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Harmonization of the national legislation with the EU acquis: Comparative overview of North Macedonia with Albania and Serbia

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I. Introduction

The process of harmonization between the European Union acquis (hereinafter: EU) and the legislation of the candidate country, which aspires for EU membership, is one of the basic requirements for acceptance of the candidate countries as EU members. When a draft law has the purpose of aligning the domestic legislation with the EU acquis, the Rules of Procedure of the Parliament of candidate countries include common practice of allowing the law to be reviewed in a fast-track procedure. If this type of harmonization is the objective, the draft law bears the EU logo (known to the public as the "European flag").

The adoption of laws using the fast-track procedure is a key method of dealing with extraordinary and urgent occurrences, aimed at efficient amending of bulky laws and for harmonization with the EU legislation. However, a broad interpretation of the article that allows this procedure can result in abuse, that is, an intentional circumvention of a parliamentary debate.

The reactions from the public, the EU and the experts in the field, as well as overall media attention on the laws that were adopted with the use of the European flag, all contributed to a closer scrutiny of how this practice is used in the Macedonian Parliament. Hence, the purpose of this analysis is to provide a comparative overview of North Macedonia with the neighboring candidate countries – Albania and Serbia – and their practices in adopting laws using the fast-track procedure, with a special reference to laws adopted with the European flag.

II. Methodology

For the purposes of this document, Albania, North Macedonia and Serbia have been selected as cases for analysis and comparison. They all have the status of a candidate country and are in the process of harmonization of their national legislation with EU acquis. North Macedonia and Albania are treated as a "package" when it comes to accession negotiations, while the negotiation process with Serbia has already started and is in an advanced stage. At the same time, fast-track procedures are used in the three cases when it comes to harmonization of the legislation with that of the EU.

The analysis reviews the adoption of laws using a fast-track procedure and the laws for harmonization with EU acquis, covering a period of two years (2021 and 2022). The practice of harmonizing the national legislation with EU is analyzed by considering the following: the Rules of Procedure of the Parliaments in North Macedonia, Albania and Serbia; annual reports and screening reports from the European Commission; Stabilization and Association Agreements; journalistic articles; academic papers; analyses from regional and local organizations that cover Albania, Serbia and North Macedonia, their European integration process and parliamentary work. As an additional source of information for the purpose of this analysis, short interviews were conducted with Members of Parliament (MPs) from Albania and Serbia.

III. How is the harmonization of the domestic legislation with the EU acquis arranged?

If there were no prior harmonization of the EU legal standards and norms with national legislation, different legal systems would exist in parallel. For this purpose, each candidate country undergoes changes of laws in all areas. The EU legislation consists of primary and secondary legislation – from the Treaties establishing the Union to regulations, directives, decisions, recommendations and opinions. Legal acts of the secondary legislation can be binding and non-binding, but all aim at unifying the legal system with the EU acquis.

The harmonization is done by adopting new laws and/or amending the existing ones. The manner and dynamics of adoption of these legal changes depends on the executive and legislative power of the country. The Rules of Procedure of the Parliament, the Rules of Procedure of the Government, the work of the Ministries and the parliamentary composition dictate in what way and how efficiently the harmonization will take place. The process of harmonization continues even after becoming an EU member.

For the purposes of such legislative harmonization, the authorities of the candidate countries sign agreements that regulate and formalize the beginning of the unification of the legislation, while commission bodies are established in the parliaments through which the entire process is run. At the same time, the Rules of Procedure of the Parliament undergo changes that regulate the procedure for adopting these types of laws. In most cases, urgent or fast-track procedure is the method used to harmonize the national law with the EU legislation. The reviewing of these laws using an urgent/ fast-track procedure is necessary in order to adopt the EU legislation more quickly. Its use is positive and useful when it comes to unequivocal harmonization of legislation.

IV. Harmonization of domestic law with the EU law in North Macedonia, Albania and Serbia

The alignment of domestic legislation with the EU acquis formally begins after the Stabilization and Association Agreement is signed and has entered into force. This type of international bilateral agreement is signed between the EU and each country from the Western Balkans and serves as a framework for cooperation and preparation for potential entry into the Union.

