



CLUB ON EUROPEAN ISSUES – T’CLUB

*An Initiative of SEE Young Public Servants, Working in the
Field of European Integration*

THE INITIATIVE

THE CLUB ON EUROPEAN ISSUES – “T’Club”

The initiative was established as a follow up initiative of the annual Summer Seminar “Preparation for EU Accession”¹, organized by the Economic Policy Institute, Sofia. T’Club was initiated as a forum for further improving the administration’s professional capacity; raising publicity of the challenges Bulgaria is facing in the course of the pre-accession process and towards the preparation for successful EU membership; sharing of practical and specific experience among its continuously increasing members; encouraging the visionary approach towards the future of the SEE region and the future of Europe.

GOALS:

Its priority objectives are exchange of knowledge, experience and working in network process among SEE public servants in the field of their countries’ European integration. The concrete goals are specified as:

- professional improvement; exchange of information among the administrative bodies and agencies dealing with the issues of the EU Accession process;
- sharing of experience;
- establishment of a regular forum of informal communication and networking, also on regional level

ACTIVITIES:

- FORMAL ACTIVITIES:
 - Lectures
 - Seminars

¹ The traditional Summer Seminars for young public servants: “Preparation for EU Accession” are organized in the framework of the joint project of the Bertelsmann Foundation, Guetersloh and the World Bank, Washington: “Towards European Integration”. Till now, the project has been implemented with the kind support of the Bertelsmann Foundation; Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Federal Republic of Germany; the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Sofia - MATRA CAP; Central European Initiative.

- Conferences
- Printed and online issues, etc.
- **INFORMAL ACTIVITIES:**
 - Meetings
 - Discussions
 - Informal dinners

<i>WHAT WE CARRIED INTO EFFECT TILL NOW</i>
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Since the December 2002 till nowadays, in the framework of the initiative were implemented 10 formal and 14 informal meetings. Some of the guest speakers in the formal events were **Mr. Oscar de Bruyn Kops**, Country Manager, World Bank Mission to Bulgaria; **Mrs. Meglena Kuneva**, Minister of European Affairs of Republic of Bulgaria; **Mrs. Ingrid Shikova**, Director, Information Centre of the European Union (Sofia); **Mr. Erik Evtimov**, Lawyer, Secretary of the Swiss European Union Studies Association; Assistant in Bern University (Switzerland); **Mrs. Nelly Kutskova**, Deputy representative of the European Convention and the President of the Regional Court in Sofia. The Economic Policy Institute hosted the event; **H.E. Philippe Beke**, Belgian ambassador to Bulgaria; etc.

<i>PHOTOES AND HISTORY</i>

<i>December 2002</i>

5th December 2002, INTERPRED, the World Bank Mission in Sofia - meeting of the participants in the traditional summer seminar for young public servants "Preparation for EU Accession" (years 2000, 2001, 2002). During the discussion emphasis was put on the following topics:

- The public expenditures and the directions for the reform;
- The reform of the Public Administration in Bulgaria – The World Bank's Perspective

RESULTS: During the discussions the participants broadly shared the idea and agreed that there is a pressing need of co-operation between civil servants from different Bulgarian institutions. The idea for facilitating a community (club) of the young public servants aiming at strengthening networking and encouraging co-operation among civil servants and their colleagues form other organizations and institutions, was elaborated.

<i>March 2003</i>

20th March 2003 , Information Center of the EU, Sofia – Formal meeting of T'Club with MRS. INGRID SHIKOVA, Director, Information Center of the EU.
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April 2003

16th April 2003, Economic Policy Institute's office - Meeting of T'Club with Bulgarian Minister for European Affairs MEGLENA KUNEVA.

The initiators of this informal forum presented the initiative to minister Kuneva. Minister Kuneva shared her deep personal interest towards the initiative and expressed her willingness to assist in the implementing of T'Club's activities. She expressed her willingness to support T'Club in the organization of future meetings with ministers and key policy makers.

