

## **C o n t e n t s :**

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INTEGRATION INTO THE EU

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for Accelerated Integration into the EU

BORIS TRAJKOVSKI - PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC  
OF MACEDONIA

Address to the participants of the National Forum  
for Accelerated Integration into the EU

RADMILA SEKERINSKA - VICE-PRESIDENT  
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA  
IN CHARGE OF INTEGRATION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

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Despite the progress achieved in certain fields, the Republic of Macedonia seems to be just starting to have an organized approach towards the process of its integration in the EU. The development of the National Strategy for its adaptation to the Union is underway, wherefrom the Action Plan(s) and Program(s) for integrating the country in the European structures should arise. The road to European integration is, of course, complex, since it involves constant and guided engagement in the political, economic and social, and legal and institutional reform of the country according to the criteria set by the EU. At the same time, the Republic of Macedonia's integration process in the European structures will be successful only if the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia join in and share the common European values. In this way we will manage to contribute to the development of civic Europe. It is necessary to swiftly complete the process of internal stabilization of the country after the recent conflict. Still, it would be realistic and even more desirable to set, as the final goal, the accelerated accession of Macedonia to the Union somewhere in the last years of this decade, which will depend on the degree of mobilization and active participation of all governmental and non-governmental factors in the country, as well as on the quality and guided use of the support from Brussels in the preparations of the country for future membership in the EU.

At the same time, Macedonia, as a part of the Stabilization and Association Process, is achieving its integration in the context of regional cooperation in the Balkans and the broader integration of the region in the EU. With regard to this, the year 2003 is deemed especially significant because at the upcoming EU Summit, scheduled for June this year in Thessalonica, a redefinition of the European strategy towards the Balkans is expected and - generally - of the engagement of the international and regional factors in the stabilization and European integration of the region. From stabilization to European integration - is the expected motto under which the work on the future Agenda for Enlargement of the Union towards the Balkans will be conducted, with an emphasis on the efforts for preparing the region for its future accession to the EU - depending on the individual achievements of separate countries in that field. The latter, among other things, is suggested in the basic lines recommended in the Work Document regarding the priorities of the current holder of the Presidency of the Union - Greece, which Italy, the holder of the Presidency of the EU in the second half of 2003, is expected to follow.

The success in defining the strategic guidelines of the Thessalonica Summit and - especially - the efforts for preparing the region and its candidate countries for future European integration after this Summit will largely depend on the joint regional and local initiatives, which will come from the regional actors concerned with the process. In that sense, among other things, the heads of the five states included in the Stabilization and Association Process of the region (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia and Serbia and Montenegro) have recently agreed to initiate a series of round tables where they would discuss issues concerning the preparations for European integration of the region, including a Regional Forum planned for mid-March in Macedonia. The Forum is summoned in order to come up with specific suggestions regarding the preparation of a joint strategy for the Thessalonica Summit, with the intention for it to continue after the Summit with the participation of experts and state representatives from the five SAP member countries, as well as representatives from the relevant non-governmental institutions from the Balkans and Europe concerned with the respective issue.

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The International Center for Preventive Activities and Conflict Resolution and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, aware of the need for internal mobilization and constant coordinated participation of the local factors for more relevant structures in the process of accelerated integration of RM in the EU, both in the local and regional context, have organized the NATIONAL FORUM FOR ACCELERATED INTEGRATION INTO THE EU. The Forum was organized under the auspices of the President of the Republic of Macedonia, with two goals. The immediate goal - to contribute to defining the joint strategy for integrating the Balkans at the EU Thessalonica Summit with specific ideas and suggestions (to that end the Forum is summoned before the Regional Forum aiming to contribute to its successful work). As a long-term goal - to provide a venue for continuing meeting and active participation of representatives of the state, political, scientific, expert and other public; in support of the accelerated integration of Macedonia in the EU. In that sense, the National Forum is envisioned as a process which will include regular three-month debates in wider composition on specific issues relevant to Euro-integration, as well as a series of continuing work meetings comprising experts on current issues connected to the integration of RM in the EU.

According to these goals, the National Forum for Accelerated Integration into the EU consisted of a morning and an afternoon debate session, devoted to two topics regarding the Euro-integration of Macedonia and the region, entitled:

**a) Accelerated integration of RM in the EU:** current situation and basic strategic directions: The debates on this topic tried to reflect the current state Macedonia is in regarding certain areas, according to the membership criteria set by the EU; as well as to establish the basic strategic and reform directions for necessary action in order to fulfill these criteria in the following five to six-year period. For each field, within the frames of the European criteria, the debates tried to answer the questions: What are the goals that need to be accomplished? Where do we start from and what are the basic reform directions and required policy for overcoming the problems in achieving accelerated accession of Macedonia in the EU? In that sense, the Forum was focused on the country's future, i.e. towards achieving the prospect of Macedonia's accession to the EU and it will not unduly deal with possible oversights made in the past period. At the same time, due to the complexity of the issues, the debate on this topic was, in nature, initial; with the aim to enable a detailed review of the relevant subject matter of the Forums that will follow after the first National Forum for Accelerated Integration into the EU;

**b) From stabilization to preparation of Balkan countries for accession to the EU:** in this part, the discussion was aimed at the current and future issues connected to the forms and intensity of regional cooperation within the Stabilization and Association Process (SAP), as well as at the possibilities for increased institutional and other cooperation between the EU and the countries in this process, in support of their integration and the integration of the Balkans in the EU. The debate aimed to identify the possibilities for intensifying regional cooperation between Balkan countries and, especially, the ways of accelerating the cooperation and interconnection of these countries and their societies with the EU through adjusting the mechanisms for supporting integration in the existent framework established by SAP, without, thereby, jeopardizing that framework.

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In order to realize the possibility for specifying the most important segments relevant to Euro-integration, the work of the participants was divided into six further topic groups, i.e. three for each of the two general topics. Namely, at the actual forum, according to this idea, there was work in the following six groups:

1. Internal stabilization, political system, democracy, human rights;
2. The economic and social sphere;
3. Harmonization of the legislation, internal affairs, administration and the judiciary;
4. Broadened cooperation between the countries of the Stabilization and Association Process (SAP);
5. Promoting institutional cooperation between the EU and the SAP countries, and approximating their societies;
6. Intensifying economic cooperation and infrastructural interconnection of the countries in the region and support of the EU of their economic consolidation and development.

At the actual Forum, a large number of participants were invited, including state representatives (i.e. from the cabinet of the President of RM, the Government of RM, the Sector for Euro-integration within the Government of RM, all the ministries within the Government of RM, the most important agencies within the Government of RM, the Parliament of RM and part of its Commissions, representatives from the judiciary of RM etc.); representatives from the political parties, representatives from the scientific and expert public; representatives from the non-governmental sector in RM; representatives from the media in RM, representatives from economic entities; representatives of other institutions, etc.).

Results of the work of each of the six working groups are now in front of you, developed into summarized reports prepared on the basis of the actual discussions. We hope that through this publication the two most important goals of the very establishment of the Forum will be fulfilled - the immediate one: to contribute, through specific ideas summarized in the reports in front of you, toward defining the joint strategy for integrating the Balkans at the EU Thessalonica Summit, and the intermediary one: to provide a venue for constant meeting and active participation of representatives from the state, political, scientific, expert and other public in support of the accelerated integration of Macedonia in the EU, as well as to maintain continuing interest of all actors relevant in any way to the integration of RM in the EU.

Skopje, February 2003

Saso Georgievski  
International Center  
for Preventive Activities  
and Conflict Resolution

Andreas M. Klein  
Konrad Adenauer - Stiftung

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Address before the participants of the National Forum  
For Accelerated Integration into the EU

**BORIS TRAJKOVSKI - PRESIDENT  
OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA**

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Skopje, 19th February 2003

Distinguished  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a great pleasure that today for the first time we have an opportunity to delve into a comprehensive debate as to how to accelerate the process of integration into Europe, a debate including the overall potential of our country, which will undoubtedly give a significant contribution towards developing a strategy for achieving this priority. I am convinced that this form of a discussion presents an important step forward towards defining our goals and expectations from the European Summit in Thessalonica this year, but also towards bringing the very process of integration closer to the citizens. The transparency of the process, the inclusion of all society segments in defining the strategy is very important and will contribute to the citizens' better understanding of the benefits of EuroAtlantic integration.

Allow me to briefly turn to the current events in the Union, as well as to our travails on the road to achieving the common goal - European integration.

Today the European Union may be making the most important political decisions in its existence. I primarily refer to the enlargement of the Union and the outline of the first European Constitution. Europe plans its future and determines its new structure. We follow the debates on Europe' s future with interest and what is encouraging is the vision that Europe today has the unique opportunity to grow into a community of European citizens, a community whose benefits, I sincerely hope, will soon be used by the Macedonian citizens, and, in particular, the young generation. The enlargement of the Union commenced with the fall of the iron curtain and, as the President of the European Commission, Romano Prodi, said, it will not stop until the Balkan countries become a part of the European family. This represents a long-lasting process of meeting the Copenhagen criteria referring to the rule of law, respecting human rights, transposing the overall European acts and building a functional market economy. A large number of countries from the former Eastern block have already fulfilled their commitments, thus finalizing the difficult negotiations. These countries will become part of the Union as early as next year and will have the opportunity to share all European values and principles, such as democracy; free flow of goods, services, labor and capital on the unique European market, and all the way to building a joint foreign and security policy.