North Macedonia is required to harmonize its legislation with that of the EU according to Article 68 of the Stabilization and Association Agreement, which was signed in 2001.¹ By ratifying this international agreement, it becomes part of the legal order of the country. Article 135 of the Rules of Procedure of the Parliament² mentions that any draft law used for harmonization with the EU legislation should include the following: a statement of harmonization from the Minister accompanied by a correspondence table, information on the source EU act, including its full title; number and date of acceptance; as well as the details needed to locate precisely which EU legislation will be transposed by that law.

The same type of the Stabilization and Association Agreement requires from Serbia and Albania to harmonize their legislation with that of the EU, according to Article 72 of the Agreement between the EU and Serbia, which was signed in 2008³, and according to Article 70 of the Agreement between the EU and Albania, which was signed in 2006⁴. As in the case of North Macedonia, the Rules of Procedure of the Parliaments in Albania⁵ (regulated in Article 68) and Serbia⁶ (regulated in Article 151) similarly require to emphasize from which procedures, directives or recommendations (that directly concern the country) the draft law that aims at harmonization derives from.

¹ Stabilization and Association Agreement - North Macedonia <<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/EN/legal-content/summary/stabilisation-and-association-agreement-with-north-macedonia.html>>

² Rules of Procedure of the Parliament of the Republic of North Macedonia <<https://www.sobranie.mk/content/Delovnik%20na%20RM/DelovniknaSRMPrecistentekstAvgust13.pdf>>

³ Stabilization and Association Agreement – Serbia <<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/EN/legal-content/summary/stabilisation-and-association-agreement-with-serbia.html>>

⁴ Stabilization and Association Agreement – Albania <<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/EN/legal-content/summary/stabilisation-and-association-agreement-with-albania.html>>

⁵ Rules of Procedure of the Parliament of the Republic of Albania <http://www.nomos-leattualitaneldiritto.it/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/RoPs_Albanian-Assembly_English.pdf>

⁶ Rules of Procedure of the Parliament of the Republic of Serbia <[http://www.parlament.gov.rs/national-assembly/important-documents/rules-of-procedure-\(consolidated-text\)/entire-document---rules-of-procedure.1424.html](http://www.parlament.gov.rs/national-assembly/important-documents/rules-of-procedure-(consolidated-text)/entire-document---rules-of-procedure.1424.html)>

V. Using fast-track procedure for harmonization with the EU acquis

In all three cases, it is procedurally allowable to review laws aimed at harmonization with the EU acquis using a fast-track procedure.

In North Macedonia, according to Article 170 of the Rules of Procedure, harmonization can be done using a fast-track procedure. In general, the need to review a law following a fast-track procedure is practiced for the purpose of harmonization with the EU acquis; for termination of a particular law or its parts or when complex and extensive laws or adaptations are not required. The conditions for proposing laws are the same, regardless of the procedure that will be used for adoption of these laws, that is, a law can be proposed by 10,000 voters, or by each member of parliament or by the Government (Article 132).

In the case of Serbia, there are a number of circumstances where it is possible to adopt a law by a fast track procedure. Those include if the law regulates issues and relations which arise under unpredictable circumstances, where the failure to adopt such a law with an urgent procedure may cause harmful consequences for human lives and health, the security of the country and the work of institutions and organizations, as well as for the purpose of fulfilling international obligations and harmonizing the legislation with the law of the European Union (Article 167). The conditions for proposing a law in this case are the same regardless of the procedure, that is, it can originate from 30,000 voters, a member of the parliament or the Government (Article 150).

The term used in Albania is "accelerated" procedure (Article 28). Only in Albania there is a specific requirement that the request for an accelerated procedure must come from the Government or from at least 1/5 of the MPs, while in other cases the conditions for proposing laws are the same regardless of the procedure that will be used for adoption. In addition, the accelerated procedure cannot be used for more than three laws within 12 working weeks, that is, for one law within three weeks. In terms of the type of laws, it is said which laws cannot be reviewed using this procedure (draft laws on the Budget), while this procedure can be used for all other laws which require a simple or absolute majority. Unlike the Rules of Procedure of North Macedonia and Serbia, the harmonization of the national legislation with that of the EU is not tied to the article in the Albanian Rules of Procedure in which the use of the accelerated procedure for reviewing a law is regulated. The need for harmonization of laws is stated in Article 68 of the Rules of Procedure, which mentions the rules for preparing a draft law.