October 2003

22nd October 2003, Economic Policy Institute's office - Meeting of the Club on European issues "T'Club" with MR. ERIK EVTIMOV, lawyer, Secretary of the Swiss European Union Studies Association; Assistant in Bern University (Switzerland).

Some of the discussed topics with Mr. Evtimov were:

- Difficulties young public servants face in their daily work;
- Effectiveness of the public institutions and etc.

February 2004

26th February 2004, Economic Policy Institute's office, Sofia - Formal meeting of T'Club with MR. ALEKSANDAR EVTIMOV, Director, European Integration and International Policy Directorate, held in the EPI's office

March 2004

24th March 2004, Economic Policy Institute's office - meeting of T'Club with MRS. NELLY KUTSKOVA, Deputy representative to the European Convention, Chairperson of the Regional Court in Sofia and Chairperson of the Bulgarian Lawyers Association.

Some of the topics discussed included:

- Reform of the judiciary system;
- Challenges towards the judiciary system;
- Amendments in the Bulgarian Constitution in view of the country's EU membership;
- Difficulties that hamper the effective investigation procedures; etc.

May 2004

20th May 2004, Economic Policy Institute's office - meeting of T'Club with H.E. PHILIPPE BEKE, Belgian ambassador to Bulgaria. The Lecture was

on the topic: “Belgium Position towards Europe beyond 2004”.

Some of the discussed issues were:

- The position of the EU countries towards the process of European integration;
- Where should the EU end? – the situation with Russia and its neighbours;
- The European Commission’s approach to the applying countries;
- The issue of Turkey’s Accession;
- The Bulgarian case; etc.

REGIONAL INITIATIVE & How we developed

The initiative was established (January 2003) as an informal forum for provoking open dialogue among BULGARIAN young public servants, working in the field of the country’s European Integration. Throughout the past year, they have continuously expressed their strong desire and willingness to strengthen this form of cooperation and render additional assistance to the further development of the regional profile of T’Club.

Recently (May 2004), thanks to the active participation and involvement of the initiative’s members, the Economic Policy Institute held the First Regional meeting of T’Club. The event provided opportunity for open deliberation on most relevant topics, related to the preparation for EU accession and the future of Europe among the participators and with representatives of European institutions and other regional organizations.

HERE WE ENCLOSE SOME **SUMMARIZED INFORMATION** ON THE ABOVE MENTIONED EVENT:

S U M M A R Y

First Meeting of T'Club – Regional

organized by

**the Economic Policy Institute, Sofia and
“T'Club” of Young Public Servants
working in field of European Integration**

With the support of

B | T | D The Balkan Trust for Democracy
A PROJECT OF THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND

On the 30th of April 2004 in Sofia was hold the first **regional meeting of T'Club** of young public servants working in field of European Integration. The seminar took place in the Information Center of the European Union, Sofia from 10 am to 1.30 pm. It gathered almost 40 young representatives of the public administration in Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro and Romania. The aim of the first regional meeting was to present the activities of T'Club to a broader circle of beneficiaries and to contribute to the building of the regional dimension of the initiative.

During the first session of the regional meeting the following presentations were delivered (program, list of participants and presentations can be found on: <http://tclub.epi-bg.org/>):

- **“Bulgaria’s Vision on the Future of Southeastern Europe in the Context of European Integration”**, MEGLENA KUNEVA, Minister of European Affairs of the Republic of Bulgaria, Sofia;
- **“T'Club” and T'Club-Regional – Introduction to the Initiative**, ELITSA MARKOVA, Project Director, Economic Policy Institute, Sofia;
- **Presentation of “T'Club”’s Website and Discussion Forum**, PLAMENA SPASSOVA, Research Fellow, Economic Policy Institute, Sofia;
- **“Reform in the Public Administration”**, ONIK KARAPCHIAN, Advisor, Public Administration and Judiciary, The World Bank, Sofia
- **“Regional Cooperation in SEE”**, ANTOANETA NAYDENOVA, Junior Expert, Regional Cooperation Department, Europe I Directorate, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sofia