Naturally, in order to accomplish this noble task that the Union has set before itself, it is necessary to modify the way that the Union itself functions. It is clear that the Union with 25 of 30 members is not in a situation to function as it has done with the 6 initial members. This is why last year the European Convention started work, whose only task is to compensate for the democracy deficit on the Union by way of reform and enabling institutions to efficiently complete their tasks with even more than 30 members. Along with the existence of the Convention, an informal debate was opened in the wider public, where non-governmental organizations, universities, the business community, as well as all other non-governmental actors directly concerned with the decisions of the Union took active participation in the definition of the future Europe.

Undoubtedly, the Republic of Macedonia, as one of the Southeast European countries, is deeply involved in the European integration process. Europe is our goal. We are united in this and it is what gives us the most encouragement and promise. It is necessary to justify the trust we have been given two years ago in Luxemburg, when we had the honor to be the first ones to conclude the Stabilization and Association Agreement, thus practically being recognized potential candidates. However, our ambitions do not stop here. It is now that we have the opportunity to show and prove that Macedonia deserves more. It is a long and

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painstaking road; however, I am convinced that the goal will be realized as soon as possible. The Stabilization and Association Agreement is hitherto the most comprehensive instrument that regulates the relations between our country and the Union. Regional cooperation, trade liberalization, upholding democratic principles and adopting European acts are only a part of the obligations we have undertaken and which we clearly need to deal with on the way to Europe. Furthermore, I would like to mention institutional upgrading and reforms in the judiciary and public administration, as well as the development of the financial and private sector. It is our obligation, our effort in the realization of which we must utilize all domestic capacities.

Now, with the completion of this stage of the process of enlargement, the EU has an increased capacity to work more intensively on approximating our region to its standards and tenets, which would mean devoting further efforts for accelerated development. Unless decisive steps in that direction are taken, the difference between the EU, including novel members as well, and the countries of Southeast Europe will substantially grow. While the goals of the enlarged Union will be economic prosperity, development and labor mobility; our region will be left to itself to deal with crime, corruption and border problems. This is why, in the capacity of presidents of the five countries from the Stabilization and Association Agreement, we have addressed the Council of Europe at the Copenhagen Summit, where we have expressed our vision and hope that the interest that the European Union displayed for its neighborhood so far will be proved further on. The joint letter of the presidents of the Western Balkans countries to the Council of Europe in Copenhagen has proved as a sound foundation for perpetuating the cooperation between these countries in the direction of organizing the forthcoming Thessalonica Summit.

In order to use and effectuate the clearly expressed political will of the EU directed towards the region, we need local and regional initiatives that would result in profiling instruments and mechanisms to enrich the existing framework of relationships defined with the Stabilization and Association Agreement. It is elementary to underscore that we do not seek a new legal framework, a new process or new negotiations. On the contrary, today we debate on the instrument that could enrich the Stabilization and Association Process, instruments that will make sure that the citizens of Macedonia, but in other countries of the region too, feel the benefits and commitments Europe brings into their everyday lives, thus avoiding the growing feeling that the EU is some sort of high politics accessible solely to administration. Initiatives in this direction ought to emerge from a wider public debate that should be taken at two levels - national and regional. The public debate will make room for inventiveness and, at the same time, it will provide greater legitimacy of the request with which Macedonia and the other countries would approach the EU prior to the Thessalonica Summit. In that direction we organize today' s Forum, the conclusions whereof will represent a basis for our expectations from the Summit.

In the end, I would like to greet the work of the Forum and to underline once again the role and the significance of public debates on sensitive issues, such as the one on Euro-integration. The Forum, perhaps, will not resolve all problems arising therefrom, but it undoubtedly represents an enormous effort and proof of our country' s determination on the road to the European family.

Boris Trajkovski  
President of  
the Republic of Macedonia



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**RADMILA SEKERINSKA -  
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF  
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Skopje, Aleksandar Palace,  
18th February 2003

Distinguished Mr. President,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I must conclude, to my pleasure, that more and more often I receive invitations for different gatherings devoted to European integration, and more importantly, - from different structures. This means that "it is moving".

How it is moving, towards what it is moving - we need to put more effort into the reply to this, but it is moving.

The initiative inflation brings about certain problems for those who have European integration in the description and list of their obligations. Namely, we, or at least I, feel certain exhaustion of the material - how to be creative and fresh, for instance, after the tenth speech on the same topic where the theses do not change substantially.

In order to provide some regeneration I went through the files of my speeches and I noticed one thing -I turn to what are our commitments, responsibilities, tasks, mistakes and deficiencies almost 100 percent. I even asked myself if, perhaps, I have been overly self-critical, while neglecting the commitments, responsibility and mistakes of the Union.

It may be so, but I shall adhere to the rule that at home we need to speak of domestic problems and challenges, while in Brussels we must insist on more attention, more appropriate treatment and policies, and even afterwards more funds.

Instead, we usually do things the other way round: at home we complain of Brussels and in Brussels we are silent and complain of the local situation which we allegedly cannot influence.

I would like to see the start of a wider debate, ours, internal, and, at the same time, regional, in the dawn of the Thessalonica Summit and in the direction of our maturation. Yesterday, in front of the postgraduate students in European Studies at the Faculty of Philosophy I mentioned that we still seem to be at the "debate stage" in terms of Euro-integration, from where we need to go on to an "action stage".

I understand this debate in the function of action because it is directed towards the Thessalonica Summit, and there, and even more before and after it, action needs to be taken.

If we want Europe to take us seriously, we must provide a serious contribution to the policies created in the Union. The more our suggestions are sound and based on feasibility assessment, the more probable it is that they be accepted.

Even the public is tired of the announcements and expectations that something revolutionary will happen at the Thessalonica Summit, that there will come about a fundamental change in the treatment of the Stabilization and Association Process and the Western Balkans.

Let us be realistic - it is not going to happen.

Perhaps we expect too much if we look for great ideas. The great and realizable solutions are not usually a great idea, but a composition of a lot of small realistic things.

We can initiate something as a proposal in order to win a political point, but this will be short-lived. The accession to the Union is not a short-lived thing.

Therefore, instead of great words, let us look for four, five, ten specific things which may seem minute and trifle to politicians, but are more than important to those who work on the European integration of RM every day.

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This could be a mild redefinition of the policy of EU assistance. It could be the legislation screening or the long-term connections of Macedonian institutions with the ones from the EU members. Is the answer to open the structural or cohesion funds of the Union (which, by the way, are to grow by 50 percent by 2007 in order to compensate for the enlargement shock) and what are our arguments for that? Can we insist on the opening of a part of the community' s programs...

Or, in the words of a Dutch member of Parliament - let' s first be as creative as possible and then as specific as possible.

Nevertheless, I believe that Macedonia can offer more and I hope that today, on the round table debates, you will take your thoughts into that direction.

You are all well-acquainted with the Priorities of the Greek Presidency for the Western Balkans, which we have already welcomed. First of all, because they confirm our expectations that this year' s Presidency with the Union of two countries EU members neighboring the region, Greece and Italy - will mean their engagement, of course, starting from common interest.

Secondly, because they make efforts for a key thing - it is diverting from conflicts towards integration, strengthening the integration dimension of the Stabilization and Association Process and the guarantee that another SAP step towards accession will not be introduced in the from of another agreement.

In the very formulation of the priorities one can notice the intention to overcome the standard precaution of European institutions when it comes to new candidates and the new accession wave. Precaution, from the point of view of member countries, is understandable when taking into consideration that the enlargement in 2004 is a little shock for all of Europe, no matter how prepared it is.

However, certain other initiatives were less "restricted", and they encouraged thinking. This was the material for the European stabilization initiative, whose primary effort is to address economic and social issues in the Balkans and its increased publicity was well-deserved.

In order to make our contribution to this debate more efficient, we need to show capacity, and this is why I will turn a little to the internal issues of European integration. Some claim that the roots of the EU are found in Churchill' s speech in Zurich in 1946, where he called to partnership between Germany and France in order to create the United States of Europe.

Churchill' s initiative becomes the Macedonian possibility only with his famous formula "blood, sweat and tears".

The process of our integration in the Union will be costly - both politically and financially - and everyone should be at home with that.

Let us not fool ourselves that somebody else is going to cover the bill.

This will be done by tax payers, through the budget; this will be done by economic entities, adapting to the new rules of the game.

However, this will not be our expenditure, but our investment.

For instance - on the part of the government - these are changes in the manner of developing laws, better ministry coordination, planed structure enhancement... This does not sound pompous at all, it even sounds technocratic, but if we have observed that we are deficient in organization and coordination, we can remedy this. This is not "for free" because numerous projects have been devoted to these issues and we need to direct them.

Another example, the Parliament. My MP experience is still fresh and the Parliament naturally comes to my foreground concerning matters of Euro-integration. It is true for a long time that there is a consensus in Macedonia for EU membership. Now we need to show this consensus in action.

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To establish a Commission for European issues - not for Euro-Atlantic as so far. To change the procedure "which means the Rules of Procedures as well", which should enable a suitable contribution of the Parliament to the process of approximating legislation. To publicly manifest the political consensus for European integration.

Thirdly, I will address widely all those who should and wish to give their contribution to the Strategy.

On this road we will have a lot of disappointments, dissatisfactions and frustrations, we will read unpleasant reports, receive criticisms, think that someone is interfering in our work (forgetting that the point is that it is joint work), we will be sure that the Union was unfair to us (sometimes rightfully), etc.

However, on that road we would have to keep reminding ourselves that we have not made the decision to integrate in the EU because it is a simple one; we are not making it because it is a popular one; not because it is a cheap process; not because it is a fashionable process - but because it is the real one.