Table 1. Procedure type used for harmonization with EU legislation

COUNTRY	ALBANIA	NORTH MACEDONIA	SERBIA
Type of procedure applied for harmonization with EU acquis	Regular, Fast-track /	Regular, Fast-track (Article 170 of the Rules of Procedure)	Regular, Fast-track (Article 167 of the Rules of Procedure)

Table 2. Rules for using fast-track procedure

COUNTRY	ALBANIA	NORTH MACEDONIA	SERBIA
Cases of using fast-track procedure	It is regulated which laws CANNOT be adopted using fast-track procedure	If the law is for harmonization with the EU acquis, for termination of the validity of a particular law or parts thereof or when complex and extensive laws or adaptations are not required.	If the law is about issues and relations arising under unpredictable circumstances, where the failure to adopt such a law in accordance with fast-track procedure may cause harmful consequences for human lives and health, the security of the country and the work of institutions and organizations, as well as for the purpose of fulfilling
Restrictions on the use of the accelerated procedure	A maximum of 3 laws within 12 weeks can be adopted under this procedure, laws that cannot be adopted by fast-track procedure are mentioned.	/	/

VI. Parliamentary bodies responsible for European integration and harmonization of the legislation with the EU acquis

The structure of all three parliaments includes working bodies in charge of EU affairs.

In the Macedonian Parliament, the Commission for European Affairs (hereinafter CEA) is the main body which reviews all laws aimed at harmonizing the legislation with that of the EU (according to Article 79 of the Rules of Procedure). It has a President, 14 members and their deputies. In addition to the obligation to coordinate the harmonization process, CEA is also required to inform the public about the details of the European integration process; to analyze and provide reports on the process of the country's accession to the EU; and to cooperate with the relevant working bodies from other candidate countries. Also, according to the Law on the Assembly,⁷ it can organize supervision arguments. It is required to supervise the negotiation process; to give opinions on the process of harmonization of the legislation with that of the EU; and to actively cooperate with CEA, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the negotiation team. The broader objective of this body is to increase transparency and inclusiveness in decision-making pertaining to the European integration process, which is why the president of the NCEI is always an MP from the opposition.

In the Serbian Parliament, the Commission for European Integration and its obligations (regulated in Article 64 of the Rules of Procedure) match those of the CEA of the Macedonian Parliament. The Commission has 17 members and their deputies.

In the Albanian Parliament, the Commission on European Affairs has the same responsibilities as the committees in the neighboring countries, and also has a supervisory function such as the Commission in North Macedonia. It controls the activities of the ministries and other central bodies that are submitting proposals to the Parliament or the Council of Ministers and supervises the European Union's financial assistance to Albania. It has 19 members, including the President, Vice-President and Secretary.

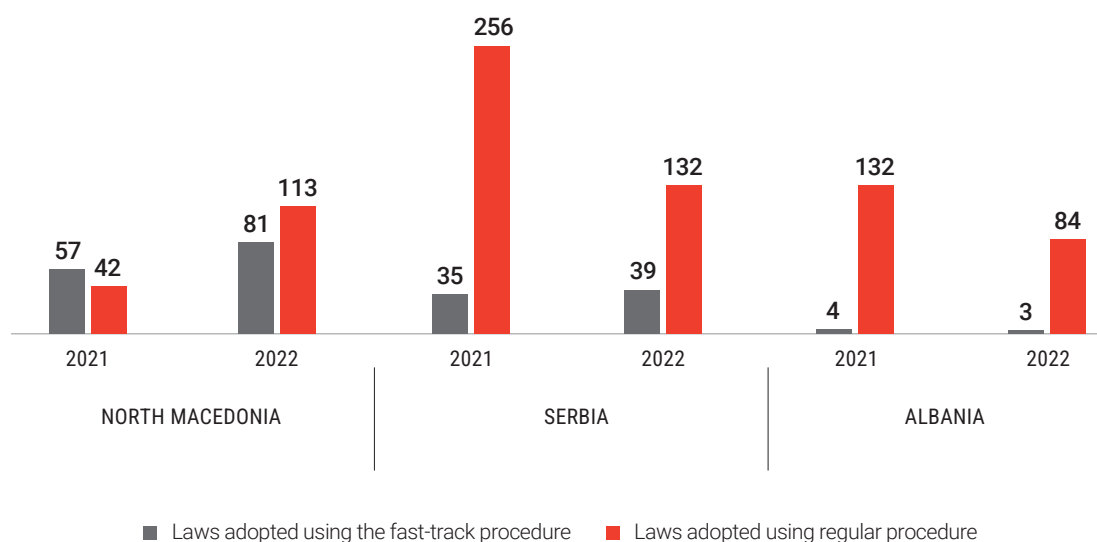
The government of Albania, similar to the government in North Macedonia, established a National Council for European Integration in 2015 headed by an MP from the opposition, while in Serbia there is no such body, which should be some kind of counterweight to the Commission.