The second part of the seminar, the “Discussion panel”, sought to present in details the establishment of “T’Club”, as well as the expected development of the project idea, and to provoke informal discussions among the participants on practical matters and possibilities for cooperation and exchange. After an introduction round the representatives of the Bulgarian founders of “T’Club” shared ideas on and proposals for future activities that could contribute to the establishment of the regional dimension of the initiative. The participants from Serbia and Montenegro presented the activities of domestic youth networks working in the field of European Integration. During the discussion that followed the participants elaborated on the future agenda of the project, the topics to be emphasized at the next regional meetings and the practical possibilities for exchange of expertise in terms of building the administrations’ capacities in the process of preparation for EU membership.

SNIMKA – WHOLE GROUP

Presentation: MEGLENA KUNEVA, Minister of European Affairs of the Republic of Bulgaria before the Regional Meeting of T’Club

Dear ladies and gentlemen,
Dear friends,

I am honoured to be with you on the eve of the biggest enlargement of the European Union – a truly landmark moment of the European history. Tomorrow the European Union will expand from 15 to 25 member states. This will inevitably lead to a fundamental change of the Union. It will also transform the European society into the largest, most dynamic single market on the world and will irrevocably put to rest the most stubborn conflict of the 20th century – the cold war between West and East.

The joint European vision of all countries on the Balkans becomes much more distinct and clear in the eve of such a historic enlargement of United Europe. And while we all shall celebrate this historic moment, we should keep in mind that the task of unifying Europe will never be complete, until the whole Southeastern Europe is fully integrated into the European Union.

When the founding fathers gave birth to the idea of EU, their major concern was how to make war impossible in Europe. For us in the Balkans this original meaning of the European integration seems to be more important than for any other parts of the continents. This is why in my view we are the message keepers, those who are not just pragmatic but also emotional about European unification.

The cultural heritage of our region has always been, is and will be part of the cultural history of Europe. Therefore it is only natural for our countries to see the European Union as the political union they belong.

Enlargement is not about building new borders, but about overcoming existing ones. This is why I see all countries in our region as an integral part of the enlarged Union. The process of integration of Southeastern Europe into the rest of Europe started already. Slovenia will be one of the 25 member states as of tomorrow. So will be Romania and Bulgaria within less than three years. For us, as well as for all the acceding countries this will be the result of a difficult process of political, economic and social transformation . Just to illustrate this fact, last year alone the Bulgarian government had to introduce over 700 legislative measures to meet engagements that we have committed ourselves to in terms of adoption of the *acquis*.

It is clear that the pace of the progress of the region as a whole and of each individual country toward the EU will depend on the efforts of our governments. It is clear that the process toward EU accession already expanded toward the countries that are part of the SAP countries as well. A week ago Croatia received very positive assessment (called *avis*) from the Commission for its readiness to enter into accession negotiations with the Union, and hopefully the European Council will endorse the Commission proposal in June this year. The Republic of Macedonia filed its application for joining the Union last month.

I had the honour and the pleasure to be the first Minister of European Affairs to visit Croatia immediately after the Commission *avis* was published. We had the opportunity to discuss at length with my colleagues the process of negotiations, the challenges that the Croatian negotiating team will be faced with, as well as possible cooperation opportunities.

In recent years, all countries of Southeastern Europe have made great achievements in overcoming the heritage of half a century of communism and 10 years of violent instability in former Yugoslavia. Each of the countries in the region has gone through wide-ranging political, economic and social reforms. At the same time, governments have repeatedly stressed their commitment to the goal of full integration in European Union and NATO. EU accession became the ultimate priority of all governments in the region. Integration into EU structures requires much effort and patience. The process, depending on the achievements of each country will take time.

The Thessaloniki European Council on 20th of June last year sent a clear political signal to the Western Balkans and reiterated the mutual commitment and understanding that the move of the Western Balkans toward European integration is irrevocable, that the Stabilisation and Association process will remain the framework for the European course of the Western Balkans all the way to their future accession.