Report from the work of group I on the topic:

**INTERNAL STABILIZATION, POLITICAL SYSTEM,  
DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

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At the very beginning of the discussion on this work topic, the participants have welcomed the idea to establish a National Forum for Accelerated Integration into the European Union, as a need at the state level and a possible attempt at institutionalizing political will. The Forum, according to the participants, is also a possibility to go out of the borders set by the political parties, the Government and the opposition in their own lines regarding Euro-integration related issues. This is why, according to the participants, work should be done on its constitution as an institution where there would be realistic debating, political will will be manifested and, at the same time, public pressure will be exerted in two directions - pressure on citizens' awareness regarding what our integration in the EU signifies, what is the real use of that process and a pressure on the institutions of the system, i.e. on human resources within the frames of those institutions who are said to declare publicly and politically their own will quite frequently, but are very often encumbered with improvisation and excuses for their passivity and reactivity.

Apart from this, the participants have estimated that the Forum is a kind of political communication relevant to the establishment and emission of a signal to the EU that the Republic of Macedonia is not a country of permanent conflicts which are on the verge of transforming into war, but, on the contrary, it is a country where it is possible to achieve political consensus, mutual political will, and respecting and upgrading everything done in that direction by the institutions of the government from the previous period, regardless of what political entities comprised it. According to the participants, this is particularly true in the context of defeating the three main images the EU had about the situation in the Republic of Macedonia. Namely, they were: an image of Macedonia at war, with suffering, displaced persons, destroyed homes, ethnic hatred and interethnic conflict; then, an image of Macedonia with great corruption, organized crime, trafficking in narcotics and humans; and an image of Macedonia as a country that has a problem in the organization of and the approach to diplomacy (establishing diplomatic relationships with the Republic of China and returning Macedonian diplomats from EU countries into the Republic of Macedonia due to unseemly behavior). In spite of such an external image that the world and the EU received for RM, it was underlined that internally, i.e. in the Republic of Macedonia, there was only one general wish - Macedonia' s accession into the EU. Still, it was underlined that, even though this act for the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia meant sufficient stability, wealth, freedom of movement and displaying our abilities, almost no initiatives were raised on the field for its realization. Namely, the debate on the work topic showed us that in respect of Macedonia' s position in the context of EU integration and its activities undertaken in that field with only one sketchy analysis, it becomes clear that there is an absence of action mobility and initiative. In the course of the past decade, according to the participants, the main feature of Macedonia' s approach to the idea and process of European integration were inertia and reactivity (it was reacted only if something was offered by the EU by accepting, without taking our own initiative and without a serious approach to the idea that we can maybe negotiate something more than what has been obtained), formalism and improvisation (because EU integration quite often was boiled down to adopting legal regulations formally compatible with European ones, but there was no real implementation and systemic approach), daily political rhetoric (because the issue of Macedonia' s integration in the EU was used as a means of scoring political points for filling in the contents of pre-election campaigns and creating pre-election slogans and messages of the type - leaders of the Western Balkans or signatories of the First Stabilization and Association Agreement) and finally, the excuses (because the EU and its standards were used as a reason to make certain unpopular steps on the part of our authorities, even though the expert public through its analysis very often shows that it is not exactly so, that these steps are the result of a previously undeveloped policy and need when there is no longer any choice for it to be compensated for and covered).

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Apart from this, the participants emphasized that one of the most important remarks to internal politics is the lack of political culture to support the idea and efforts for the country' s European integration. Namely, this deficiency in political culture is best seen in the way of communication of those structures of political authority that are most exposed and most held accountable for that issue. The example of the communication within the highest legislative body was underlined and the example of the non-transparent act of signing the Framework Agreement and all the steps taken afterwards for its implementation. Especially, taking into account that one of the main preconditions for Macedonia' s integration in the EU is accomplishing stabilization inside the country, i.e. implementation of the Agreement which is not to be seen as an act of realizing the rights of the Albanian community in Macedonia, but as a realization of its three elementary messages:

1) Pacification (demilitarization) of the country through three segments - the first is disarmament and reconciliation (amnesty), the second is enabling the existence of multi-ethnic governments with which the equal opportunity for participation in and building of the future of Macedonia will be enabled, and the third is creating possibilities for the institutions of the system to develop their own credibility as capable, competent and politically and ideologically impartial;

2) Insisting on the rule of law which needs to be provided through mechanisms for preventing corruption and conflict of interests, and through mechanisms which need to provide, among other things, putting the state institutions in the function of economic development, the rule of law and the process of integration of RM in the EU;

3) Building good relations with the neighbors not only because of its own safety, but because it is in the interest of its own economic development, the processes of regional integration and one of the bases on which the integration of RM in the EU can be achieved.

Regarding the stabilization of RM, in order to achieve a transition from stabilization towards integration, the participants outlined that it is necessary the country itself to face with and successfully resolve the following challenges:

- How to prevent new interethnic conflicts, i.e. how to overcome and surmount the potential sources of any new crisis in Macedonia (the answer would be through eliminating the arguments and possibilities which would have a positive impact on the occurrence of conflicts);

- How to enable a higher degree of political unity, since the conflict of the opposition-government type can have a negative impact on the stability of the country (the answer is that that can be achieved mainly through decontamination of hatred and creation of a new type of behavior in the political system institutions);

- How to prevent potential social conflicts - which, in such a situation, can be encouraged by the degree of social demagogy for retaining status quo - at the same time with the severe reforms that Macedonia must perform in order to secure bearable life, for ensuring the economic prosperity of the country and reduction of the huge unemployment (the answer to this challenge is that this would be possible through social sustainability, social and political transparency, clarity and acceptability by those who, otherwise, could block the entire process of further development of RM).

According to the participants, only through the successful resolution of this so-called homework, along with all the previously stated challenges facing the Republic of Macedonia on its way to the EU, can we say that we are going in a good direction. Otherwise, the participants believe that the Republic of Macedonia will remain tailing the EU and we solely shall bare the responsibility for that.

The participants on this work table have underlined that, apart from the already elaborated internal problems, it is necessary to overcome other situations, occurrences and factors, which, unless resolved, can incur negative influence on the process of accelerated

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integration of RM in the EU. Namely, in this context, we mentioned the need for resolving and working on the improvement or elimination of the following:

- Passivity of the legislative authority and domination of the executive authorities, i.e. the party leaderships with respect to the former;
- Ethnically-based parties - as a result of the process of replacing the one party system, i.e. instead of a multi-party system, there appeared an ethnic-party system.
- Tendencies of not interfering in the internal affairs of other ethnicities, which as a process starts in politics and continues to grow roots in the society and, then, has a reverse influence from society to politics;
- Appearance of elements of oligarchisation in the political and economic life;
- Number and diversity of the media, but questionable general quality and social responsibility and role of the same;
- Creating conditions for educating citizens in the spirit of European values - human rights, rule of law, etc.

One of the most important recommendations of the first work group was that if the Republic of Macedonia's aspiration is an accelerated integration process, it is necessary that all important factors in the country place before themselves the basic strategic goal of that aspiration - the Republic of Macedonia in the EU before 2010. Naturally, the participants underlined that this process depends on a lot of factors, a good portion of which are not and cannot be under our control. However, the realization requires doing our homework with seriousness (of all factors within the state, but especially of those at the highest positions of political authority), self-initiative and strategy. In fact, we need to develop our own analysis (which would be converted into a comprehensive strategy and followed up with an action plan and other documents for all areas; this was underlined even in spite of the prevailing attitude that creating a national strategy will not end successfully, taking into account the previous experiences of developing strategies for everything and anything) and starting our own initiative (in the form of an aggressive and supported campaign, directed towards the EU), which would be set on three basic checkpoints:

1) Reminding the EU that full integration of the Western Balkan countries is the only solution to their permanent pacification, i.e. emphasizing the principle of "relativizing" borders, instead of changing them;

2) Underlining the fact that the integration of the Western Balkan countries in the EU is not only a political and security, but also an economic interest of the Union because it is indicated that the integration of five countries with 22 million people will cost the EU less than deploying peace forces, reconstruction assistance, humanitarian aid, etc;

3) Using the experiences of the hitherto practice of enlarging the Union in the sense of calling upon previous experiences because no country so far has fully met the conditions before the accession itself, but, on the contrary, the conditions are fulfilled through the accession process solely because of the support and attraction power of the Union which had a marvelous transformational effect on the otherwise post-authoritarian and economically fragile societies.

In the end, the participants underlined three elementary directions of action towards achieving the goal - accelerated European integration of RM. Namely, the following three levels of action were underlined within the frames of internal engagement:

1) Creating a methodology - which entails all the procedures, means and ways in which the country will be organized in order to accelerate the process of its European integration. This involves the following wide range of measures: short-term political measures, such as the diplomatic offensive for complete ratification of the Stabilization and Association Agreement, completing the institutional structure immediately dealing with EU relations, developing a national strategy for the European integration of RM into the EU,



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which will refer to democratic standards, the rule of law and human rights; quick development of a strategy for reforming the judiciary in three segments: independence, competence and efficiency; and creating a partnership relationship between the government, the universities and the civil sector, in particular the NGO sector, for developing a project for legal and judicial implementation of constitutionally guaranteed freedoms and rights.

