REQUIREMENTS FOR GETTING CLOSER TO EUROPEAN UNION AND THE POTENTIAL MEMBERSHIP

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Abstract

Considers the significant conditions set out by the Treaty of Europe particularly the so-called Copenhagen Criteria that requires Western Balkan countries including Albania to fulfil all the conditions as well as the criteria for commencement of accession negotiations in order to obtain membership of the European Union (EU). It expresses the understanding of the integration into the EU including its process. Entails the Western Balkan countries must first meet the criteria established by the Council of Europe in 1997 within the framework of Copenhagen criteria concerning Democratic, Economic and institutional reforms also implementing the Stability and Association Agreement in the Regional Cooperation. Requirements that Albania needs to ensure on negotiations on the Association Stability Agreement such as political dialogue, justice and home affairs. In addition, technical dialogue on free movement of goods, the right of establishment and frees movement of workers. It considers a reflection on the progress including further steps needed by the Albanian government in relation to the Association Stability Agreement.

Keywords: European Union (EU) requirement for integration, Copenhagen criteria, EU Treaty, Western Balkan, Albania, Negotiations on Association Stability Agreement, political dialogue justice and home affairs, dialogue on free movement of persons, workers, goods.

JEL Classification: B1; B5; P2.

European Union classifies integration, as a fulfilling of various conditions. The approach and membership is a gradual and conditional process, of the state that requires membership, must take and implement a wide range of adjustment of its legislation with that of the EU.

Over time and after a long experience in the practice of expanding the organization, the European Union has established its position on the accession of new states. Conditions to become EU candidate mainly found in the

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provisions or rates of the EU Treaty, although the version of Amsterdam in the EU Treaty stresses the importance Article 49, paragraph 1 and Article 6, paragraph 1. Of a great importance is the so-called "Copenhagen Criteria"² of 1993, which even though they were published only for the countries of Central and Southern Europe, have today received a general validity. For the Western Balkan countries the first step before entering the EU is to reach an agreement (MSA) and the establishment of bilateral relations with the European Union.

Conditions required by the EU can be divided into three categories: the political, economic and legal. Analyst will be limited to political criteria, which refers to three major areas - human rights, democracy and the legal rule. Here you will be introduced with the guidelines on institutional capacity building and rule of law. The issue of democracy will be discussed, since it belongs to efficiency, accountability and democratic legitimacy. Human rights will not be handled by the content, since the purpose of this work is to analyse the basic steps, which lead to the construction of a system which will effectively protect and promote human rights. Similarly, are to be considered legal, which are intended to transform and adapt national legislation to that of the European Union law.

At this point will be a direct link to meeting the legal requirements with the requirements of state law.

Analyst begins with the presentation of the conditions of EU integration policy and the introduction of the Western Balkans countries to fulfill these conditions. There will be presented all the conditions of the general membership, as provided in the EU Treaty and the final requirements set out in Copenhagen in 1993, as well as the criteria for starting accession negotiations.

The content of the criteria is outlined on the basis of a document of "Bodies of the European Union (European rights in the strict sense), and the OSCE and Council of Europe (European rights in the broad sense). Additionally the European partnership will be presented which the EU has developed for the Western Balkan countries

Integration into the EU a structured process and set conditions

Integration should not be misunderstood as simple elimination of borders, which would enable free movement towards the richer countries of Europe. Integration into the European Union means, first, aligning and embracement of the fundamental values upon which is built and this great body of interstate

² Final requirements of the Council of Europe in Copenhagen, Bull. BE6-1993, p.8, point I.13.

subsist: Democracy, rule of law, protection of human rights, protection and respect rights of national minorities³.

All EU member states operate on the basis of liberal democracies, in which the rule of law is consolidated, the law is equal for all and human rights are sacred⁴. Embracing the values of democracy is crucial and essential for countries aspiring to EU membership. In these circumstances, a considerable portion of aid allocated by the EU for our country aims precisely to construct these values. Functional market economy should be able to withstand competitive pressures and market forces within the EU. Fulfilling the above two criteria, along with the obligation to adopt the European Union legislation, the so-called "acqui communautaire"⁵, are the main prerequisite to enable the introduction of third countries in the European Union. Due to a long history of isolation and economic difficulties, the integration is often perceived as an opportunity to move to Europe, leaving sight of the fact that this convenience comes only as a result of the consolidation of democracy and economic development. The integration process should be understood as a reform program that provides the country with the European model of state, democracy and the functioning of the economy, but not merely as free movement westward.