⁷ Law on the Assembly of Republic of North Macedonia <https://www.sobranie.mk/WBStorage/Files/Law%20on%20the%20Assembly.pdf>

VII. Adoption of laws using fast-track procedure with special reference to laws aimed at harmonization with the EU acquis

According to the annual reports on the work of the Parliament⁸ Parliament⁸ it is noted that North Macedonia has adopted the highest number of laws using a fast-track procedure compared to Albania and Serbia (Graph 1). Regarding Serbia,⁹ the government is criticized for an overburdened legislative program that includes laws initiated only by the government.¹⁰ The laws adopted using an accelerated procedure in the Albanian Parliament are far less in number compared to other countries, which is due to the stricter conditions for using the accelerated procedure.

Graph 1. Laws adopted using regular and fast-track procedure



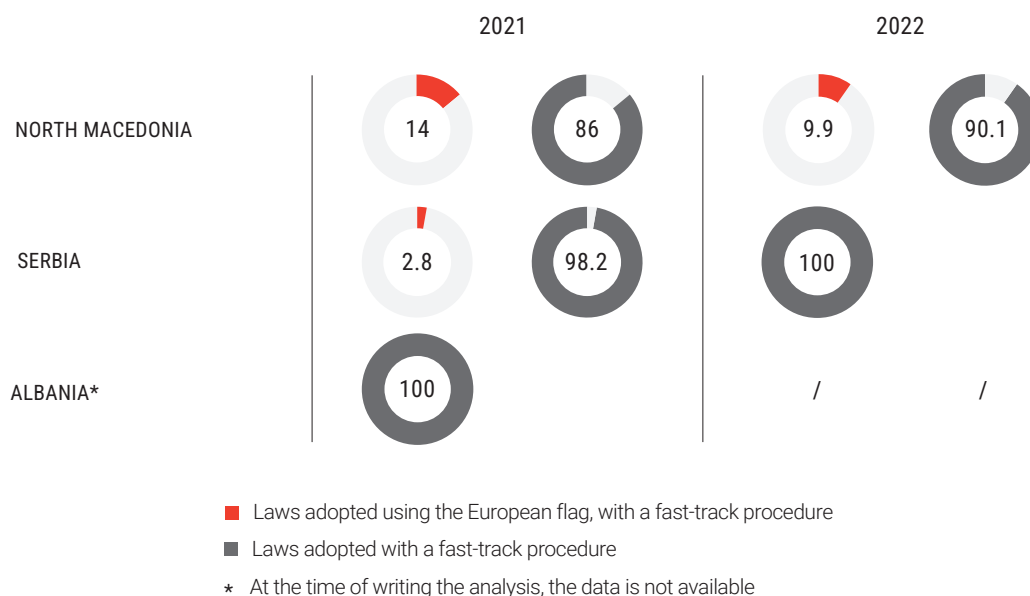
Graph 2 (see below) shows that the Parliament of North Macedonia is mainly using the European flag for a fast-track procedure compared to the other analyzed countries. On the other hand, Serbia, in addition to the large number of laws adopted using a fast-track procedure, only one of those laws was for harmonization with the EU legislation (in 2022), while in 2021 there was no such law. In the case of Albania, none of the laws adopted by accelerated procedure in 2021 bear a European flag. When we consider the figures from Graph 3, the question arises as to why North Macedonia has significantly more laws aimed at harmonization than Albania (during the two years), bearing in mind that the two countries are treated in a "package" when it comes to the European integration process.