The EU responded to the appeal of the heads of the Southeastern European states at that time and committed itself to strengthening the Stabilisation and Association Policy of the EU in the region and to enrich the policy in light of accession preparation and the experience of enlargement.

Governments in the region on their part need to focus on some key issues like protection of human rights and fight against organized crime and corruption. As heads of SEE governments agreed before Thessaloniki, organized crime poses a deadly threat to the processes of reform and democratization in Southeastern Europe. Strengthening the rule of law is to become a highest policy priority for all governments in the region. So is the development of the judicial systems, the fight against trafficking in human beings, and the improved border control.

Economic prosperity is instrumental for achieving long-term stability and democracy in the region. The structural reforms can be painful but should be persistent and coherent in order to establish functioning market economies, ensure higher employment and sustainable economic growth.

The European transport, energy and communication corridors span through the territories of our countries. Developing the trans-Balkan transport and energy infrastructures will get all of us in the region much closer to the European Union. These infrastructures will naturally be part of the Trans-European Networks. All governments in the region should look beyond the horizon of their national interests, add a broader perspective to their national priorities and focus on the mutual interest of the all SEE countries.

The EU has a remarkable record of triggering economic success by effectively leveraging the limited resources of poorer regions in the Union. Ireland, Greece, Spain and Portugal have experienced revolutionary success in their social and economic development over the last 20 years. I would agree with the late Macedonian president Trajkovski that this has been the result of following a triple policy prescription: integration into the European single market, EU Cohesion Policy and sound macroeconomic and fiscal policies and structural reforms.

Following the conclusions of the Thessaloniki Summit, the European Commission already started preparations to ensure effective participation of the SEE countries in Community programmes and agencies from 2005. The Commissioner Chris Patten stated recently that “participation in EU programmes will offer citizens and Balkans countries the chance to make considerable progress toward EU integration”.

This launch offers the countries from SEE and their people a great chance to get acquainted with policies and working methods of the EU, thus anchoring them firmly to the EU and encouraging them to the path to European integration.

In conclusion I would like to point out that it is the responsibility of the politicians on the Balkans, as well as the young civil servants like yourselves to make the change and to introduce and enforce the European standards in every aspect of people’s lives. Every one of us should assume their tasks in order to make this change happen. Governments need to have the European agenda as their internal agenda. It is also important that young people find their motivation at home, and I am glad to see that you have made such a choice for yourselves – to commit to European integration of

your countries. This job is demanding and requires full devotion. But it's well worth the effort.

Thank you for your attention.

КОЛОНКИ - СНИМКИ

Presentation: Onik Karapchian, Advisor, Public Administration and Judiciary, The World Bank before the Regional Meeting of T'Club

Top-down and bottom-up approaches to Admin Reform

I. THE TWO PERSPECTIVES:

Short-term perspective: Looking for improvements in:

- **Service delivery** and
- **Public performance** more broadly

Long-term perspective: Build a more **sustainable relationship** between state and society

II. THE TOP-DOWN APPROACH - BUILDING ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY:

The "Top-down" administrative reform is about:

- 1.1 **CS depolitization,**
- 1.2 **Merit-based** recruitment, assessment, pay and promotion;
- 1.3 **Clarification** of governmental structures and roles (vertically and horizontally);
- 1.4 Strengthening **performance-oriented management** of individual admin structures;
- 1.5 Improving the reliability and transparency of the **expenditure control system.**

III. THE BOTTOM-UP APPROACH - SERVICE DELIVERY, DECENTRALIZATION AND COMMUNITY-DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT:

The "bottom-up", service delivery- oriented administrative reform is about:

- 1.1 **Decentralization** - fiscal, administrative and political;
- 1.2 **Community driven development;**
- 1.3 Co-production and other **participatory approaches to service delivery;**

1.4 Expanding authority, resources, participation and accountability at, or close to, the service delivery front-line.

IV. LOOKING FOR A SYNERGY:

In most settings, improvements in governance and service delivery will be greatest via a **reform strategy which explicitly combines narrowly-focused ‘top-down’ reforms with ‘bottom-up’ reforms** which expand authority, resources, participation and accountability at, or close to, the service delivery front-line.