Political conditionality of EU integration

Political conditionality traditionally used for international financial organisation in the 90s and 20-century were also exercised by the European Union. In relations with third countries the EU implements the method of "Stick under carrot" (the stick approach and promise), and seeks through conditionality⁶ to encourage state governments to meet certain requirements⁷. So conditionality can be used in such a way as to serve as either a threat or encouragement. In the first case it's a positive conditionality, where compliance with the prescribed standards is rewarded through the establishment of

³ Piazolo Daniel, The Integration Process Between Easter und Western Europe, Heidelberg, p. 5-7 and European Council, Conclusions of the Presidency, Copenhagen, June 1993

⁴ Werner Weidenfeld, Wolfgang Wessels, Yearbook of European Integration 2006 (orginale Jahrbuch der Europäischen Integration), Baden-Baden 2007, f.283-287.

⁵ Commission Staff Working Document, Albania 2006 Progress Report, COM (2006) 649 final. Brussels, 11.8.2006, p.10

⁶ Conditionality is a Mutual Arrangement by Which a government takes, or Promises To Take, Certain policy action in support of an International Institution Which Will provid specified amounts of Assistance - usually financial or technical ": Jefrey T. Checkel, Compliance and Conditionality, Arena Working Paper no. 00/18, www.arena.uio.no, p.2.

⁷ Ditto, look, JT Checkel, Compliance and Conditionality, Arena Working Paper no. 00/18, www.arena.uio.no, F.1 ..

relations with the EU at a high level. Whereas negative conditionality means the EU threatens with the withdrawal of benefits for third place or non completion of the relationship if European Union standards are not met⁸. Conditioning is used by the EU in various stages of relations with third countries: part of the accession process, the initial stage of development and commercial agreements, and also in other measures in terms of autonomous or contractual relations⁹. It is important to note the difference between conditions in the accession process and in other relationships. In "The conditionality of accession" the European Union seems to be the beneficiary. The suitability of the candidate with the European Union has to do with member countries of the EU holding a mass homogeneity in their political system, economic and legal¹⁰. Requirements for candidate countries should not be seen as a series of conditions for granting various benefits, but they represent a broad process of EU enlargement¹¹. For this reason membership conditionality comes to "reward" to fit only at the end of this long process¹². In states that relations with the EU lie in another way, the connection is open and indirect between the conditions and benefits to these countries and therefore conditionality can be considered as a "lever"¹³.

Preconditions, which lie on top of policy conditionality, are different. They can be classified into three major groups: political ways, legal or economical¹⁴. Political preconditions relate to three broad areas: that of human rights, democracy and the rule of law. Thus reason the conditional Membership reward comes in compatible only in the final long term process. Legal prerequisite involves the compatibility of legislation with that of the European

⁸ A typical example is eg for establishing a klausole human rights agreements with third countries. This point is increasingly discussed.

⁹ See: Mary Cremona, Variable Geometry and Setting Membership Conditionality: An EU Perspective, in: Greg Mills / Sidiropouls Elizabeth (Hrsg.) A Review of Regional Integration in Southern Africa: Comparative International experience (South African Institute of International Affairs 2001), f .194. (Online available at: http / /: kas.org.za / Publications / Seminar Reports / SAIIA / saaiia.asp).

¹⁰ Ditto, f.204.

¹¹ Heather Grabbe, A Partnership for Accession The implications of EU Conditionality for the Central and East European Applicants, Robert Schuman Center Working Paper 12/1999, p. 5 ¹² Ditto, f.8.

¹³ Mary Cremona, Variable Geometry and Setting Membership Conditionality, in: Greg Mills / Sidiropouls Elizabeth (Hrsg.) A Review of Regional Integration in Southern Africa: Comparative International experience (South African Institute of International Affairs 2001), f.204. (Online available at: http / /: kas.org.za / Publications / Seminar Reports / SAIIA / saaiia.asp).

¹⁴ Comparison with so-called Copenhagen criteria, Bull. EU 6-1993, point I.13.