⁸ Annual reports on the work of the Parliament of North Macedonia, 2021 and 2022 - <<https://www.sobranie.mk/godishen-izvestaj.nsp>>

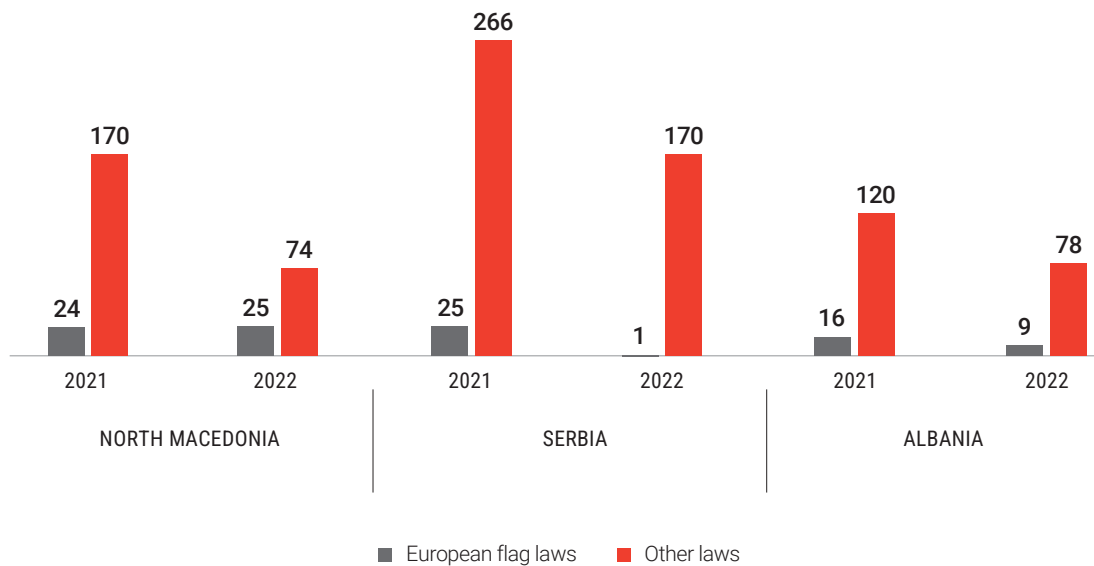
⁹ Open Parliament, Serbia - <<https://otvoreni.parlament.rs/akt>>

¹⁰ Open Parliament Newsletter – Parliamentary Insider: Issue 20 (2023), Crta and Otvoreni Parlament <<https://otvoreni.parlament.rs/istrazivanje/83>>

Graph 2. Laws adopted using the European flag and with fast-track procedure



Graph 3. Total laws adopted and laws with a European flag



VIII. (Ab)use of the fast-track procedure in the Parliaments

Remarks were made to the Parliament of North Macedonia for excessive adoption of laws with the European flag. In 2017, when the draft law on the use of languages entered the parliamentary procedure, a fast-track procedure was used with the rationale that this draft law, which is within the implementation of the Framework Agreement, is "part of the European integration process" of the country, and that is why it is foreseen in the National Program for the Adoption of EU acquis 2017-2019.¹¹

Laws enacted or amended with this procedure that have prompted similar public and expert reaction this year are the Law of Games of Chance¹² and amendments to five laws aimed at facilitating the construction of Corridors 8 and 10 (Law on Labor Relations¹³, on Expropriation¹⁴, on Urban Planning,¹⁵ on Construction¹⁶ and a separate Law for Corridors 8 and 10-d¹⁷). Regarding the Law on Games of Chance, the opposition accused that it is another abuse of the European flag for a law that is not related to the European regulation in any way.¹⁸ EU Ambassador Geer expressed concern about the above five laws being voted using the European flag, as there is no harmonization with EU standards¹⁹. Amendments to the Criminal Code²⁰ with which the prison sentence for abuse of official position is reduced, encouraged the civil sector to send an open letter to the President in which they instruct him not to sign the Decree, which he signed anyway.²¹ Remarks were again made by the EU institutions and by the representative of the European Commission, Ana Pisonero Fernández, who noted that the use of the EU flag procedure should be consistent and clearly linked to laws that primarily aim to harmonize the national law with the EU".