2) Normative interventions - filling in the legal gaps, completing the legal framework for decentralizing government (especially in the context of a clever and correct interpretation of the principles of the Framework Agreement), introducing certain standard European legal means for realizing freedoms and rights, such as constitutional complaint, adopting a law on preventing conflict of interests, removing certain un-European practices occurring beside, around, underneath or opposite legal norms, creating new legal means for achieving results, etc.

3) Acting in the direction of causing social and political changes - which represents the key, but also the most difficult part to realize, taking into account that it is the part least suitable for legal regulation. The essence is to raise the quality of political elites and achieving political will that will move institutions. The realization of this goal in the long run is inevitable, but has only one solution in the short term - pressure of the public which should be articulated through the media and directed mainly to the carriers of political authority.

Report from the work of group II on the topic:

## **ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SPHERE**

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The second working group of the National Forum for Accelerated Integration into the European Union, worked on the topic - the Economic and Social Sphere in RM in the Context of the Process of Integration of RM in the EU.

The discussion in this work group was focused on three main points from the economic and social sphere, as follows:

1. The current economic situation - the status of the Republic of Macedonia (the way the market economy functions and the achievements in the field of structural reforms, in line with the Copenhagen criteria);
2. The priorities in the economic and social sphere as conditions for accelerated integration of the Republic of Macedonia in the European Union;
3. The prospects of the Republic of Macedonia in the process of approximation to the EU and, to that effect, preparation of a list of recommendations for the upcoming Thessalonica Summit when a development of a "Balkans Declaration" is expected.

As far as the discussion about the first specified area is concerned, firstly, observations were given about the factors which had an effect on the more or less successful transition of Southeast European countries (including the Republic of Macedonia) on the road from a planned to a market economy. The factors were divided into three main groups, as follows: initial factors (the time spent in a socialist environment); geo-political position (the distance of the capitals from Brussels), as well as the motive of the political "games" (determining an exact date for EU admission).

In that, a parallel was made between the countries from Southeast Europe (apart from the Republic of Macedonia, this category involves Serbia and Montenegro, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Albania), between the countries of Central and Southeast Europe (Slovenia, foremost), but also between the countries in transition which were a part of the former USSR, as well as the remaining countries of the "Balkan region" (Bulgaria, Romania and Greece).

According to the participants, the Republic of Macedonia, in line with the foregoing factors, shows better results than the countries in transition - former republics of the USSR, mainly due to the relatively shorter time period spent in a socialist environment (45-50 years, instead of the 70 years in the case of Russia and the former Soviet Republics). The effect of the geo-political position can especially be observed in the case of Slovenia and the other countries from Central and Eastern Europe, which is also the case with the effect of the "political factor". Namely, in the case of Slovenia and the other countries from Central and Eastern Europe, an exact date for EU accession was set, which was not the case neither with the Republic of Macedonia, nor with the countries belonging to the former USSR. According to the participants, this may be one of the more important factors which exerted influence on the foregoing countries (including the Republic of Macedonia) to be less successful and less mobilized in the efforts for achieving the necessary standards for EU membership.

As far as the achievements of the Republic of Macedonia in the area of structural reforms on the way to building a functional market economy are concerned (in line with the Copenhagen criteria), some information was presented by the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD Transition report). So, in the Republic of Macedonia almost 65-70% of the gross domestic product (GDP) is created in the private sector. Poland and the Czech Republic have higher percentages. Unlike the 1988-89 period when almost 97% of the GDP was created in the state sector, now the situation is completely the opposite (90% of the GDP in these countries is created in the private sector).

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As far as the restructuring of the big enterprises (or the so-called "big privatization") is concerned, it was noted that the situation in the Republic of Macedonia is similar to the one in Slovenia, thus the rating given by IBRD is 3 (out of the possible 4+). The highest rating is given to the privatization situation of the small and medium enterprises (or the so-called "small privatization"), where the rating of the Republic of Macedonia is 4 (out of the possible 4+).

Still, according to some of the participants, especially the ones coming from the "field", without the big enterprises there is no chance for the small ones, hence the inability of the segmented Macedonian economy to deal with the foreign markets' competition.

It is for these reasons that the lowest rating is given to the situation in the enterprises regarding the competitiveness (2 out of the possible 4+). The reasons for that are located both in the Macedonian economy (the deficient Law on Competition, change merely of the ownership and not of the organizational and technologic structure) and in the European Union, which discriminates against the Republic of Macedonia. This discrimination is conducted by very subtle measures; namely, the technical standards which the Macedonian companies cannot meet (due to the very low number of companies in the Republic of Macedonia that have acquired the ISO quality standard, as a condition for the access of Macedonian products to the EU markets).

Furthermore, according to the participants, there is discrimination in the use of the Clause for Origin of Goods on the Common Union Market. Namely, it is known that the Macedonian economy is import-dependent, thus almost everything produced is with imported raw materials. Consequently, it was said that we can seldom say that we have a purely Macedonian export product, hence the inability for penetration of Macedonian products into the foreign markets. When the Republic of Macedonia becomes a member of the WTO it is expected that this problem will be overcome and Macedonia will obtain its right to use the Clause for Diagonal Cumulating (a right that Slovenia obtained many years ago).

According to some of the participants, the transition from the PHARE program to CARDS is also a confirmation of the discrimination that the EU practices towards the countries from the Southeastern European region, including the Republic of Macedonia. Namely, enclosing data from the Report on the Use of Funds from the CARDS Program for the Western Balkans, each year there are less and less funds offered (in the 2000/01 period 900 million euro were approved; in 2003 - 700 million euro, and for the period 2003/05, according to this Report on the Western Balkans, only 500 million euro are projected), and this program is not directly linked to the realization of certain goals for restructuring the Macedonian economy (institutional development, ecology and protection of the living environment, labor and social policy, joint agricultural policy, maintaining the stability of the foreign exchange rate, etc., as was the case with Slovenia).

During the discussion, different opinions, other than the above mentioned, were presented. Namely, it was pointed out that there is a concept difference between the PHARE and CARDS programs. Thus, unlike the PHARE program, which was bound to the so-called European Agreements, the CARDS program is approved on the basis of the priorities set on behalf of the country itself. Often, due to the weak initiative of the producers, or the political inertia, the Republic of Macedonia missed the opportunity to participate in certain programs (the program for intellectual and industrial property, infrastructural projects, etc.).

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Regarding the adopted laws in the Republic of Macedonia (the Law on Customs, Law on Custom Tariffs, Law on Foreign Trade, Law on Trade Enterprises), there were remarks on the way in which the laws were adopted (they are mainly copied from foreign laws, without taking account of their applicability in the Macedonian context), as well as in terms of the inefficient information of the public and, foremost, of the users of these legal provisions (without a correct insight into the adherence to the directives from the EU), but also remarks on the lack of certain very important laws (for example, the Law on Foreign Direct Investments).

As far as the poor competitiveness of the Macedonian economy is concerned, it is, according to the majority of the participants, a result of the outdated technical and technological structure (due to the poorly conducted privatization), but also due to the recommendations in the banking system (the high interest rates), which do not allow optimal use of micro loans, primarily designed for the small and medium enterprises, thus leaving many of the donated funds unused. The participants underlined that in order to achieve structural adjustment for the future EU admission, we need to act locally and do our homework.

Most of the participants called for getting specific financial means for strengthening and healing the Macedonian economy (especially after the military conflicts of last year when there was a decrease in the physical volume of production, halving exports due to the cancellation of export agreements, the burdening with the war tax, etc.), and, foremost, the implementation of the already adopted laws.

Special attention was given to the shortcomings in the public administration and to the need for its modernization and professionalization, aimed at serving the citizens and the business. Thereupon, it was said that the existing unsuitable structure of the public administration does not refer only to the administration in Macedonia (inferior personnel in separate ministries), but also to the insufficient representation of professional staff - economists in the Macedonian embassies abroad.

Due to the perception of the foregoing shortcomings of the current economic situation in the Republic of Macedonia, in respect of the incomplete manner of working of the market economy (in spite of the fact that a part of the structural reforms are conducted pursuant to the outlined Copenhagen criteria), the participants in the second working group, in their presentations devoted particular attention in order to note the priorities in the economic and social sphere. It was said that the prospects of the Republic of Macedonia in the process of approximation to the EU will largely depend on the achievement of these priorities. As priorities they mentioned:

- Radical reforms of the judiciary;
- Greater information of the citizens about European integration;
- Including the civil sector into the integration processes;
- Development of sustainable institutions (modernization and professionalization of the public administration);
- Optimal use of the CARDS program, especially through institutional interconnection in the region (Euro-regional cooperation);
- Additional reforms in the banking sector (a possibility for using micro loans);
- Developing a good social policy;
- Opening regional info-centers in order to attract foreign direct investments;
- Adopting a Law on FDIs;
- Raising the competitiveness of the Macedonian economy by restructuring and developing "image" products (safe food or "small industry product");
- Broadening the competencies of the already signed free trade agreements (especially with the countries from the region);

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- Additional changes in the financial system, industrial policy, energy system, agricultural manufacture, and service sector;
- Further reforms in the statistical system as a prerequisite for argumentativeness of the suggested recommendations in conducting the economic policy (finishing the development of the input-output figure as a basis for analyzing the comparative advantages of the Macedonian economy);
- Opening economic branches abroad, which should be a bridge between the Republic of Macedonia and the EU countries;
- Educational reforms (prequalification programs, as a means of lowering the unemployment rate);
- Entering the SOCRATES, Leonardo de Vinci and ERASMUS programs as a means of raising the quality of the "human capital";
- Finishing the privatization optimally;
- Developing a Strategy for Informing the Public about the Integration Process, as well as a National Strategy for Integration of the Republic of Macedonia in the European Union;
- Harmonizing all legal acts with the European legislation (article 66 of the Government Rules of Procedure);
- Solving the problems of the loss-making companies;
- Strengthening Euro-regional cooperation (using complementarity);
- State support of certain programs for restructuring, with the aim of achieving greater competitiveness on external markets;
- Establishing a special body within the Government of the Republic of Macedonia that would deal with drafting projects and strategic solutions, consisting of members from the separate ministries, but also from external experts;
- Completing the structural reforms in a way in which they would be socially sustainable.

