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The EU accession talks in the Slovenian media

The purpose of this analysis has been to find out some characteristics of the media coverage of the topics related to the accession talks between Slovenia and the EU. Most of this analysis is of a descriptive nature, attempting to identify some patterns, that might be – at least briefly and preliminary – explained afterwards.

The major issues covered in this analysis include:

- who has been presented as the major actors both at the national and the European side of the accession talks in the mass media articles;
- how have these actors and their interrelations been presented in the media;
- what attitudes towards the accession talks are presented in the mass media: how many articles express optimism, fears, difficulties, related to the accession talks and accession process;
- whether and how have the accession talks been used as a political issue from the aspect of various political parties.

We have included all the articles related to any way with the accession talks and progress from the selected media for the following periods:

1) 1 March – 30 April 1998 is the period of one month before and one month after the formal beginning of the accession negotiations between Slovenia and the EU

2) 6 consecutive periods of 15 days each covering the periods of 4 days before and 10 days after the presentation of each report of the European Commission on the candidate countries progress, namely:

- 1 November – 15 November 1998 (-4, +10)

- 14 October – 28 October 1999

- 4 November – 18 November 2000

- 9 November – 23 November 2001

- 5 October – 19 October 2002

- 1 November – 15 November 2003

3) A one month period before the last parliamentary elections in Slovenia, namely from 1 September – 1 October 2004. The period has been selected in order to cover both the time after Slovenia's formal accession to the EU and the pre-election campaign in order to determine whether the EU accession negotiations could be considered an important issue for politics in its narrower sense (i.e. from the aspect of the political parties).

The amount of coverage

We have found 177 articles dealing in a direct or indirect way with our topic distributed in the following way among the selected media:

Table 1: The amounts of coverage of the accession topics in the given media for the selected periods.

	Frequency	Percent
Delo	110	62,1
Finance	17	9,6
GV	34	19,2
POP TV	16	9,0
Total	177	100,0

It should be noted that the selected media are not directly comparable in this respect because of their different frequencies (dailies vs. the GV) and natures (significantly less extensive coverage of most of the events on the commercial television). Even the two dailies are not directly comparable and it should also be noted that Finance has only started to be published in 2000.

What seems to be more important is the distribution of articles during different time periods as demonstrated by the following table:

Table 2: The amount of coverage of the accession topics from 1998 to 2004 for the selected media

	Frequency	Percent
Valid Start		
*	57	32,2
1998	25	14,1
1999	16	9,0

2000	19	10,7
2001	11	6,2
2002	36	20,3
2003	11	6,2
2004	2	1,1
*		
Total	177	100,0

*Due to their lengths, the ‘start’ and the 2004 periods, which are both somewhat longer, are not comparable with the rest.

The large amount of articles in the beginning of the process is quite understandable. Being something new, the accession process had been considered interesting for the wider public. Later, however, it had become somewhat close to a routine. It could thus also be expected that the amount of media attention has slightly and gradually declined during the process from 1998 to 2001. However, the attention has increased again in the decisive final stages and decreased again when the outcomes became certain.

The actors of the negotiations

The major national institution mentioned in relation to the accession negotiations is clearly the cabinet as such (in 12% of articles) and its ministries for European affairs (9%), foreign affairs (7%) and agriculture (5%). The parliament only plays the major role in 6% of articles.

The cabinet as a whole is very present at the beginning of the process (in 1998), then it almost or even completely disappears (2000 and 2001) and reappears very modestly at the end of the process (2002 and 2003). During the middle phases of the negotiations, the attention seems to be quite dispersed among the variety of actors.

On the European side, it is the European Commission as a whole which is mostly presented as the single central actor (51%). In only 4% of the articles, individual commissioners (including the commissioner for enlargement) are presented as major actors. The role of the (European) parliament is similarly marginal as at the national level, since only 4.5% of the articles have presented it as the major actor.