In addition, this brief analysis reviewed the laws adopted under the European flag in North Macedonia for 2021 and 2022,²² which included scrutiny of the accompanying documents that are required for the adoption of each law of this type, as well as the main Commission for the law (Chart 4 and 5, see below). For laws adopted using the European flag, the main Commission should be the Commission for European Affairs (Article 79 of the Rules of Procedure), while each law of this type should have supporting documents that include data on the original act of the European Union with full title, number and date; a statement of compliance that is enclosed

¹¹ Law on the use of languages, available at <<https://www.pravdiko.mk/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Zakon-za-upotreba-jazitsite-14-01-2019.pdf>>

¹² Law on games of chance and entertainment games, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, No. 24/11...,90/17 and Official Gazette of MK No. 251/22, available at: <<http://www.ujp.gov.mk/mk/regulativa/opis/25>>

¹³ Proposal for a law to amend and supplement the Law on Labor Relations, using fast-track procedure <<https://www.sobranie.mk/detali-na-materijal.nsp?param=06412d3f-8d77-42b1-a578-fdceed042d8b>>

¹⁴ Proposal for a law to amend and supplement the Law on Expropriation, using fast-track procedure <<https://www.sobranie.mk/detali-na-materijal.nsp?param=f6938b20-45b2-4a53-bfb4-6c432cfcc5bd>>

¹⁵ Proposal for a law to amend and supplement the Law on Urban Planning, using fast-track procedure <<https://www.sobranie.mk/detali-na-materijal.nsp?param=888cf2ad-6360-4f84-8ecc-a9c7e7a206e0>>

¹⁶ Proposal for a law to amend and supplement the Law on Building, using fast-track procedure <<https://www.sobranie.mk/detali-na-materijal.nsp?param=f870f04c-b28b-4310-85d2-b83bdca8ee76>>

¹⁷ <<https://www.sobranie.mk/detali-na-materijal.nsp?param=f3cd2f38-3e8f-4065-b0d5-115cf239e8af>>

¹⁸ Telma "The Law on games of chance will be adopted with a European flag" <<https://telma.com.mk/2023/10/05/i-zakonot-za-igri-na-srekja-kje-se-nosi-so-evropsko-znamente/>>

¹⁹ <<https://360stepeni.mk/gir-zagrizhuva-upotrebata-na-evropskoto-znamente-se-na-zakonite-za-koridorite-8-i-10-d/>>

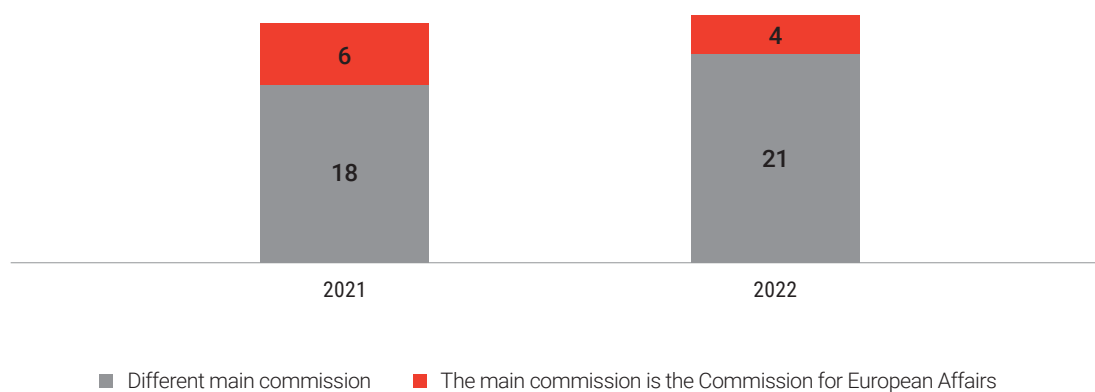
²⁰ Proposal for a law to amend and supplement the Criminal Code <<https://www.sobranie.mk/detali-na-materijal.nsp?param=4448d2a8-7fc4-4fdc-9c2a-b43443de38c2>>

²¹ Radio Free Europe "Pendarovski signed the decree on the amendments to the Criminal Code" <<https://www.slobodnaevropa.mk/a/32582800.html>>