In the end, the second working group of the National Forum of Accelerated Integration of the Republic of Macedonia in the European Union adopted a joint conclusion that another alternative for the Republic of Macedonia, other than the European Union, does not exist. However, as mentioned by one of the speakers, that does not, by any means, mean that the road to the EU is one-way only, and that the EU is a humanitarian organization. Thus, apart from the fact that it is difficult to determine whether the EU is an economic or a political project (even the signing of the Stabilization and Association Agreement between the Republic of Macedonia and the EU can be understood as a political decision when the EU wanted to show the Republic of Macedonia that it extends a hand), one must not forget the fact that the EU is primarily an economic organization, thus the assistance will not come on its own, but only when the Republic of Macedonia will show that it is at home with the concept, that the Republic of Macedonia knows what it wants and that the Republic of Macedonia knows how to achieve that. In that sense, Konrad Adenauer was quoted: The road towards European integration is long and thorny, and the same would mean: blood, sweat and tears. The participants underlined the need for each of the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia to have their tasks clarified, and the fact that after the bloodshed, painstaking work is in store (sweat), so that in the end there are tears - tears of joy!!!

Report from the work of group III on the topic:

**HARMONIZING THE LEGISLATION,  
INTERNAL AFFAIRS, ADMINISTRATION  
AND THE JUDICIARY**

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The third working group of the First National Forum for Accelerated Integration of the Republic of Macedonia in the European Union discussed the topic - harmonizing the legislation, internal affairs, administration and the judiciary: current situation and basic strategic directions.

The participants in this working group unanimously agreed that the integration of the Republic of Macedonia in the European Union depends both on the process of adjustment of the domestic legislation with the one of the European Union up to complete harmonization - a process which does not involve a mere transposition of EU legislation - and on carrying out successful institutional reforms through the development of stable, competent and efficient institutions that will enable consistent application of the European normative, political and judicial *acquis* and, at the same time, be able to create *acquis* in Macedonian.

In that context, it was emphasized that the speed and pace of integration depend on:

- the strength of political will,
- the use and mobilization of available capacities and human resources and their engagement in the process,
- the readiness to invest in the process,
- the readiness of the European Union and its members to support the reform efforts,
- establishing and strengthening regional cooperation, and
- animating and raising awareness and support of the process by the civil society and the public.

According to the participants, the huge volume of European legislation, which comprises more than 200,000 pages of text with specific legal and technical terminology, requires a clear concept (strategy) and clearly determined priorities that must primarily arise from the Stabilization and Association Agreement (article 68 and Chapter VII - Justice and Internal Affairs); an organized approach (a program for harmonizing and a specific action plan); strong coordinative mechanisms and institutional structures (Government, Parliament, universities), which will enable direction of the process; comprehensive control of the harmonization of legislation; analysis of the repercussions (legal and fiscal) on the basis of which the dynamics of the process will be determined (transitional periods); monitoring the process and timely corrections and interventions (reports on the progress).

The participants have underlined that in the process of harmonizing domestic legislation one cannot neglect the fact that the legal system of the Republic of Macedonia is based on the European continental, legal tradition. Still, that does not mean minimizing the realistic expectations that the approximation will have a big influence on the physiognomy of the current legal system and legislation, changing them both qualitatively and quantitatively, including the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia, during which account should be taken not to disrupt the principle of uniqueness of the domestic legal order.

With regard to the processes of harmonizing the legislation and carrying out institutional reforms, the participants pointed out the need of supporting and further investment in and upgrading of the domestic capacities and human resources through the creation of expert and competent staff, their engagement and appropriate motivation for their involvement in the overall reform efforts.

In that field, special efforts have to be made in order to provide significant changes, redesign the existing and introduce new curricula at the universities and high schools; education and specialization of personnel outside the country at universities in the EU; conducting initial, and afterwards continuing training programs for public servants, judges, public prosecutors and personnel in other judicial and state institutions (programs focused on EU policies, institutions, legislation, the judicial system and judicial practice); encouraging research, comparative analyses and so on.



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The process of harmonizing the legislation would be significantly accelerated if the following were provided:

- The integration of the Republic of Macedonia in the European Union should attain a realistic dimension, expressed in its own investment in staff and funds;
- A national strategy for integration in the EU with clear directions for adjusting the national policies to the ones of the European Union, which would be adopted by the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia;
- Legal procedures (Rules of Procedure of the Government and the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia) which will be strictly followed and adhered to;
- Clearly determined priorities and their budgetary itemization;
- A strong coordinative mechanism and monitoring of the process, with the involvement of representatives from science, economy and the non-governmental sector (in the Government and in the Parliament, especially through the establishment of a Commission for European Integration);
- Providing continuity in the process and constant upgrading and introduction of a European system of documenting;
- Screening and clear directions for the priorities on behalf of the competent services within the European Commission (this requires the submission of a request for full-fledged membership and a positive response from the EU);
- In the meantime, a full access to the TAIEX office of the European Commission needs to be provided. It is the strongest means of directing and accelerating the process of harmonizing the legislation (adequate expertise and appropriate analysis);
- A direct open line to all the competent General Directorates of the European Commission in order to enable continuing consultation;
- Apart from the CARDS program, access to the programs of the communities should be sought;
- The CARDS program needs to be maximally directed towards the process of harmonizing legislation and institutional upgrading, and not towards the infrastructure;
- The European Commission needs to approve specially designed programs for accelerating the process in Macedonia ("catch up" programs as the ones in Bulgaria and Romania).

As far as the reforms in the public administration are concerned, it was highlighted that the goals and the content of the reforms in the separate sectors are fairly clear. The greatest part of the sector policies there is *acquis communautaire* that the countries should apply directly or transpose it in the domestic legislation and enable its execution. However, in relation to the setup and model of the public administration and the management system, there is no *acquis* of the Union, thus the goals and the content of the reform seem less clear. The EU member countries enjoy a great degree of autonomy and discretion in the development of their own administration and management system. The EU member countries have reached a consensus on the basic components of good management, involving principles like confidentiality and predictability or a principle of legal security; responsibility; openness and transparency; efficiency and effectiveness; technical and managerial competence, organizational capacity and participation of the citizens in the decision-making process. These common principles represent the so-called European administrative space, which, though it is not formally a part of *acquis communautaire*, should serve as a guideline in the creation and implementation of the administrative reforms in the countries that desire accession to the Union.

Having in mind the above mentioned, the Strategy for Reform in the Public Administration in the Republic of Macedonia, adopted in 1999, was rated by the participants as a solid basis for undertaking reform activities. There is a need for further directed action

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and sustaining of the basic postulates and goals contained in the Strategy, including the development of a small and simply structured public administration designed in line with the principle of parliamentary democracy and responsibility. A democratic administration which will manage the rule of law while carrying out public authorizations and while using allocated funds; depoliticized (i.e. an administration protected from political influences and other interests and controlled through transparent mechanisms and independent institutions); decentralized; and finally a responsive, citizen-oriented administration which will act as an efficient service for the citizens and the legal entities in realizing their rights and interests. Although a significant progress in the reforms has been made, the process is not completed and, thus, additional efforts have to be made in order to develop a truly meritocratic, depoliticized, competent and effective civil service. Particular attention needs to be paid to the enhancement of mechanisms for coordinating and strengthening the capacities for creating, coordinating and implementing policies.

During the course of the discussions it was pointed out that significant normative activities have been undertaken, both in the realms of justice and internal affairs, especially in the field of the fight against corruption, organized crime, integrated border management. The need was indicated for further strengthening of the institutional structures and more complete utilization and specialization of the staff potential, as well as raising the degree of their ability to address and apply the common policies of the third pillar of the Union.

Furthermore, the need was underlined for providing greater openness and transparency in the carrying out of the process of harmonizing the legislation, institutional reforms and securing access to the electronic databases of the Union, which consequently indicates the necessity for further investment and use of modern information technology in the institutions.

The existing system of having separate departments for European integration in each ministry and the coordinative role entrusted to the Sector for European Integration within the Government of the Republic of Macedonia needs to be the subject of further analysis and discussions, in order to find the most adequate model by using mainly the experiences of the EU membership candidate countries.

Report from the work of group IV on the topic:

**BROADENED COOPERATION  
OF THE COUNTRIES IN THE STABILIZATION  
AND ASSOCIATION PROCESS**

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The participants of this working group discussed the process of cooperation between the countries in the Stabilization and Association Process.

According to the participants, it was underlined that the integration of the Republic of Macedonia, together with the integration into NATO, is one of the basic pillars of Macedonian foreign policy since our independence. The activities in this field are developing with a changing pace and quality, which are affected by a range of external and internal factors. As a candidate for EU integration with a serious intention, the Republic of Macedonia is constantly up to date with the standards that have to be met for integration in the EU.