The central role of the Commission, as presented in the articles, has been steadily increasing during the negotiations from 33% of articles in the beginning of the negotiations to 73% in the 2001 and remained above 60% in the following two years. The European parliament appears almost exclusively in the initial phases of the process and the European Council is even more absent. It seems that 'Europe' has become clearly 'personalised' in a single body, namely the Commission, while the national side has remained more complex and dispersed.

It is also of significant importance which side is presented as the strong and firm negotiator and which is presented as the weaker, softer, and more compliant. The Slovenian actors in relation to the EU are mostly presented in the neutral and/or balanced fashion. In 14 articles they are presented as firm, in 14 they are presented as compliant.

Comparing the different media, the Slovenian negotiators are mostly presented as compliant in the GV and as firm at the POP TV. During the negotiations process, the image of the national negotiators in terms of strength has seemed to be improving.

The image of the EU actors is clearer: 47 articles present them as firm and strong, only 2 as soft and the rest in a neutral fashion or not at all. Unlike in the case of the national actors, there is no clear pattern of change in this image.

The prevailing attitudes toward the national actors in the articles are distributed as follows:

Table 3: Prevailing attitudes toward national and EU actors

	Natio nal actors %	EU actors %
n. a.	39,0	37,9
Positive	17,5	2,3
Neutral	26,6	46,9
Negative	13,6	6,8
Mixed	1,1	2,8
not clear	2,3	3,4

Total	100,0	100,0
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Again, the attitudes toward the national actors seem to be relatively balanced, leaning somewhat more toward the positive side. The prevailing judgements concerning the European side are more neutral.

The European institutions are clearly not presented as hostile. Only two articles have presented the European actors as clearly unsympathetic toward Slovenia while in 21 articles they are clearly presented as sympathetic. Moreover, only in two articles, European actors are presented as somewhat paternalistic in relation to Slovenia. One is the news based on the statement of the U.K. Foreign Minister (Delo, 30.3.98), while the other is a sarcastic comment formulated as an imagined 'letter from Brussels' (GV, 14.10.02).

One cannot argue that there is some clearly prevailing image of the relationship between the two sides. This may be demonstrated by the following table:

Table 4: How is the relation between the national and EU institutions/negotiators presented?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	n.a.	66	36,7
	harmony, compromise	36	20,3
	conflict, tension	32	18,1
	Mixed	23	13,0
	not clear	20	11,3
Total		177	100,0

There are, however, significant differences in the coverage of the various media. Finance and POP TV have noticed practically no tension at all while in Delo and GV, there have been more articles emphasising certain tensions. Moreover, an interesting trend may be noted: tension is mostly present in 1998 and 1999, in 2000, the relation between harmony and tension becomes balanced, while from 2001 till 2003, the

articles only describe harmony with no tension at all. *It may be claimed that tension has been gradually replaced by compromise as the accession processes advanced.*

