively low to produce, and thus more competitive. Tobacco and lamb are in this group. Finally, some products are in between — or, in certain cases, the price level is hard to determine.

One area where Montenegrins have a distinct advantage is tomato production. The price of Montenegrin tomatoes is low compared to the EU, and even to countries such as Greece, Italy and Portugal, which have relatively favourable conditions. Over the long term, technological advancement, higher production and better organisation will be the keys to remaining competitive.

The cost of lamb production — with the exception of veal — has been dropping lately. Prices are especially low in compari-

son with Mediterranean countries with similar conditions — Cyprus, France, Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain. France has a high consumption of lamb per person and relatively high costs of domestic production; thus Montenegro theoretically has good prospects for exporting lamb there.

However, the country is currently not in a position to turn these prospects into reality. Market infrastructure remains underdeveloped. Production is not well-organ-



ised, slaughterhouses do not comply with hygienic standards, and exporters lack sufficient international expertise. Paradoxically, even though lamb could be the most competitive industry in Montenegro, it is threatened by a recession. Instead of exporting their products to Europe, Montenegrins may well find themselves importing lamb from Australia and New Zealand. Substantial investment in this industry is needed before its potential — which is considerable — can be realised.

Tobacco is another industry where Montenegro is competitive. Prices are lower than in the EU, but the future of the sector is uncertain. Analyses have shown that tobacco production throughout Europe is struggling to compete with other parts of the world.

For a number of other industries — where production costs either as much or more than in the EU — the outlook is a subject of concern. For example, food grain production in Montenegro has been in a continual decline. The market is basically open and there is very little tariff protection. Without budgetary support to Montenegrin producers, this sector is will have trouble competing with counterparts in Europe.

The cost of fruit in Montenegro is high.

The market is not yet affected by strong competition because of its underdeveloped trade. But that is bound to change in the future. Despite favourable natural resources and conditions, Montenegro will need a lot of investment in technology and organisation as well as in increases in production in order for this sector to become more competitive.

The cost of milk in Montenegro is slowly decreasing and approaching the average cost of milk in the EU member countries. At the same time, however, the quality of milk is lower. Small dairies will have difficulties in keeping up with high European hygienic standards, and thus export opportunities are limited. With the opening of the market and development of the trade between dairies, they will be hard pressed to stay in business. Survival depends on advancements in technology, structure and organisation.

In general, Montenegro has considerable production potential. Agricultural area in Montenegro covers 38% of the country's total surface area. Agricultural land resources stand at about 0.84 hectares per capita — one of the highest figures in Europe.

However, grassland and pastures prevail, and are not being adequately exploited. Arable land, orchards and vineyards occupy only 12% of the total agricultural area. Moreover, traditional direct sales at vegetable markets continue to predominate, and the benefits of commercial market production have been largely overlooked.

Through its agriculture and rural development strategy — prepared with technical assistance from the European Agency for Reconstruction — the government hopes to overcome the disadvantage of small holder-dominated agriculture in order to compete with imports in an increasingly liberalised regional market, while at the same time meeting the EU's high food safety standards.

Doing so will ultimately be the key to ensuring competitive income opportunities for the rural population, thus stemming the trend towards rural depopulation in Montenegro.

The article is taken from Southeast European Times from 15 January 2007

Los Angeles Times
latimes.com

THE EU'S UGLY LITTLE CHALLENGE

EU may have to confront hatred of Roma

by Colum McCann

On New Year's day, the European Union swelled by another 28 million people. The inclusion of Romania and Bulgaria in the European fold is cause for celebration in the streets of Bucharest and the courtyards of Sofia. For two of Europe's poorer countries, inclusion in the EU brings innumerable benefits, not the least roads, recognition, grants, travel access and a sundering of the Soviet past.

Yet for many Europeans – in Paris, in Dublin, in Brussels and perhaps even in Bucharest and Sofia – it spells the inclusion of 3 million potential problems: yet more Gypsies.

In a week that also heralds 2007 as "The European Year of Equal Opportunities for All," the word "Gypsy" still holds negative freight, even among those to whom it applies: the Roma. With ethnic and cultural roots stretching back to ancient India, the Roma are a diaspora community to rival the Irish and the Jews. Nonterritorial, they number anywhere from 12 million to 14 million worldwide, of whom roughly 10 million are found in Europe.

Yet European newspaper editors are stumped by how they should address the largest minority on the continent. Town mayors all over Eastern Europe often avoid the term altogether and talk instead of "whitening out" their inner cities.