КОЛОНКИ – СНИМКИ!!!!!!!

Presentation: Mihail Naydenov, Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Bulgaria before the Regional Meeting of T’Club

‘Dialogue and beginning’

Remarks of Mihail Naydenov, founding member of the T’Club, at the first regional meeting of the T’Club, Sofia, the European Union’s Information Center, 30 April 2004

Dear colleagues and friends,

Beginning has always been a challenge to whatever enterprise.

Our initiative is an intellectual and creative effort. Conceived 18 months ago as a dialogue forum for young public servants working for the European integration of Bulgaria, it has steadily grown up over time and achieved more than it has ever been expected. Backed up by this promising background and our resolve to advance forward, we are, at this moment, on the road to upgrade our forum into a regional endeavor.

When we, the Bulgarian participants, held our first meeting in the T’Club’s format, it was, first of all, an expression of our determination to preserve and develop the contacts we had established at the Economic Policy Institute’s summer seminar in 2002. Later on, we were joined by colleagues who had taken part at the previous issues of this seminar as well as by colleagues from the last year’s one. In addition, we have expanded the T’Club’s format by including young civil servants who has not yet attended these events. As a consequence thereof, the T’Club has become an attractive and enlarging network of like-minded friends, oriented towards one shared goal – Bulgaria to be a part of Uniting Europe.

At the T’Club’s dawn, we started with dialogue and afterwards we continued with all the events, known as the activity of the present forum. The ambition now is to take the example of the positive experience of the club, establishing a regional, South East European, forum, which is supposed to perform at least as successfully as

the T'Club does. The opening of the current regional initiative passes through dialogue. That is why we are all gathered here in Sofia, one day before the biggest ever enlargement of the European Union. It is up to us to continue the program.

Dialogue, being the basis for consent, lies in the foundations of the European Union. Integration is achieved through consensus. European history reveals how neighboring people could live in unprecedented peace and prosperity, when they pursue the course of integration. United Europe, first, is an idea; second, it is a common motivation to start implementing concrete actions leading to what we now know to be the European Union; and last but not least, it is a shared will to go on further. The same model could be applied to our region, if we are decided to work in favor of it, so that one day the whole South Eastern Europe becomes an indivisible part of Uniting Europe.

Dear friends,

Our network is designed to be horizontal as a structure, not vertical. Being such, it is a contemporary communication approach, corresponding to the new requirements of a globalizing world. It is like a round table, intended to be efficient and useful. In this sense, we are innovative and unique.

We are the new faces, the new generation of civil servants and leaders in our countries. We must be ready to assert the European civilization values we share at the workplace as well as in our everyday relationships. Our generation is a generation of transformation. Our moral duty and choice of living is to modernize the lifestyle and the image of the region we live in together.

When saying we are the new, the young generation, it has to be understood that “youth” in this respect is not measured only by age, it is judged by the values we believe in and the everyday actions. Being new, young, has to be evaluated in terms of personal qualities and conscious conduct in the context of the European idea.

Dear friends,

The T'Club project is focused on one very substantial segment of the collective work towards preparing the country for joining Uniting Europe – building up a state administration, adequate to the new realities and prepared for efficiently functioning in one enlarged European Union.

A modern administration must be performance-oriented. It is supposed to have clearly-defined functions and a working system of merit-based recruitment, assessment and promotion of civil servant. Positions in administrative structures should not be determined by “inheritance” or other non-merit motivated factors. Each young public servant has the right of an equal start, so that individual capacities become able to define career development. Furthermore, the aim is to have the right people at the right places, in order to generate the favorable conditions for the creative human potential to thrive.