Union, or in compatible with so called "acquis communautaire" part of EU membership. For an effective adaptation and implementation of legislation a key factor is the importance of capacity efficiency of state institutions and particularly the administration. In this way there is a link between the fulfilments of legal precondition directly with that of legal State. On top of the economic preconditions free market is based on fair competition. Besides these three major groups for the Western Balkan countries another prerequisite is that of "close regional cooperation."

In European Union policy conditionality for the Western Balkan countries is based on the Copenhagen criteria¹⁵, which refers not only to candidate countries but also the potential candidate countries. These are conditions directly raised from the Stabilisation and Association Process¹⁶, and to those coming from the peace agreements¹⁷. Under the conditions laid down in legislation are also included measures for financial aid¹⁸.

The situation prior the Treaty of Amsterdam

Since the foundation of the European Economic Community (EEC) fundamentally important of European Communities¹⁹ was its establishment for new countries admission. Thus states of the European Economic Community Treaty foundation²⁰ have asked to be saved, strengthening economic values, peace and freedom from other countries who seeking to become part of this organisation²¹. Since the establishment of the European Economic Community

¹⁵ Final requirements of the European Council in Copenhagen, Bull EU 6-1993, point I.13.

¹⁶ Look over all the final requirements of the European Council on the use of conditionality in development of relations between the EU and the respective countries of South-East, dated April 29, 1997. Source Bull. EU 4 / 97, paragf.2.2.1.

¹⁷ Resolution 1244 of UN Security Council, the Dayton Agreement, the Ohrid Agreement, and Belgrade.

¹⁸ Compare Othon Anastasakis / Dimitar Bechev, EU Conditionality in South East Europe: Bringing Commitment to the Process, European Studies Center, Oxford, April 2003, p.7.

¹⁹ The European Union was established by the European Community of Coal and Steel Community, which was founded in 1951. His aim was to unite the steel and coal resources of member states in order to avoid another war in Europe.

European Economic Community and European Atomic Energy Community were established in Rome in 1957, so I called the Treaty of Rome.

²⁰ Six countries: Belgium, West Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands.

²¹ The statements set forth in the preamble to the Treaty establishing the European Economic Union.

to the assortment of the Amsterdam Treaty²² on European Union, the contractual norms based on pre-contractual rates of membership are summarised. With the establishment of the European Union²³ removal of Art.237 of the European Economic Community Treaty ²⁴(TKEE) gave the opportunity each European country to become members of European Community. However, even in evaluating the first round of enlargement of the Community²⁵, European Economic Community bodies, above all, European Commission asked the countries that were preparing to join the community additional criteria. Review of standards and criteria percept: a political democratic system, a stable economy and the ability to absorb the Community legislation and to implement them respectively.

After the fall of the harsh process and the end of the cold war a question asked on the expansion of the community, and the admission capability as a new meaning, considering new circumstances, countries of Central and Eastern Europe sought to be part of this community. For this purpose it was necessary to pre-determined membership more convincing and to show Eastern European countries with a democracy to swing a clear path to European standards.

Copenhagen Criteria

Even though in foundation of the community the preconditions for membership were not codified in the provisions of the Treaty were now a process of preparations for the expected expansion of the EU in the Eastern Europe. The report of the Commission for the European Council in Lisbon (26 and 27 June 1992) on European Union enlargement, the Commission sets out the conditions and criteria in paragraphs 8-11. The report must be met on three basic conditions: a) European identity, b) democratic forms of government and protection of human rights (paragraph 8). Also were mentioned as prerequisites

²² The European Union took a further development of the Amsterdam Treaty which was signed on 1 October 1997 and entered into force on 1 May 1999 after ratification by all member states.

²³ Since the founding of the European Union is possible to join all the European Union, viz. to the three pillars:

^{1.} teak bar first European Community, which in itself consists of three European Communities, united together (European Community, European Community of Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and Euroatomi (KEEur).

^{2.} to the second pillar of Foreign Policy and Common Security and

^{3.} to the third pillar of cooperation in the fields of Justice and Internal Affairs.

²⁴ Corresponding rate contained Article 95 of the Treaty of the European Coal and Steel Community and Article 205 of the European Community Treaty Euro-atom.