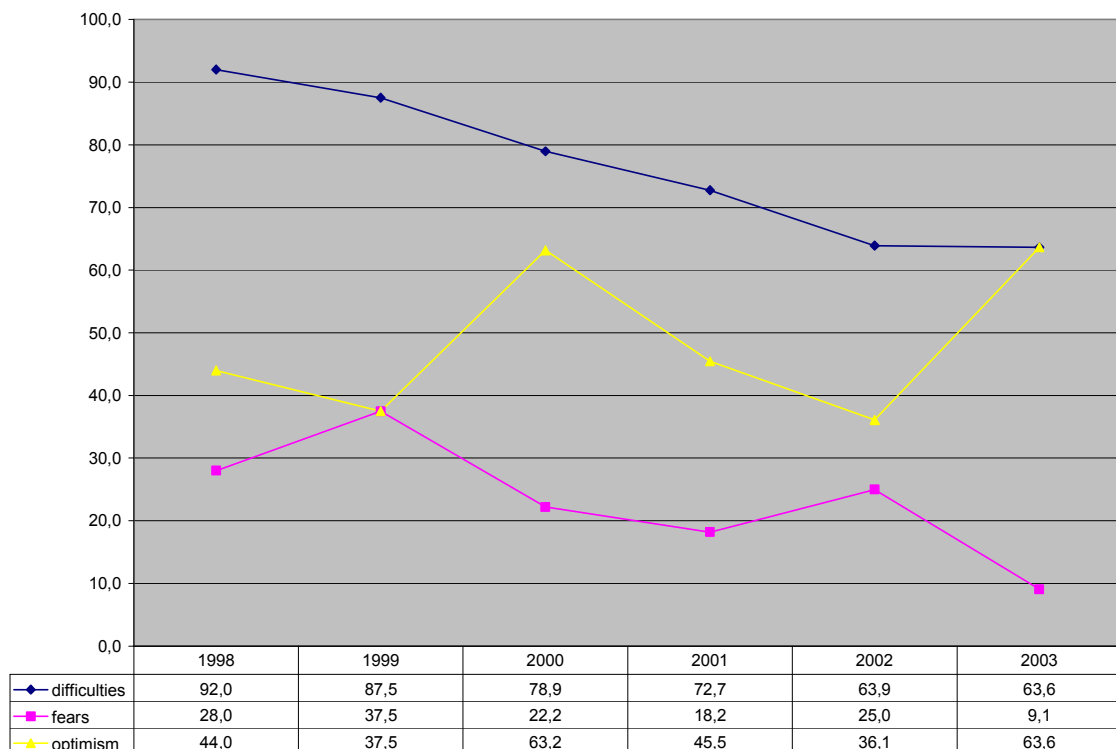
Topics, difficulties, fears, optimism

Most of the articles are not limited to the specific topic of the negotiations but present negotiations either in general or a variety of topics. The most apparent among the specific issues have been the EU law (12 articles), agriculture, finances and budget issues (11 articles on each).

The processes are clearly not presented as something that is smooth and simple. 73% of articles mention some kind of difficulties related to the accession process. Again, more difficulties have been presented by the articles in Delo and GV than by Finance and POP TV. More importantly, though the perception of difficulties remains high, it steadily declines through the accession process, as it can be seen from the figure below.

The percentage of articles mentioning difficulties, fears or showing optimism concerning the accession process (15 days in autumn for each year)

Figure 1: The change in the amount of articles expressing difficulties, fears and optimism



One fifth of the articles clearly mentions some kind of fear related to the accession processes. The number of articles with the presence of fears has been increasing during the first two years of the negotiation processes, after that, however, one may notice the declining trend again. The presence of fears is most common in the articles dealing with economic issues.

40% of the articles have been coded as clearly optimistic. The greatest optimism could be found in Finance, while GV has been the most pessimistic. The trend in the expression of optimism is somewhat has been somewhat more complex: it has increased when the first difficulties have been overcome but then declined again during the process. Only around the last Commission report on the candidate countries progress, the optimism reaches its second peak.

The political uses of negotiations

If politics is understood in the very narrow sense as the actions of political parties and their direct representatives, it may be noted that the negotiations have not been a central political issue in Slovenia. Only 7 articles mention attitudes of the political parties toward the accession processes.

Though this may be striking since the accession process has been such a central issue for the Slovenian state and society, it may be easily understood. There has been an extremely high level of consensus between the government and all the major oppositional parties concerning not only the aim of joining the EU but also most of the major concrete steps in the process. Consequently, in most cases the opposition avoided (heavily) criticising the negotiation process.¹ The only significant exception has been the small Slovenian National Party (SNS), the only parliamentary party that opposed the accession process altogether. Even this party, though, is only mentioned in 2 out of 7 articles mentioning political parties in our database, once, for instance, criticising the Slovenian negotiators in the context of the Commission report on the progress of the candidate countries. (GV, 7.10.02)

The accession topic also had not reappear during the election campaign in 2004, after the accession process has been completed. Thus, only 2 articles in September 2004, a

¹ it is also quite symptomatic that when the left-centre ruling coalition has been briefly replaced in power by the right-centre coalition (for 7 months in 2000), the leader of the Slovenian negotiating team (Mr. Janez Potočnik) remained firmly in his place.

month before the first parliamentary elections after the accession, have referred to the accession process. The process had simply not become the pre-electoral issue.