Building up a modern European administrative capacity is our concrete task as members of one pro-active T'Club. This is our share in the burden. At present, due to the heritage we are faced to, the above-stated might sound to some extent idealistic. It is a hard duty to be fulfilled, which, at first, means providing support for overcoming stereotypes of thinking and behavior. This commitment often leads to collisions with reflex reactions solidified in the course of the past decades, where responsibility tended to be more a matter of propaganda rather than personal moral conviction. Despite the obstacles, we are firm in our intention to do what we believe to be true and necessary. And be it what is to result thereof...

The existence of administrative structures in a globalizing common European space is not an end in itself. Civil servants must serve and defend the interests of society. Administration has to be democratic and oriented towards social requirements, interests and objectives. Continuing with old-fashioned modes of functioning is irrelevant to the new epoch of European integration.

To work for a modern and efficient administration means to become able to shape our own future. It is also an expression of the will to make the notion 'Balkans' get rid of its negative connotation. The part of the European continent that we all occupy is a living organism and, being such a one, it is impossible to have a predetermined destiny. It is up to our own actions to prove that history does not mean only rivalries, wars, destruction and physical and moral poverty. Through our conscious acts, being together, let's say it in an understandable way for all of us here - zaedno, we may form the essence of our fate. Europe has offered its support to us and now we are on the move...

Dear friends,

I would like to stress that the inception of our initiative was a challenge we undertook decisively. First step has always been the most difficult to be undertaken. No less important are the strength of determination and the vision to go further on. The present regional meeting clearly demonstrates our resolution to continue the project. Moreover, it comes just one day before the accession of 10 new member states to the European Union. May this gathering of young pro-European civil servants from South east Europe remind that the process of enlargement of the Union has not been finished yet.

We have already made the first move towards launching a regional dimension of the T'Club forum. It is the current dialogue we have established here at this welcoming ceremonial hall of the Information Center of the European Union in Sofia. I hope we will maintain the momentum, and, no later than 18 months from now on, we could not only enjoy a positive record of substantial activity behind us, but also to advance towards expanding the initiative to the 10 new members of the European Union.

* * *

Dialogue is in the heart of the European idea. It is the method of attaining unity in pluralism. Our network is based on such an approach and this explains to a

great extent its success till now. At the beginning it was dialogue, dialogue has always been in us, the European integration is dialogue...

WE WANT TO TEL YOU ABOUT...

THE EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY (Article)

Diana Popova, Management of European Union Funds Directorate
Ministry of Finance, Sofia

The objective of the European Neighbourhood Policy is to share the benefits of the EU's 2004 enlargement with neighbouring countries in strengthening stability, security and well-being for all concerned. It is designed to prevent the emergence of new dividing lines between the enlarged EU and its neighbours and to offer them the chance to participate in various EU activities, through greater political, security, economic and cultural co-operation. The European Neighbourhood Policy will reinforce existing forms of regional and subregional cooperation and provide a framework for their further development.

The European Neighbourhood Instrument

A European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI) was first envisaged in the Commission's March 2003 Communication and further developed in the July 2003 Communication "Paving the Way for a New Neighbourhood Instrument". In its proposal for the financial perspective 2007-2013, the Commission includes ENI as one of the six financial instruments that should operate in the area of external relations after 2006. In view of the number of legal and budgetary questions to be resolved, the Communication set out a two-phase approach. Under this approach, for the period 2004-2006, Neighbourhood Programmes based on enhanced co-ordination among existing instruments have been introduced, while after 2006 a new neighbourhood instrument will be established.

Following the July 2003 Communication, resources within existing financial instruments were identified for the Neighbourhood Programmes. The total level of funding for the period 2004-2006 under external assistance instruments is €255 million (€ 75 million for Tacis, € 90 million for Phare, € 45 million for CARDS and €45 million for MEDA). Approximately €700 million will be provided for the corresponding EU internal borders under the INTERREG programme.

The ENI will build on the experience gained in establishing the Neighbourhood Programmes for the period 2004-2006. It will focus on the four key objectives identified in the July 2003 Communication:

- Promoting sustainable development in regions on both sides of common borders;
- Working together through joint actions to address common challenges, in fields such as environment, public health, and the prevention of and fight against organised crime;
- Ensuring efficient and secure common borders through joint actions;
- Promoting local cross-border "people-to-people" type actions.