If a society recognizes itself, and ultimately critiques itself, on how it treats its most downtrodden, then surely the acid test for the EU is its ongoing treatment of the Roma. They can be found living in the housing projects of Paris, the toxic dumps in Kosovo, the ruined outskirts of villages in eastern Slovakia, the warren of backstreets in old Polish towns and the gray flatlands of Dublin. Each place has its own – sometimes tiny – community. But when taken together, these groups form a giant cultural mosa-

ic, one that leans overwhelmingly toward poverty.

There are, of course, Romani doctors, psychologists, poets and scholars who have called for a new era of consciousness. They point to Romani contributions to the world of arts, politics and music by figures of Gypsy descent as diverse as Pablo Picasso, Django Reinhardt, Bob Hoskins, Charlie Chaplin, flamenco legend Carmen Amaya and even President Clinton.

But the old clichés of lying, cheating, stealing and breaking curfew with violin endure.

"The persistent, relentless portrayal of Roma as rootless, lawless, immoral, child-like thieves ... will ensure that anti-Gypsy prejudice will remain firmly a part of Euro-American attitudes," says Ian Hancock, a Romani scholar at the University of Texas.

In Bratislava one afternoon – while I was researching the situation of the Roma in Slovakia – a young intellectual engaged me in a debate on civil rights in the U.S. He knew of Martin Luther King Jr., of Stokely Carmichael, even the poetry of Daniel Berrigan. He was a staunch and eloquent defender of the marginalized, but when I asked him about contemporary issues of sterilization, school discrimination and burnings of Romani houses in his own country, he said without rancor: "Of course, yes, but they're just Gypsies." Malice is sometimes another name for silence.

The young girl paddling through the polluted streambed in Kosovo isn't likely to have heard of the "Year of Equal Opportunities." The boy huffing glue in the broken elevator of the Saint-Denis project is probably not aware that the decade from 2005 to 2015 is supposed to be "The Decade of Roma Inclusion."

It is important, of course, not to turn any culture into a list of sorrows and benedictions. The Roma themselves have



a deep ambivalence about their identity. Although they are as internally diverse as any other group, it's the roving gangs, the scams, the illiteracy, the violence – and the silence – that often get the headlines.

"If I were a Chechen or a Palestinian, I'd be out there throwing rocks," one activist told me in Hungary. "When you don't have a voice, you sing into the bottle."

Scholars such as Ian Hancock have called on governments, poets, journalists, activists and the general public to remember that the Roma, like African Americans, were enslaved in Central Europe only 150 years ago. The Holocaust sent Gypsy ash up the chimneys. This, and other bedrock history, is the story that must unfold into a larger understanding if, this week, the 3 million Roma from Bulgaria and Romania are not to be considered "just Gypsies."

"The struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting," says Czech novelist Milan Kundera.

The European call for inclusion is decent and right. The politicians and bureaucrats behind the sound bites mean well. Why not be in the habit of hoping for a better world?

Yet so much about Romani history is still wrapped up in a willful forgetfulness. It is not that Europe or America doesn't care – dozens of conferences and non-governmental agencies confront "the Roma question" in capital cities each year, and 2007 promises to be a bonus year – but the prevailing attitude still echoes the old Slovakian joke: "What is small, dark, filthy and knocking on the door?" The answer is not just the future, but the past as well.

The article is taken from LA Times

INTRODUCING THE EU INSTITUTIONS



Europol

investigations or to arrest suspects.

The role of Europol is to facilitate intelligence exchange amongst member states, to inform national police forces on the criminal trade routes and criminal groups, to generate strategic reports, analyses and reports, to provide expertise and technical support in investigations and operations carried out within EU and therefore perform as best logistics to the authorities of the member states.

Development of EU and the freedom of border-crossing engendered the need for more intensive cooperation and exchange of security information among the EU members. In order to fight organised crime, EU created Europol, an organisation whose primary goal is to fight crime in all of its guises.

In the beginning, Europol existed as European Drugs Unit, established by the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992, and it began operating in 1994. By the time, other fields of prevention of crime activities were added into its mandate.

In July 1999 the Agency was converted into Europol, an organisation whose responsibilities activities against illicit drug trafficking, illicit immigration networks, terrorism, trafficking in human beings including child pornography, illicit vehicle trafficking and various forms of financial fraud (such as money-laundering, forgery of money, etc.).

As of January 2002, the mandate of Europol was extended to deal with all serious forms of international crime as listed in the annex to the Europol Convention. The Europol Convention was ratified by all Member States. Mandate of Europol is applied on all forms of criminal structures whose acting two or more EU member states are affected.

Europol is active in all 27 EU members. Bulgaria and Romania joined Europol even before they became EU members.

The goal of Europol's aim is to improve cooperation between the competent authorities of the member states in order to combat different forms of organised crime and terrorism.