²⁵ Great Britain, Ireland and Denmark, joined in 1973. Greece 1980. Spain and Portugal 1986.

for EU membership functioning and competitive economy, and adaptation of legal and administrative framework in the private and public sector (paragraph 9). Acceptance and Implementation of Foreign Policy and Common Security, as well as the acquisition of all rights and obligations of European Union and its institutional framework, are also 'conditio sine qua non' of being a member of the EU (paragraphs 10 and 11). Based on the Commission formulation an important issue is the key requirements of prerequisites to membership such as in the Copenhagen criteria.

Copenhagen's criteria represent a turning point in the politics of European Union membership. They were formulated as part of final demand of European Council in Copenhagen²⁶, as a result of training and transformations that are in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. These criteria are known and done as a pre-general and essential element for all subsequent membership in the EU²⁷.

Criteria were formulated as follows:

"As a condition of EU membership candidate country must have achieved stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, rule of law, respect for human rights and minority protection;

This requires the existence of a functioning market economy and ability to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union.

Membership also requires that each candidate country to assume the obligations of membership and may make its own goals of joint political, economic and monetary"²⁸

These preconditions, as mentioned, can be divided into four groups: political criteria, economic criteria, willingness to integrate the candidate country (obtaining of acquis communautaire), and the ability of EU enlargement. Prerequisites for membership, of which the candidate country must achieve, differ in two characteristics. On one side only the so-called 'political criteria' is constituted since the Amsterdam version of the EU Treaty. For others the criteria to be met is in different periods. Thus the political criteria are the main precondition for opening membership negotiation while meeting the so-called economic criteria is necessary towards full membership. Also possession of the ''acquis communautaire'' should be achieved in time

²⁶ European Council meeting in Copenhagen was held on 21 and 22 June 1993.

²⁷ See, the Thessaloniki Summit between the EU and the Western Balkans: The Declaration of 21 June 2003, 10229/03 (163), available online at: http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/de/misc/76317.pdf ..

²⁸ Paragraph I.13 of the final requirements of the Council of Europe.

until the full membership, but may be postponed even after the full membership by the membership provided in the $Agreement^{29}$.

In this way the Copenhagen's criteria contains a dual function: on the one side are the material requirements, which are important for final decisions under Article 49, parag.1, while on the other are the standard procedures for evaluating the decision on further steps of the initial process of membership³⁰.

Copenhagen political criteria do not impose a particular institutional model but rather interpretations³¹. They truly reflect the fundamental principles and values which are based on EU and member states³², but leave the candidate countries a sufficient space to build democratic institutions in harmony with their traditions and cultural policy³³.

Interpretive of Article 49, paragraph 1 and Article 6, paragraph 1 of the EU Treaty

Only with the version of Amsterdam Treaty for the EU were reformulated contractual norms that regulate membership in the European Union and settled political preconditions for membership.

Article 49 of the Treaty on European Union regulates the admission or membership procedures in the European Union, but also provides the material conditions of a membership. Thus, in paragraph 1 in the first sentence states that any European state may apply to join which respects the principles set out in Article 6 paragraph 1 of the Treaty on European Union.

Every European country has a legal right to make an application for membership in the EU but with a form of liberal-democratic government (Article 6, paragraph 1)³⁴.

²⁹ This is provided as part of the concept of "conditions" in Article 49, parag.2 the EU Treaty. These are set out in Article 2, membership parag.2 Agreement with 10 countries that joined in 2004.

³⁰ Juli Zeh, Right on membership? (Original: Recht auf Beitritt?), Baden-Baden, 2002, p.25.

³¹ Barbara Lippert, From Pre-Accession to EU Membership, Implementing Transformation and Integration, in: Barbara Lippert / Peter Becker (Hrsg.), Towards EU Membership, Bonn, 1998, f.17 and p.25.

³² Juli Zeh, Right on membership? (Original: Recht auf Beitritt?), Baden-Baden, 2002, f.23.

³³ Darina Malova / Timthoty Haughton, Emergence and Divergence. Institutional Change in Central and Eastern Europe and the Impact of Europe (EUi Working Paper RSC No.2001/45), p. 5.

³⁴ Juli Zeh, Right on membership? (Original: Recht auf Beitritt?), Baden-Baden, 2002, p.13.