As a country aspiring for membership, the Republic of Macedonia is in the group of countries of the so-called Western Balkans, which have, as one of the basic conditions for integration, the obligation for a broadened mutual cooperation, as a part of the European model of progressive integration. That model is institutionalized through the Stabilization and Association Agreements and has become a common feature, a strategic and priority determination in all the five countries of the Stabilization and Association Process from the Western Balkans. This process at this stage can be considered, up to a degree, as a kind of pre-pre-accession strategy, which has been confirmed by several statements and by leading officials of the European Union, especially after the Copenhagen Summit in December 2002.

At this stage, according to the participants, one of the main priorities of the strategy of the European Union towards the countries of the Stabilization and Association Process is how to valorize the moment and the credibility of this accession method. The central issue is how these countries could affect the acceleration of the integration process, through broadened promotion of their mutual cooperation. This is so due to the fact that the subjects of that cooperation are complex issues determined by the heterogeneity of these countries in many aspects. Apart from that, that cooperation takes place in an uncertain time-frame, which, for some of them, at this moment, seems quite long, but it is a necessity if we bear in mind the fact that it is a historic chance for the accession of these countries to the European Union. The broadened regional cooperation is one of the basic elements according to which the degree of readiness of these countries for their integration into the European Union will be rated. In that, it is of essential meaning how, in a practical way, to confirm the expressed political will of all five countries, converted into a specific plan and achieving specific results coming from that cooperation.

Experiences so far from regional cooperation have shown that there is progress, which is confirmed with the positive advancement in this field. There is a wide network of free trade agreements between the countries of the region (13 out of 21 agreements have already been signed, and the others are at the negotiation stage). Regional centers have been established, which, although they include countries outside of the group of five from the Western Balkans, can still be categorized as their cooperation. Such centers are the Regional Center for Fighting Organized Crime in Bucharest and the Clearing House for Small and Medium Weapons in Belgrade. Apart from this, political cooperation has been established within the framework of the process of cooperation in Southeast Europe or the Understanding Memorandum for Corridor VIII signed last fall. Cooperation has been also established between the border regions, following the example of the Euro-regions - the signed Agreement for Cooperation between Skopje, Nis and Sofia.

Furthermore, it was pointed out that the possibilities for broadened cooperation available to the countries of the region are great and diverse, and depend on the creativity of the countries and their wish for cooperation. The greatest possibilities are found in the field of economy - starting from infrastructure to cooperation between the Customs. Then, there is cooperation, exchange of experiences and coordination between the institutions in charge of upholding the law, fighting organized crime, border security, cooperation between the media

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and so forth. What is especially important is that promoting and broadening the cooperation between the five countries of the region should not limit the room for cooperation with the countries at the more advanced stages of the integration process, or with the actual members of the Union.

This is just one of the issues which the process for broadened cooperation opens, and there are many others as well. Could the countries from the Stabilization and Association Process, which are defined as such, and have not yet signed their Stabilization and Association Agreements, move to concluding such conventions? Is that a signal that these countries could send to the European Union regarding their dedication to regional cooperation? Could the five countries politically join, associate with the stance of the European Union upon certain issues regarding international relations? Is that possible at this stage? Is it possible to have a regular political dialogue between the five countries at this stage, at a different level of institutional relations with the European Union? Could and in which areas might the cooperation between the five countries be separated from the overall regional cooperation in the region of Southeast Europe? Through which mechanisms would this cooperation take place? Thereby, we should bear in mind that similar and identical mechanisms already exist within the process for cooperation in Southeast Europe, the work groups in the Stability Pact for Southeast Europe, as well as in the Central European Initiative. What would be the role of the European Union and the Stability Pact in supporting this cooperation between the five countries?

The participants have pointed out that when answering these questions one must always bear in mind the factors which have a restrictive influence on the cooperation. Such is, for instance, the present political and security instability which arises from the resolution of Kosovo' s future status and the possible reflections on the overall situation in the region. Then, there are the relations between Serbia and Montenegro and their status after three years, the lack of visible progress of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the last security developments in Macedonia. These are all factors which realistically perplex the possibility for unhindered cooperation between the countries of the Western Balkans.

According to the participants, some of the handicapping circumstances come also from outside of the region, including the international community. For example, the numerous international initiatives, as a framework for possible cooperation, which do not have enough coordination, and there is an overlap of efforts, inefficiency and lack of coordination.

The Republic of Macedonia takes a serious approach to the commitments and possibilities which arise from the regional cooperation and expresses will in all the areas where it feels it can make a contribution. A confirmation of that is the fact that the only item in the reports of the European Union on the country, since 1997, which has a positive assessment, is its regional cooperation. Out of the five countries of the region, the Republic of Macedonia has so far offered the most multilateral projects to the initiatives, has signed most free trade agreements and has the biggest number of offers for cooperation with the neighbors. There are also specific projects for cooperation with the neighbors, such as the power interconnection with Greece and Albania through a 400 kV long-distance power line.

The participants have pointed out that the Republic of Macedonia in some areas has a better status even as compared to some of the more advanced membership aspiring countries - in the part of separate realistic sectors from the economy of the Republic of Macedonia we have an EU member country treatment. In the area of primary agricultural products, we have a right to export them without any customs, tariffs and quota limitations on the EU markets. That is a benefit which other countries, even the countries which from 1st January 2004 will become members of the European Union, do not have.

Apart from all the positive aspects which were pointed out, the participants also stated that for the Republic of Macedonia there are also handicapping circumstances for promotion

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of the cooperation with the countries of the region. This is, primarily, the security situation after the 2001 crisis and its effects on the country. Some of the countries in the region underscore the national interest before the need for specific cooperation, which would lead the region forward. On the other hand, the resources of the country are limited - starting from the financial ones (both its own and the assistance it is getting) up to the human resources working in this field. The funds that the Republic of Macedonia is getting at donor conferences and similar occasions for supporting reforms and integration processes are far short of its needs. The capacity of the institutions that work on Euro-integration is far behind the ones, for example, of Croatia, where in the separate Ministry of Euro-integration alone 120 people are employed.

On the other hand, a great deal of the capacity of the establishment is focused on solving everyday important domestic issues regarding security, the economy and social welfare, which is a restrictive factor for accelerated production of ideas for cooperation and their implementation.

However, the participants have concluded that despite all restrictive factors, all the countries from the Western Balkans, including the Republic of Macedonia, would have to whole-heartedly dedicate themselves to the mutual cooperation, cooperation with the more advanced membership aspiring countries, as well as cooperation with the EU members. Accession to the Union does not have an alternative - it can be achieved through broadened cooperation. To that end, the heritage from the past has to be overcome, as well as the feeling of mutual competition on the road to Euro-integration and selfish national interests.

In order to establish the desired cooperation, it is necessary that all fields of possible cooperation are examined and to start cooperation in the ones where no obstacles are found. The best possibility is offered by the projects in the field of cooperation in culture, the media, and economy, which would pave the way to increased mutual trust when the time comes to deal with the issues that still have open and unsolved elements. One should not start from the areas that can make cooperation difficult and contribute to increasing distrust.

The process of broadened cooperation needs to be conducted in a way that will enable harmonization of the accelerated reform processes and exchange of experiences in these areas between the countries with a similar level of achieved results in Euro-integration. The prerequisite for a successful cooperation is also the elimination of the environment for negative competition between the countries of this group when proving their own achievements. The countries of the region would have to accept the fact that the efforts put into reforms and the commitments for Euro-integration are for the prosperity of their citizens and not because, or for, the benefit of the European Union.

The mutual cooperation should not be narrowing or making harder the road to Euro-integration, but an expression of the natural road adapting to the cooperation which is a necessary prerequisite for membership in the European Union. The sooner and better we show that we have achieved a degree of mutual cooperation close to the one between member countries, the sooner we shall come to membership.

Apart from the countries from the Western Balkans, the European Union also has obligations to clearly represent the possible ways, conditions and guarantees that the broadened cooperation will be a guarantee for an accelerated approximation to membership. It will have to provide clear guarantees that the broadened cooperation will not lessen or distract from the individual achievements of each of the countries, in order not to discourage the countries that intend to truly devote themselves to cooperation. If that is not done, the countries from the Western Balkans group will be brought to a situation where the slowest country will dictate the pace of integration for the rest of the group. That would be discouraging for the countries that have the desire, possibility and capacity for higher or faster achievements, and would diminish the invested efforts in those processes. Apart from that,

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such cooperation must be an efficient instrument for achieving membership, and it cannot turn into its substitute in any case.

In the end, the participants have underlined that the countries of the region, following the examples of the more advanced membership aspiring countries, need to think about determining one EU member which would be the promoter and lobbyist for its accelerated integration. Given the geographic proximity and the Presidency with the Union in this period, the Republic of Greece could play that role. This will enable Greece to practically, and not only declaratively, be the leader of the integration of the Balkans and to show real initiative for the countries from the Stabilization and Association Process and to draw them to faster integration in the European Union.

Report from the work of group V on the topic:

**PROMOTING INSTITUTIONAL COOPERATION  
BETWEEN THE EU AND THE COUNTRIES FROM  
THE STABILIZATION AND ASSOCIATION PROCESS  
AND APPROXIMATING THEIR SOCIETIES**



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At the very beginning of the debate, the participants have estimated that it is more than useful to open debates on what are the future steps for EU enlargement. As well as the issue for the place of the Balkan countries that are not encompassed with the historic decision of the EU to enlarge its membership for 10 i.e. 13 new member countries, i.e. candidates. In that sense, the participants have underlined that this historic moment, when the largest wave of enlargement of the European Union since its existence is taking place, should be used for outlining political goals through which there will be an appropriate place for the integration of the countries from the so-called Western Balkans in the future united Europe. In this direction, the participants have assessed that the fact that in the course of 2003 two neighboring countries from the region - Greece and Italy - are at the helm of the Council of Europe, i.e. preside with the Council - should be observed as an additional benefit and a positive opportunity for the Republic of Macedonia and the region.