To these ends, the European Neighbourhood Instrument will finance joint projects proposed by and for the benefit of partners from both the EU Member States and partner countries. As such it will complement external and internal funding instruments able to operate only on one side of the Union's borders.

Neighbourhood Policies will be based on the Phare CBC (INTERREG) approach but they will contain funding allocations from both Phare CBC and CARDS and will operate single calls for proposals (calls for projects) covering both sides of the border.

The Phare-CBC regulation was amended in October 2003 to include the external borders of Romania and Bulgaria. Work on harmonisation of procedures will be completed shortly. Programming is well advanced on all borders covered and should be completed by June 2004. Joint management structures have been set up. The first calls for proposals will be launched in July 2004.

I. External Borders Initiative under Phare programme

In Bulgaria the External Borders Initiative is developed for the first time in 2003. The participation of Bulgaria in the new programme is part of its preparation to be external border of the EU upon accession. The main objectives of the programme are the following: enhance the standard of living in border municipalities, develop trans-border relations on local level and support the activities in the areas of economy, culture, tourism and environmental protection.

The External Borders Initiative in the Phare 2003 Financial Memorandum includes Bulgaria, on the one hand, and Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Turkey, on the other hand. These

countries will be external borders for Bulgaria and EU after 2007. The total value of the assistance under the programme is €4,12 million. The following Bulgarian districts can apply with projects: Pernik, Sofia district, Vidin, Montana, Kjustendil, Blagoevgrad, Burgas, Yambol and Haskovo. The projects have to be related to the programme's objectives. They are three categories: investment projects, for institutional building and mixed. National co-financing has to be provided for all projects from 10 to 25 % depending on the project.

For more information:

www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/index.htm, Communication "Wider Europe" (COM 2003 No 104)

www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/we/doc/com03_104_en.pdf, Communication "Paving the way for a New Neighbourhood Instrument", (COM 2003 No 393)

www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/we/doc/com03_393_en.pdf

DEMOCRACY IN THE ERA OF GLOBAL TERRORISM

Mihail Naydenov, Defense Policy Directorate, Ministry of Defense, Sofia

Read more at: <http://tclub.epi-bg.org>

The disintegration of the bipolar model of the international relations system, which used to define the contacts among the countries in the world during the Cold War, opened the road for an upcoming system that is qualitatively new either in content or structure. In the last years *non-state actors* have been taking active part in the formation as well as in the realization of the foreign policy of the traditional actors in the system – states and international organizations. Thus, the very notion 'system of international relations' has begun not to fit into evolution of this dynamic and complex structure. Whereas paying respect to different theoretical concepts, it could be accepted as being the most adequate to contemporary developments the notion of '*system of global relations*', composed of states, international organizations and *non-state actors* with their constantly growing significance.

The current paper tries to analyze some possible consequences over the *system of global relations* caused by purposeful impacts of one contemporary phenomenon, defined as non-state actor, namely *international terrorism*. It is a product of globalization, it is worldwide in its nature and the answer to it should be universal.

Global terrorism, generally seen as representation of the transnational terrorist network Al-Qaeda, is capable of influencing to a substantial extent both the present and the future state of the world order. Whereas the events of 11 September in the USA are seen as a result of a chain of previous developments and have put the visible beginning of the large-scale response to the global terrorist threat, the explosions of 11 March in Madrid could give new quality to the USA-led campaign against global terror.

Undoubtedly, the fight against world terrorism, personified by Al-Qaeda, is a clash of values systems. The Euro-Atlantic community, to which Bulgaria belongs, fights for achieving victory over the structures of terror and its distorted vision for the development of the human civilization. The challenge we are faced with is not only to cope with this threat, but also not to admit the clash between our values' system and the terror's one to grow up into the already predicted "clash of civilizations". Moreover, the struggle against terrorism, which seems predestined to last for indefinite long time, should not entail the side-effect of losing our democratic standards and lifestyle.