Unlike the national police authorities, Europol has no executive powers. It is not entitled to conduct independent

The Europol Management Board comprises one representative from each Member State and European Commission. It meets two times per year. Apart from the analyses of the Annual report, the Board considers also all future activities, as well as proposals and suggestions from the member states.

The Report is forwarded for approval to the Council EU, and the EP is informed about it. The President of the Board is a representative of the country currently presiding over the EU.

Europol's Director is appointed by the Council of the European Union, with approval of the Management Board. He is assisted by three deputies.

Currently, the Director is **Max-Peter Ratzel** (Germany), and the Deputy Directors are **Mariano Simancas** (Spain), **Jens Højbjerg** (Denmark) and **Kevin O'Connell** (UK). Europol has 590 employees, with 24 hours a day service providing.

Europol is funded by contributions from the Member States. The Council approves budget and draft budget for the work of the organisation. For 2006 the budget was 63.4 million EUR.

Control and audit of financial transaction is a responsibility of the Financial Controller and the Financial Committee, gathering representatives of each member states.

Headquarter of Europol is in Hague.

More information on Europol can be found at www.europol.europa.eu. Contact: info@europol.europa.eu

Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ

NON – GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPEAN UNION



EUROPEAN PUBLIC HEALTH ALLIANCE (EPHA)

The European Public Health Alliance (EPHA) represents over 100 non-governmental and other not-for-profit organisations working on projects of support for public health and improvement of health systems in EU member states. Among those, 35 are pan-European or international networks.

Main aim of Alliance work is to promote and protect the health interests of all people living in EU and to strengthen the dialogue between the EU institutions, citizens and NGOs in support of healthy public policies.

In reaching its goals, EPHA is conducting series of different activities. Among these are: monitoring the policy making process within the EU institutions. EPHA is maximising the flow of information concerning health promotion and public health policy developments amongst all interested players (including Commission officials, MEPs, member state and candidate country ministries, NGOs and citizens). Also, it works on promoting greater awareness amongst about policy developments and programme initiatives concerning health issues, and supports collaboration and partnerships between non-governmental organisations and other not for profit organisations active at European, national and local level on health promotion and public health.

In the European Parliament, EPHA provides secretarial assistance to the Intergroup on Health. This is a fruitful forum for discussion between health NGOs and members of the European Parliament with a special interest in health issues.

For more detailed information about the organisation, please visit www.eph.org

Prepared by: P. ĐUKANOVIĆ

YOUNG EUROPEAN FEDERALISTS OPENED ANOTHER REPRESENTATIVE OFFICE



JEF in Montenegro

After Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and other countries in the region, organizations of the Youth European Federalists (JEF), opened a representative office in Montenegro.

The goals of the Montenegrin branch of this pan-European organisation which brings together 25.000 members in 35 countries are to: support integration of Montenegro and other West Balkan countries into the European Union; develop regional cooperation through affirmation of European integrative processes; to promote European unity and democratic standards; development of European values in everyday life, such as tolerance, peace, democracy, respect of human rights, rule of law etc.; contribution to identification and elimination of the negative effects of globalisation and the promotion of positive ones.

JEF Montenegro will achieve its aims through following activities: organisation of creative workshops, counselling, performances, seminars, exhibitions, festivals and other activities with the aim of general development of the society and diffusion of the ideals of the organisation; creating possibilities for young people to travel and enjoy intercultural experi-



ences; advocacy and lobbying with local, national, West Balkan, European and international institutions, groups and organisations; publishing of brochures and other material for the promotion of the organisation and its goals; conducting research in the areas of interest.

JEF is a supranational, political movement active in most European countries. It is an autonomous youth organisation interested in political issues, although with no distinct political profile or affiliation with a particular party.

Activities of the movement are mainly concentrated on exchange of opinions and experiences with other political movements, political parties, European, national, and local institutions and organisations, and with the wider public. In that sense, JEF is a political movement, not a political party.

The essence and value of existence and work of the movement is in its endeavours to get young people interested in taking part in the political life of their society, as well as European society in general. The mission of the movement is breaking prejudices on politics as negative phenomenon and encouraging young people to become involved into politics as manner of creating better and more fair world. The aim of the movement is not taking and executing power.

Youth European Federalists consist of a group of young people who believe in the idea of a federal Europe, without borders, hegemony and discrimination. Young people are the greatest value for the movement. They believe that with their energy, optimism and knowledge can add a

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION SCHOOLS FORUM CONTINUES WITH ACTIVITIES

EC Report published

In the context of the European Integration Schools Forum, Centre for Civic Education, Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations, and European Movement in Montenegro, with support of the Foundation Open Society Institute, Representative Office in Montenegro, published the European Commission Report on the progress of Montenegro in 2006.