The Stabilization and Association Process launched in 1999, and entailing Albania, Macedonia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia and Montenegro, up to now has proved insufficient (unsatisfactory) for the more advanced countries in the region, such as Croatia and Macedonia. Namely, according to the participants, the Stabilization and Association Process is realistically established when taking into account the situation (political, economic and, primarily, security) present in these countries, hence some of them emphasize stabilization and some association. Therefore, the participants believe that it is of essential importance to underline the thoughts on the Republic of Macedonia' s prospects in the future period, especially in the dawn of the forthcoming European Union Summit in June this year in Thessalonica. In that sense, it was emphasized that the Thessalonica Summit should be seen as a timely opportunity which must be accepted without any particular illusions, such as, for instance, that on this gathering the Republic of Macedonia might be invited to become one of the future membership candidates. On the contrary, according to the participants, the Thessalonica Summit should be used to put forward certain political requests to the European Union, such as a request to the European Union that it undertakes certain political directions in the future or a request for additional instruments and mechanisms that would enable faster integration of the Republic of Macedonia in the Union. So, it is a constructive pressure that would enable clearer prospects for the region as a whole and the Republic of Macedonia as a part thereof. Therefore, according to the participants, the Thessalonica Summit must be taken as an extraordinary opportunity to argumentatively put forward requests which would satisfy the idea for upgrading the Stabilization and Association Agreement by way of including the following instruments:

1. Seeking confirmation that the Stabilization and Association Agreements of the Western Balkan countries with the European Union will be the final agreement form prior to their future membership in the EU;
2. Request for enabling access of the SAP countries to the EU programs, such as: education programs, twinning, TAIEX, and others;
3. Request to enable SAP countries to become users of the EU monitoring mechanism, i.e. of the so-called Screening process (which is used to assess the progress, i.e. the situation of the achieved results in every area in respect of whether the Acquis Communautaire standards have been achieved), which is applied to countries aspiring to membership;
4. Request for access to and use of a part of the EU structural funds by the SAP countries, which the countries aspiring for EU membership are using and have used;
5. Request, after the finalization of the accession process for the new ten EU members, not to dissolve and terminate the General Directorate for Enlargement, but to take over the care for monitoring the Stabilization and Association Process in the five Western Balkan countries.

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Within the debate on this worktable, the participants have also estimated that internally it is really necessary that the Government of RM carries out intensive observations in the direction of preparing RM for submitting a request for membership. This is especially true within the frames of the need for increasing motivation in the entire society where the affirmative response would act as a positive impetus in the period of rehabilitation of RM from the crisis that has shaken it in its recent past. In that sense, the participants have underlined that such a step requires a serious acceleration of the internal process of integration into the European Union of the state structure, animation of the public opinion for the very act and enhanced diplomatic activities for probing opinions and attitudes within the EU institutions and within its member countries. It was also emphasized that the achievement of these goals requires a more affirmative attitude of the Government of RM to the European Union, i.e. to the current debate on the future of Europe within the frames of the so-called Convention for the Future Constitutional Organization of the EU, thus additionally underscoring its readiness and the strategy for integrating RM in the EU.

In the context of the Republic of Macedonia's aspiration for membership in the EU, the participants recommend the establishment of a specific and, when necessary, institutional form of intense relationships of the Government of RM with the civil sector, i.e. the NGO sector in the country.

In this direction, the participants at the worktable for promoting institutional cooperation between the EU and the SAP countries have underlined the need to conduct diplomatic training activities for our officials in EU member countries. They mentioned the principle of institutional networking, which has already been practiced in the integration process for some of the membership aspiring countries, as the most favorable one for accelerated integration of RM in the EU.

In the discussion for enhancing and promoting institutional cooperation of RM with other countries of the region, the participants have pointed out the necessity of increased activities in this field in accordance with the conventions for regional cooperation. Especially, because it arises from the need of Western Balkan countries to work together on the Euro-integration of the region, but also from the fact that regional institutional cooperation is one of the conditions, apart from the Copenhagen criteria, required for applying for membership. In that sense, the cooperation should be designed through the conventions for regional cooperation in relation to all the issues touching upon the region as a whole, i.e. are common in nature (such as corruption, organized crime, but also economic development and others).

In the end of the discussion, the participants underlined that it is necessary to have a careful approach and treatment of certain ideas coming from certain environments and referring to the establishment of institutional mechanisms for cooperation with the EU in the acquiring of so-called semi-membership, i.e. secondary membership, because such seemingly attractive ideas void of legal reality can dilute the process of integration in the EU, and thereby do more harm than help in the realization of the idea of accelerated integration of the Republic of Macedonia in the EU.

Report from the work of group VI on the topic:

**INTENSIFYING ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND  
INFRASTRUCTURAL CONNECTION OF THE COUNTRIES  
IN THE REGION AND SUPPORT OF THE EU OF THEIR ECONOMIC  
CONSOLIDATION AND DEVELOPMENT**

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The sixth group worked on the topic of Intensifying Economic Cooperation and Infrastructural Connection of the Countries of the Region and Support of the EU of their Economic Consolidation.

The participants in this working group discussed the challenges that the Republic of Macedonia is facing in the process of integration in the European Union, which has the complete approval of all the participants and subjects in Macedonia that it is a strategic goal of Macedonia to become a member of the European Union. Also, it was additionally pointed out to the importance of regional cooperation, not only as a preparation for the future membership in the Union, but also as a needed dimension for achieving sustainable development of the countries in the region, including Macedonia.

Furthermore, it was underlined that, mainly, the determination of Macedonia to become a NATO and an EU member go together. The participants have agreed that although there are compatible segments, rules, criteria and values, still, the processes of integration into NATO and the EU are not on the same road. Namely, one is a process of the Partnership for Peace as a hallway to NATO, and the other is the hallway of the European Union as association and stabilization. Thus, according to the participants, it is necessary that the approaches toward these two processes be separated. This should especially be done on behalf of the institutions that will specifically work on each process separately.

Apart from this, it was pointed out that Macedonia' s desire to become a part of the European Union is based on several elements, starting, foremost, from the desire to be a part of the common EU market. However, the EU market is economically ruthless; it is a market which demands high quality and high criteria. Macedonia' s problem is that it does not have a ready economy for facing the challenges of the common EU market. It was also pointed out that, regarding the region of which Macedonia is a part, there are many free trade agreements, which aim to enable a quality market; however, it can be concluded that on this regional market as well, Macedonia is not doing well. The participants have agreed that the major test for the ability of the Macedonian economy to manage on the European market is how it will succeed on the regional market.

As shortcomings of the Macedonian economy in providing a quality European or regional market, several things were pointed out; foremost, the insufficient quality of the structural offer and the needed high qualitative and quantitative criteria, which have not been achieved yet. As far as the foregoing is concerned, the participants have agreed that work has to be done to harmonize the economic structure, not only technically and technologically, but also financially and organizationally, in order for it to be ready to respond to the challenges placed before it.

Given the fact that current practice shows that various markets in the world are conquered even when there are the greatest not only structural, but also cultural, traditional and even territorial differences, we should not use the traditionalism of the European market because of our territorial proximity, nor should our approach to the European Union be solely based on that broader market.

Regarding the flow of capital, as a significant element in the process of approximation of Macedonia to the European Union, the participants have given several suggestions. Namely, it was underlined that the lack of readiness on Macedonia' s part to institutionally deal with the capital coming from the region and the European Union is obvious. With respect to the transmission, transfer and investment of capital, the main dilemma underlined by the participants is the level of Macedonia' s openness to capital from the European Union. The example of Slovenia, as a country which is closed to foreign capital, and yet is closest to the

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European Union, in comparison to the rest of the former Yugoslav republics, confirms this dilemma. We have a need to seek an influx of capital, and, on the other hand, we need barriers. Still, the scarceness of foreign capital does not give us the right to have a "sycophantic attitude", subordinated to investors. On the other hand, it is absolutely wrong for Macedonia to close itself. There is a need for developed standards and rules, completing the formulation and upholding the legal acts, as well as building a partner relationship in that process.

Today, in the world, we are witnessing two processes in collision; on one hand, the liberalization of the factors of production, i.e. free flow of goods, services and capital, and, on the other hand, the more and more limited labor mobility. Still, within the frames of the European Union, there are possibilities for labor mobility. However, despite the precaution of the current EU members to be protected from the sudden influx of the unemployed from the new member countries, which is understandable, Macedonia needs to create conditions for better prospects for the people living here. The participants have debated the issues of protecting Macedonia from the outflow of the most important factor of development into other countries, when entering the European Union.

The situation of institutional non-readiness in certain segments and certain events, such as corruption, need to be overcome, but in the area of the Macedonian economy, one of the problems present in the past lies in the lack of creating new values. The participants have agreed that maybe there is a need for a systematic approach to a fewer number (4-5) of sustainable and competitive products for which Macedonia would be additionally recognizable, if not on the European, than at least on the regional market. These products would need to enable the initial accumulation of investments for developing Macedonia's economy. There is an apparent need for a greater volume of investments which would be directed to creating new jobs and new products. The regional integrations should be means with which these goals would be achieved.