The strike "in the heart of America" on 11 September has set the tangible birth of an unprecedented antiterrorist coalition. Despite the military victories of this coalition, whose members in the cases of Iraq and Afghanistan do not fully coincide, its objectives are too far from being fulfilled for the moment. If unilateralism continues to prevail in any further crises following Iraq, the confrontation substance in the global relations system would continue to increase together with the decline in the consent potential.

However, multilateralism is not a solution in itself. What makes importance here are the ways it is to be exercised. Without commitment of enough resources to the peace-building phase, military interventions would be more destabilizing factors rather than problems solving strategies. If the global war on terrorism is maintained without a reliable vision for the future of the "liberated" countries and their integration into the community of democratic states, the results would be far below the expectations, despite any presence of any formal UN Security Council approval. The purpose of multilateralism is to find out successful solutions that should not be confused with instantaneous efficiency.

The "European 11 March" followed by political change in Spain made Al-Qaeda a factor in the Spanish internal political process. Besides, it could be on the road of enlarging this victory to other European states' political systems. This is especially valid for those that have send troops to the multinational forces in Iraq. But despite the decision for the Spanish troops' withdrawal from Iraq, fears from a new era of *appeasement* could be premature. The fact that the new government linked the continuation of the Spanish troops' presence in Iraq with giving the UN a primary role in the crisis management in Iraq is a signal which is not easy to be properly read. *Making the Iraqi post-conflict rehabilitation a multilateral effort* is the core of the message of Zapatero's decision. The 11 March could be a chance to be seized by European leaders that could contribute to the consolidation of democracy in a multilateral world order.

Terrorism, personified by Al-Qaeda, now influences, intentionally or not, both the foreign and domestic policy processes of the democratic countries in the antiterrorist coalition. The assertion of terrorism as a formative factor in the evolution of democracy as a system is now its longstanding goal, although it is hardly possible that organizations carrying out terrorist activity are able to fully comprehend this reality.

Trying to foresee the development of the nature of the Euro-Atlantic community in the struggle against terrorism, two scenarios are possible. Following the first one, the expected physical victory over terrorism, whenever it happens, is combined with

modification of our democratic identity, which would mean a crash of democracy. The second scenario assumes that victory, being a result of long-lasting fight against terrorism, does not result in losing our democratic individuality. Quite to the contrary, it would strengthen and develop further the democratic legacy in a multilateral world order.

As terrorism incites unilateral, non-democratic reactions in global relations, no less does it so with regard to internal political development. An alarming trend of restraining personal rights and freedoms in the name of efficient struggle against terrorism becomes more and more discernible in leading democratic states. The tangible structures of terror are expected to be eradicated some day, but, in this case, its spirit would have conquered, more or less, the democratic establishment. In that case the victory of terror would not be the physical demolition of the “hated” West, but the latter’s transformation into a form of non-democracy, which the values system of terrorism is based upon.

It would be more exact to regard these two models as two extreme points, in between which the condition of the system of global relations and internal political process of its components would fluctuate. Probably, the system’s statuses would live their evolution, stimulated by the constant antagonism of the two basic elements – order and chaos. The main challenge to the democratic community, which Bulgaria also makes part of, would be a constant search for synthesis between order and its antithesis.

The challenge we are faced to is to keep the balance between the necessity to wage an effective war against terrorism and the respect for multilateralism and for individual rights and freedoms. We should search the right answer whether in a particular situation the interest of implementing a preemptive strike represents a correctly understood necessity, i.e. is it really indispensable to resort to military intervention, but not to a more adequate action? Similarly, would it not be better to improve the way we exercise our rights and freedoms, instead of limiting them? Why could we not be able to stress more upon personal responsibility and solidarity in front of terror, without selecting obviously the most direct road? If restrictive measures prove to be inevitable, then it is central to answer the question about who and how would be responsible for their putting into practice?

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Sofia, 19 May 2004

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