Publication of the Report is a contribution to the process of European Integrations, providing quality material for the participants in future programmes, lectures and panel discussions.

The Report will also be distributed to the MPs of the Montenegrin Parliament, officials of the Government of Montenegro, representatives of the local self-governments, non-governmental organisations working in the field of European Integrations, University of Montenegro, media, etc.

new quality to the life of their society. The leading idea of the movement which makes it unique and different from others is the idea of Europe as a federal state, which, according to the members of the Movement, is the only chance for Europe to win against the challenges of globalisation.

"If you are young in spirit and less than 35 years of age, if you want to be included in the creation of the future of Europe, if you have something to say to the European politicians and citizens, if you share the idea of establishing a European federation, you are more than welcome to become a member of our organisation", says JEF Montenegro.

FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

2007–2008 INTERNATIONAL SCHOLARS FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

Open Society Institute
International Higher Education Support Program
Academic Fellowship Program

The International Scholars Fellowship Program invites highly-qualified scholars in social sciences and humanities from around the world to teach and/or consult at selected university departments in South Eastern Europe, parts of the former Soviet Union, and Mongolia.

The program, part of the Academic Fellowship Program (AFP), welcomes applications from faculty, retired faculty, and others holding PhDs in anthropology, area/cultural studies, gender studies, economics, history, political science, international relations, psychology, public administration, public health, philosophy, social work, sociology, human rights & public law, and journalism/media studies. The program does not support scholars in philology, the visual and performing arts, or business. Candidates apply to teach outside their country of citizenship and must hold an internationally-recognized PhD or JD. AFP accepts applications for fellowship placements in Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Macedonia, Moldova, Mongolia, Montenegro, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Tajikistan, and Ukraine.

AFP fellows are placed in carefully selected university departments that are amenable to change and demonstrate a realistic and clear vision for future development. A list of current AFP partner departments can be found on our website. The list is subject to change in the 2007–08 academic year.

The International Scholars Fellowship Program offers two arrangements:

Non-resident International Scholars share their expertise with host departments on a consulting basis, visiting the institution for several short consultations and remaining in contact for mentoring and advice between visits. Nonresident fellows are senior or well-established academics; recent PhD recipients are not considered.

Resident International Scholars live in the host country and teach courses for one academic

year at partner universities. Fellows also work on a variety of projects within their host departments, and benefit from the diverse academic network connecting AFP program countries. **The Resident option is available only for Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Mongolia.

Fellowships generally include a stipend, transportation, and accommodation. Resident fellows also receive health insurance and various other allowances.

Application deadline: March 23, 2007.

Fellowships begin in **August or September 2007** and normally last one academic year, with the possibility of renewal. For applications and guidelines, please see our web site:

www.soros.org/initiatives/hesp/focus/afp

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Higher Education Support Program

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ERASMUS MUNDUS (EU FUNDING) IN WOMEN'S STUDIES AND GENDER STUDIES

We would like to inform you that the Department of Gender Studies at the Central European University (CEU), as a member of the newly-created GEMMA consortium, has been granted an Erasmus Mundus (EU funding) in Women's Studies and Gender Studies starting in 2007/08. Both students and scholars from third countries* are eligible to apply for scholarships within the program. Third country scholars can apply for a study period at CEU, or any other member of the GEMMA consortium, for 3 months in 2007/08. The consortium is made up of eight universities in seven different European countries: University of Granada (co-ordinator), University of Bologna, Central European University in Budapest, University of Hull, Institutum Studiorum Humanitatis, Ljubljana (ISH), University of Lodz, University of Oviedo and University of Utrecht. We encourage you to check the GEMMA website at: www.ugr.es/~gemma and see details under applications/applications for scholars. Each consortium has a limited



number of scholarships to distribute among potential applicants, and they are awarded on a competitive basis.

Please note that the **deadline for application is January 31* 2007**, and the documents should arrive in Granada no later than **February 9th 2007**.

FOUR 6-MONTH RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS IN HUMANISTIC SCIENCE

The Institute for Human Sciences (IWM) awards four 6-month research fellowships during the academic year 2007/08. The programme, which is generously supported by the Robert Bosch Foundation, is focused on South-Eastern Europe.

The program is directed to graduates with a degree in the humanities and social sciences, that will work in Vienna on a research project of her/his choice that is related to one of the IWM's main research fields.

Applications are accepted from Ph.D candidates and Post-doctoral researchers who

- either are of South-Eastern European origin,
- or are affiliated to a university or research institution in the region,
- or, independent of their origin, who pursue research on South-Eastern Europe.

Please visit www.iwm.at/fellowships to learn details about eligibility requirements, conditions and application procedure.

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