The importance of membership criteria based on different stages of accession process

Only in compliance with Article 6, paragraph 1 is not a condition for submitting an application to join the EU, but the country (who submits the application) must meet a real condition of admission to join the EU, which is part of geographical space of Europe³⁵. Thus an obstacle to EU membership is that of not being part of Europe, and also dissatisfaction of the definition 'State'. The concept of 'State'³⁶ should be understood accordingly with the international law definition. When presenting a claim or application for membership in the EU and it exists, the applicant (country) has the applicant status. The transition from 'applicant' to 'candidate status' is necessary and at a subsequent time the political criteria on its satisfaction³⁷.

The membership process goes through various stages. During the negotiation process and preliminary will be the country that made the request from 'applicant' to 'candidate country' providing initially the relevant and clear steps as part of the membership procedure. Subsequently follows the stage of an internal decision of the EU bodies following a positive achievement on the final agreement stage in which then leads to a full membership. When full membership, the democratisation process of is not closed, but must be strictly adhered to further substantial provisions of the European Union.

Material conditions in Art.6, paragf.1 the EU Treaty

What means the definition of "European" will not be emphasised in this part, but it is important to note that this definition should not only be understood as a geographical concept but also the importance of historical and cultural elements³⁸ which are fundamental. Additionally in support of defining

³⁵ Juli Zeh, Right on membership? (Original: Recht auf Beitritt?), Baden-Baden, 2002, p.14.

³⁶ The state should come as a party to international relations, therefore be subject to international law. To be such under international law the state must fills these conditions: a) must have a population, b) should have a place, a territory in which this population lives, c) must have a government d) that the government should have sovereignty. Arben Puto, International Public Rights, Albin, Tirana 2004, f.96-97

³⁷ "The Commission is of the opinion, that respect for political conditions of the applicant country is a necessity but not a sufficient condition for opening accession negotiations", Communication of the European Commission, Agenda 2000. A strong union and expanded, COM (1997) 2000, July 15, 1997, f.46.

³⁸ Re: Communication of the European Commission to the Council Lisbon (26 and 27 July 1992) on EU enlargement. Bull. Der EU, 3 / 1992, Zif.7, Hans-Joachim Cremer, Art.49 EUV, in: C.Callies / M.Ruffert (Hrsg.), EU / EG Kommentare, 2. Auflage, Neuwied, 2002, p. 5.

a European country is the implementment of Article 6, paragraph 1 of the EU Treaty so-called 'essential provisions'³⁹.

The observation of Article 6, paragraph 1 of the EU Treaty represents European Union requirements for internal order of the candidate. Candidate country is expected to follow the path of respecting the principles of freedom, democracy, respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms and the rule of law.

These principles, which are laid down in Article 6, paragraph 1, of the EU Treaty, have become central parts and are included in the constitutional provisions of many countries who aspire to join the EU⁴⁰.

Legal character of the EU Treaty

With attention on Article 6, paragraph 1 of the EU Treaty, members of the European Union, the Parties to the Treaty of the EU, have given the so-called 'political conditions' a legal character. In Article 49 comes to a clear legal obligation, which compels organs of the EU and its member states to adhere to membership criteria which lead to understand the non existence of any suspicion on the political and legal character of the membership condition. With forecasts of the EU Treaty, political conditions not only are given the legal character, but also the placement in the classification of primarily legal principles⁴¹.

Special Conditions for the Western Balkan countries (ConditionalityPSA) The major legal basis

Considering the path of Western Balkan countries towards the EU, it was determined at the Summit held in Thessaloniki in 2003 between the EU and Western Balkan countries⁴². This determination is not a new innovation, as a differential integration of Western Balkan countries into the European Union

³⁹ Hans-Joachim Cremer, Art.49 EUV, in: C.Callies / M.Ruffert (Hrsg.), EU / EG Kommentare, 2. Auflage, Neuwied, 2002, p. 5.

⁴⁰ Amaryllis Verhoeven, Haw Democratic Need European Union Members European Union ", (ELRev), 1998, f.217-230.

⁴¹ See: Rudolf Streinz, European Law (original: Europarecht), Heidelberg, 2005, p.2.