The participants pointed out the dilemma whether regional cooperation presents closing and whether we should strive towards global liberalization carried out through the World Trade Organization, whose member we are soon to become; or we should first concentrate on regional cooperation, enter the European Union through that cooperation, and even then through the European Union into the global processes? Nevertheless, in order for Macedonia to enter into an accelerated integration in the EU, it is necessary to face the real situation and the possible challenges on the way. The shared opinion of the participants is that cooperation in the region, primarily economic, is an elementary prerequisite for Macedonia's development. Starting with simple cross-border cooperation on projects with neighboring countries, the European Union wants to direct us toward certain regional cooperation, so that later we are ready for a wider cooperation. Through regional cooperation we must achieve compatibility, not only economically, but also from the point of view of democratic values, wider regional stabilization. The participants in the discussion suggested that the strategy for regional cooperation of Macedonia should become an integral part of the strategy for the development of the Republic of Macedonia.

The participants indicated the established forms of regional integration, following the principle of the World Trade Organization, which recognizes two options of regional trade cooperation - free trade agreements concluded between the countries in the region and customs unions. The participants agreed that it is possible to initiate the establishment of SEETA - Southeast European Trade Area. The realization of this initiative, if there is consensus, would be quick and in a very short time period. It was underlined that from the economic point of view there is not a serious difference between a free trade area and a customs union. However, with the formation of SEETA, as compared to the establishment of a customs union in the region, the toilsome procedure of harmonizing the foreign trade

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regimes of the countries involved will be avoided, thus enabling far quicker establishment. The accomplishment of a customs union is made difficult by several factors: it requires long and difficult negotiation in order to reach an agreement; it requires longer engagement of high officials; it is very difficult to negotiate such deep integration and in this region there is the weight of psychological and political factors based on the negative experience from the dissolution of former Yugoslavia; and it is necessary to establish equal tax fiscal systems. The participants have agreed that the approach should be as more practical as possible and provide results. To be specific, it should not focus on large projects penetrating deep into the structural organization of such a union or uniting, but models or segments should be chosen which, to the nature of the needs of their economic existence, do not predispose ones to others in the region.

In respect of the infrastructure, the discussion mentioned several segments. The participants agreed that we can have different agreements, understandings with countries for economic cooperation, for cooperation in the field of transportation and so forth, but it would be much more helpful to build a transportation line, such as a railway or a project for energy connection than to sign a mutual cooperation agreement. The participants have agreed that the infrastructure projects Corridor VIII and Corridor X are an equal priority for Macedonia and for intensifying regional cooperation. The participants agreed that these two corridors are complementary and not competitive, and that Macedonia should implement them simultaneously. Nevertheless, for the economic justification of the corridors we need the transit component that is a penetrated railway and a road section, as well as a telecommunication and power section so that the corridor can have its viability. If this is not realized, corridor VIII is not viable, and in order to achieve this we must finish defining the country' s priorities and display readiness to allocate from our budget, if necessary, for the completion of the commenced projects. In the field of energy connection, the participants at the Forum agreed that it is necessary to reactivate existing agreements and plans, to activate them primarily in order to fulfill the connection in the international energy market. With the existence of such a market we would overcome the deficits of the countries in the region, the seasonal fluctuations of power consumption and generation, and we would minimize losses in transmission etc. The participants have agreed that the relevant state bodies in charge of the economic processes in the Republic of Macedonia should educate and point out to managers in Macedonia the importance of technical investment documentation. With regard to infrastructure projects, it was stressed that there are differences in investments in these projects according to the change of the political establishment in power and, therefore, it is necessary to determine and define the concept and strategic determinations of the country.

The participants have underlined that a significant segment in this sense is transportation, especially due to the geographic position of Macedonia, whereupon they additionally suggested initiatives in the field of air transport. Air transport of the airline companies from the Balkans is concentrated in Europe. On the other hand, there are not airline connections with the cities of neighboring countries due to the economic unviability. However, there is a world trend in air traffic to integrate into big clusters, alliances and unions. To that end, the participants in the working group have agreed that one should thoroughly examine the proposal for creating a Balkan airlines association. The Balkan airlines association would enable economizing the airline companies, using resources and capacities that are overly expensive for each country to build on its own, like school centers, technical maintenance bases and so on. The participants agree to form an initiative for a regional conference of airline operators, where the ministries covering air transportation would attend.

In order to intensify economic cooperation and infrastructural connection in the region, there is an apparent need for the support of the European Union. As far as Macedonia

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is concerned, there is evidence at the two stages of the relations with the European Union, *visa vi* financial support mechanisms. Up to 1999, it was the PHARE program, and since 2001 it is the CARDS program. Since 1996, when we became available, when the PHARE program was opened for Macedonia, three types of support programs were developed: the National Program for Support, the Cross-Border Cooperation with the Republic of Greece, and the third one was a multi-state multi-user program where there was cooperation between all member countries of the PHARE program. Regarding the cross-border cooperation with the Republic of Greece, Macedonia cooperated in the areas of infrastructure connection, the construction and modernization of the border crossings, social and economic development, and protection of the environment. The example with the cross-border cooperation with Greece is significant because 99% of the funds were used as compared to the cross-border cooperation with other countries. At the new stage of Macedonia' s relations with the EU, in the CARDS program there is a possibility for opening this type of cross-border cooperation, as with the Republic of Greece, not only with the EU member countries, but also with the membership aspiring countries, as well as countries that are part of the CARDS program. However, specific mechanisms for supporting this type of cross-border cooperation within the CARDS program have not been offered by the European Union. Except declaratively, there are no funds with which to encourage cross-border cooperation between the Republic of Macedonia and its neighbors. To that end, the participants have agreed that it is necessary for the Republic of Macedonia to immediately undertake to effectuate the specific mechanisms and funds.

All the participants in the working group have agreed that it is necessary, as soon as possible, to broaden the European structural funds and open the programs of the European Union to Macedonia. If this request is denied by the European Union, the participants of the Forum gave recommendations to seek approval of certain measures for preparing "supporting measures" on a smaller scale, represented with discretionary programs in the existing programs of the European Union. Such discretionary programs would prepare Macedonia for its participation in the programs of the European Union at the moment when they are approved, regardless of the area the programs are about.

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**NATIONAL FORUM FOR ACCELERATED  
INTEGRATION INTO THE EUROPEAN UNION**

AGENDA

10:00 Opening

- \* Introductory speech by the organizer
- \* Address by Mr. Boris Trajkovski, President of the Republic of Macedonia
- \* Address by Ms Radmila Sekerinska, Vice-president of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia, in charge of integration in the European Union
- \* Introductory speech by the co-organizer

10:45 Break

11:00 First topic

- \* Organization notes and division into working groups

14:00 Lunch break

15:00 Second topic

- \* Organization notes and division into working groups

16:40 Presentations

Report from the first topic

(3 reporters for five minutes each)

Report from the second topic

(3 reporters for five minutes each)

17:10 Cocktail

FIRST TOPIC (11:00h)

ACCELERATED INTEGRATION INTO THE EU: CURRENT  
SITUATION AND BASIC STRATEGIC DIRECTIONS

First working group

INTERNAL STABILIZATION; POLITICAL SYSTEM;  
DEMOCRACY; HUMAN RIGHTS

Introductory speakers

Prof. Gorgi Spasov, PhD (Justinian I Faculty of Law)

Docent Dobrinka Taskovska, PhD (Justinian I Faculty of Law)

Reporter

Veton Latifi (Independent political analyst)

Second working group

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SPHERE

Introductory speaker



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Docent Ljubomir Kekenovski, PhD (Faculty of Economy,  
Skopje)  
Docent Trajko Slavevski, PhD (Faculty of Economy, Skopje)  
Reporter  
Ljupco Zikov (Kapital, journalist)

Third working group  
HARMONIZATION OF THE LEGISLATION; INTERNAL  
AFFAIRS; ADMINISTRATION AND THE JUDICIARY  
Introductory speaker  
Dragan Tilev (EU sector, Government of the Republic of  
Macedonia)  
Tanja Trendafilovska (Agency for Public Servants, Director)  
Reporter  
Tanja Temelkovska-Milenkovic (Center for Educating Judges)

SECOND TOPIC (15:00h.)  
FROM STABILIZATION TO PREPARATION OF  
BALKAN COUNTRIES FOR ACCESSION TO THE EU

Fourth working group  
BROADENED COOPERATION OF THE COUNTRIES  
IN THE STABILIZATION AND ASSOCIATION PROCESS (SAP)  
Introductory speaker  
Jovan Tegovski (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)  
Marjan Gjorcev  
Reporter  
Zoran Jacev (Transparency Macedonia, Director)

Fifth working group  
PROMOTING INSTITUTIONAL COOPERATION  
BETWEEN THE EU AND THE SAP COUNTRIES  
AND APPROXIMATING THEIR SOCIETIES  
Introductory speaker  
Dusko Stojanov (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)  
Reporter  
Irena Rajcinovska (Justinian I Faculty of Law)

Sixth working group  
INTENSIFYING ECONOMIC COOPERATION  
AND INFRASTRUCTURAL CONNECTION OF  
THE COUNTRIES IN THE REGION AND  
SUPPORT OF THE EU OF THEIR ECONOMIC  
CONSOLIDATION AND DEVELOPMENT  
Introductory speaker  
Zoran Jolevski (Cabinet of the President of RM)  
D-r Abdulmenaf Bedjeti (Balkan IDEA - Skopje)  
Reporter  
Vasko Karangeleski (Balkan IDEA - Skopje)