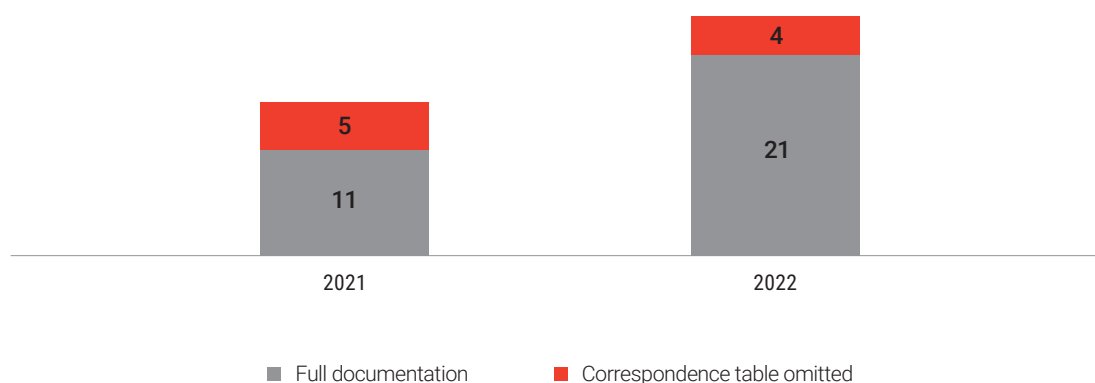
²² Eight laws from 2021 have not been reviewed because their documentation is not available on the website of the Parliament.

as an attachment; as well as the signature of the relevant minister (Article 135 of the Rules of Procedure). These documents clarify in which article and to what extent harmonization is achieved with the particular law. In the last two years, laws were adopted in which the main Commission is not the Commission for European Affairs, but a different one (Commission on Labor and Social Policy, Commission on Defense and Security, Commission on Financing and Budget, etc). Most of those laws are not accompanied by a correspondence table, which is a key document for a detailed analysis of the harmonization of the law.

Graph 4. Main commissions for laws with a European flag



Graph 5. Accompanying documents of laws with a European flag



IX. Statements of MPs from Albania and Serbia

Regarding Serbia, the statements of two MPs from the Serbian opposition explain the hasty way of adoption of laws and bypassing parliamentary debate, but not to the harmonization of laws with EU acquis. According to one of the MPs, the objective is to minimize the involvement of the opposition parties and prevent criticism from the public regarding policies of the Government. In addition, meetings are scheduled only 24 hours in advance, which limits the possibility for putting forward proposals for changes to the agenda, which must be submitted no later than 24 hours before the start of the meeting.

An Albanian MP from the opposition stated that there was no abuse of the European flag on the records, but in terms of adoption of laws in general and the work in the Parliament, there are cases when MPs are under pressure from the Government to approve certain laws in a faster manner, as was the case of the new law that applies to medical students.²³ However, the annual volume of laws in Albania adopted under accelerated procedure and for harmonization with EU law do not indicate abuse, as there are observations for the other two countries.

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Albanian Daily News "Parliament passed law forcing medicine students to stay in Albania for up to five years" <https://albaniandailynews.com/news/parl-passed-law-forcing-medicine-students-to-stay-in-albania-for-up-to-five-years--1>

X. Conclusions from the recent annual and screening reports of the European Commission

According to the two most recent annual reports on North Macedonia from the European Commission,²⁴ the use of fast-track procedures for reviewing and adopting laws with the European flag is cited as an existing practice that should be significantly reduced, as it limits debate and harms the inclusiveness of the process. The report also states that the European flag should be used when it is directly related to the adoption of laws whose main purpose is harmonization with EU acquis, which was not the case with the amendments to the Criminal Code. In addition, the latest report expresses concern about the fast-track procedure for adopting laws, the use of which has increased from 38% to 58% from 2022 to 2023. The recommendations for North Macedonia clearly stand out from those of the neighbors regarding the practices of harmonization of domestic law with the EU acquis. In the progress report for North Macedonia, the Parliament's work in harmonization of laws is mentioned in a negative connotation, while in the case of Serbia²⁵ and Albania²⁶, the efforts for legislative harmonization are welcomed. The Serbian report singles out the successful referendum that will introduce constitutional changes to initiate legislative reforms aimed at harmonization. In the Albanian report, the 9 laws that were adopted in order to achieve harmonization with the EU legislation were welcomed. In screening reports on Albania²⁷ and North Macedonia²⁸, the same remarks about the excessive use of the European flag are addressed to North Macedonia, while such criticisms are omitted in the case of Albania.