⁴² Support for the Western Balkan countries in their preparations for future membership in European structures is a top priority for the EU." Thessaloniki Summit Meeting between the EU und the Western Balkans: The Declaration of 21 June 2003, 10229/03 (163), available online at: http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms Data/docs/ pressData/de/misc/76317.pdf...

was launched at the Zagreb Summit in 2000⁴³. The aspiration to join the EU and the possibility of a membership are related to the Western Balkan countries with a process anyway. This has to do with the conditions set by the EU, which must be met by these countries. However, the Council of Europe has supported the Thessaloniki Summit of the idea of supporting these countries' membership in the EU and their full membership, once these countries have set conditions to be achieved. These conditions are called 'Copenhagen criteria' and the criteria specified in the Zagreb Summit of 2000 in the context of the Association Stability Process. "In Zagreb was referred to the "Conditions defined by the Council on 29 April 1997 concerning Democratic, Economic and institutional reforms" and "progress made in implementing the Stability and Association Agreements, in the particular on Regional Cooperation"⁴⁴.

Having explained by a systematic way, Western Balkan countries must first meet the criteria established by the Council of Europe in 1997, which later lead to the conclusion of a Stability and Association Agreement. After a positive evaluation on the achievements made in the implementation of this Agreement, then we can advance further with EU membership process.

Negotiations on the Association Stability Agreement (MSA-albanian) Political Dialogue

The prime general principles of political dialogue set out the main conditions which are the basis of internal and external policy, such as implemental of democratic principles and human rights, international legal principles and the rule of law as well as the market economy principles respectively. In these principles are included the commitments that the Albanian Government should take over with a further improvement of cooperation and good neighbourly relations with other countries of the region in all areas, that of free movement of persons, goods, capital, services, and the fight against organised crime, corruption, money laundering, illegal migration etc..

Justice and home affairs

Albania and the European Community emphasise special importance to strengthening the rule of law and institutions, as well as cooperation in fighting

⁴³ "[In this context], the way is now open to all the Countries of the Region to Move Closer to the European Union as part of the stability and Association process." Zif.4 Zagreb Summit Final Declaration, 24. November 2000, available online at: http://www.mvp.hr/summit/001124_deklaracija_eng.html.

⁴⁴ Zif.4 Zagreb Summit Final Declaration, 24. November 2000, available online at dresën: http://www.mvp.hr/summit/001124_deklaracija_eng.html.

terrorism, money laundering and criminal activity. Negotiations on this field based on two pillars.

The first pillar concerns cooperation in the field of movement of persons and provides provisions regarding visas, asylum, migration and other policies relating to free movement of people. In this area, Albania has achieved considerable progress, especially in terms of improving legislations. However, deficiencies exist in border management, visa, etc...

The second pillar concerns cooperation in the fight against terrorism, money laundering and illegal drugs and provides provisions on police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters. In this field achievements are more modest: generally is not managed to neutralised the phenomenon of money laundering and while some steps have been laid with the adoption of legislation on fighting local drug production and penalizing the offenders, very little is done to prevent serious drug trafficking.

Technical dialogue: Free movement of goods

In accordance with the Agreement, Albania and the European Community has gradually established a free trade area over a period of 10 years since the entry into force of the Stability and Association Agreement 1st of April 2009. In other words, free trade zone between Albania and the Community tend to open the Albanian market for Community exports during the transitional period, aiming the consolidation of the Albanian economy, consumer protection and promoting business. This arrangement is asymmetric in favor of Albania, so the facilities provided by it will primarily be obtained from Albania and later by the EU. In this context, discussions have been involved for industrial goods, agricultural items, etc...

Technical Dialogue: The right of establishment, free movement of workers

Philosophy and general trend, which is processed through technical dialogue, is equal treatment of Albanian employees and community, employed legally, in order to avoid any kind of discrimination based on nationality as regards working conditions, remuneration or dismissal. However, this does not bring in the near future the greatest opportunities of market access community, but only facilities for legally employed workers, their families, facilities and social security systems and beyond. The right of establishment is concerned with establishing a legal framework regarding the establishment of Albanian companies and community with mutual rights and facilities will be provided to these companies to operate in the relevant markets in order to avoid any

discrimination. Also through this dialogue include issues dealing with the possibility of mutual recognition of professional qualifications and conduct of activities in relevant areas.

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