²⁴ Progress report of the European Commission - North Macedonia <https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/north-macedonia-report-2022_en , https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2023-11/SWD_2023_693%20North%20Macedonia%20report.pdf>

²⁵ Progress report of the European Commission – Serbia <https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/serbia-report-2022_en>

²⁶ Progress report of the European Commission – Albania <https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/albania-report-2022_en>

²⁷ Screening report from the European Commission – Albania <https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/screening-report-albania_en>

²⁸ Screening report from the European Commission - North Macedonia <https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/screening-report-north-macedonia_en>

XI. Conclusion and recommendations

The identification of the success rate of harmonizing a country's legislation with the EU legislation is a complex process. The speed and number of laws that have been harmonized cannot be the primary and only indicator of success. From the example of North Macedonia, the rapid adoption or change of a large number of laws for this purpose may signal abuse and deliberate circumvention of parliamentary debate. By trying to legitimize the fast way in which draft laws are reviewed, using a broad interpretation of the obligations imposed by the EU and the article regulating the fast-track procedure for that purpose, citizens can potentially equate European legislation and the European flag with a non-transparent and non-inclusive draft laws and government decisions that are disputed by the public, some kind of "shield" against criticism and resistance. To reduce this practice of abuse it is necessary to:

1. Regulate the use of the fast-track procedure in the Rules of Procedure

The case of Albania clearly shows the positive outcomes of the strict rules enshrined in the Rules of Procedure that limit the use of the fast-track procedure. The scope of laws that can be adopted with a fast-track procedure in North Macedonia is not limited, while the conditions in which it can be used are prone to wide interpretation. It is necessary to initiate changes in Article 170 of the Rules of Procedure, that will unambiguously establish the conditions for adopting laws using this procedure. They need to be clearly stated and the use of the procedure will be appropriate. The last laws passed using the European flag have clearly shown that the terms "extensive and complex laws" and "extensive and complex alignments" in EU law, which are part of the Rules of Procedure, are interpreted broadly.

2. Increase the clarity, transparency and awareness of the process of harmonization with the EU acquis

Analytical departments in the Parliament, such as the Parliamentary Institute, should start analyzing more thoroughly when it comes to the law proposals with a European flag along with the accompanying documents and convey the results to the citizens in the form of a public annual report. The information gap that is used as an opportunity to adopt controversial draft laws can be closed with increased awareness of citizens and MPs about the essence of the harmonization of the legislation and its procedure.

About the Project

The Swiss Parliamentary Support Program (PSP) supports the efforts of the Assembly of Republic of North Macedonia for independence through building consensus, structural reforms and capacity building for institutional development of the Assembly; its legislative and oversight role and institutional transparency and accountability. The PSP is implemented by the National Democratic Institute, the Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis" – Skopje and the Centre for Change Management, aimed at supporting the strategic planning of the Assembly; human resources management reforms; improved regulatory impact assessment and procurement processes; commitment to open data and measuring the public opinion and monitoring of the efforts for reforms, including enhanced citizen participation in policy-making processes.

About the IDSCS

Institute for Democracy «Societas Civilis» Skopje (IDSCS) is a think tank organization that researches the good governance development, rule of law and European integration of North Macedonia. The IDSCS mission is to support citizen involvement in decision-making and to strengthen the participatory political culture. By strengthening the liberal values, IDSCS contributes to the cohabitation of diversities.

Since June 2014 IDSCS monitors the debate quality in the Assembly and the media coverage of the work of the Assembly. The monitoring in the first cycle took place during a period of 10 months - from June 2014 to May 2015. The second period of monitoring and evaluation of quality of the parliamentary debate and media reporting started in September 2015 and lasted until December 2017, supported by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation. The third period of monitoring of the debate quality began in January 2018 and lasted until December 2019.

Since January 2020, the Institute for Democracy has been monitoring the work of the Assembly and the debate quality within the framework of the Parliamentary Support Program (PSP).

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Harmonization of the national legislation with the EU acquis: Comparative overview of North Macedonia with Albania and Serbia

Author: Joana Treneska

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December 2023

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