Preliminary conclusion, summarisation

The accession talks received the greatest level of media attention in the initial phases and than again – to somewhat smaller extend – right before the (successful) conclusion. While the major national actors of the negotiation, as presented in the media, included a variety of institutions, the single most important actor on the ‘European side’ has been the European Commission. While the Slovenian negotiators are presented in a variety of ways, the EU actors are quite clearly presented as firm, but mostly not unsympathetic or patronising towards Slovenia. Significant levels of tension between the Slovenian and the ‘European’ side are apparent in the initial phases of the negotiations, though they steadily decline during the accession process. Similar trends also characterise the presence of fears and difficulties that seemed to have been gradually decreasing during the process. It may also be argued that the accession talks have not been a significant issue for the political parties, not because of being irrelevant but simply because of being a matter of a comparatively wide political consensus.

The accession process from the Slovenian media perspective: the case of *Delo* commentaries

Additionally, to clarify some findings from the mostly quantitative aspects of the analysis, we have analyzed the commentaries that regularly appear in the first page of the major Slovenian (political) daily newspaper *Delo* under the title “The Theme of the Day” (“Tema dneva”). This type of analysis was qualitatively oriented using some elements of the critical discourse analysis. The analysis included of the commentaries from the time when the accession negotiations between Slovenia and the EU had officially begun, namely from January, 1998, till the 1st of May, 2004, when Slovenia officially entered the EU.

The common point of almost all of the commentaries under this section was a strongly critical, often pessimistic orientation toward the EU integration. The “priorities” of skepticism and criticism have actually been changing over time. Our analysis (the overview of the content is presented in the Appendix) can help as identify some roughly distinctive periods:

1) **“All goes wrong, all is to be blamed!”** January 1998-January 1999: A period of the overall pessimism and skepticism concerning the Slovenian chances to join the EU. Criticism is oriented to Slovenian or to the EU actors or to both of them simultaneously. The main message is that Slovenia either cannot expect to enter the EU soon and/or the price for the accession would be to high.

2) **“We are the best; we do not deserve waiting!”** February –September 1999: A period is marked with greater optimism and self-confidence as far as the Slovenian abilities to enter the EU are concerned. Most of the problems suddenly start to be seen at the EU side only.

3) **“The EU can actually protect us from ourselves!”** October – December 1999: A rather brief period marked entirely by the “veterinary affair”, when the EU inspectors found out that the Slovenian meat-processing industry does not meet the basic EU standards, exposing the consumers to unnecessary risks. This was also the only major issue, where the EU actors were presented in almost purely positive light, while the

Slovenian ones were presented in the negative light.

4) **“The EU is dominated by inefficiency and national egoism of the *others*.”**

December 1999 – May 2002: During the accession negotiations, Slovenia is presented in increasingly positive light as the best among the candidates. There are only a few cases of critique against the domestic political actors, especially during the brief period of Bajuk government in 2000. Otherwise, all the problems seem to be caused either by the narrow orientation of *the old* EU members protecting their egoistic national interests or by the inefficiencies and inconsistencies in the Union itself. Because of these problems, heavy pessimism is evident when the chances for successful Slovenian integration to the EU in the near future. Even the obviously good news is immediately questioned by bad expectations.

5) **“We will definitely become members in 2004 but...”** June 2002 – May 2004. In

this period optimism about the exact date of the formal joining to the EU clearly prevails because the last obstacles have clearly fallen. However, the doubt whether Slovenia will be really treated as equal by the old members remains present to a great extend.

Systematic skeptic attitudes may seem to be a somewhat curious at the first page of the most central political mainstream newspaper during the accession process and in the time of the wide consensus (proved latter by the referendum) that the European integration is both necessary and beneficial for Slovenia. This may be explained either by:

- the belief of the journalists that it is their professional requirement to express critical attitudes at almost any instance (though this belief does not seem to be present at every topic in the Slovenian journalism)
- the intention of (the parts of) Slovenian elites to provide the reserve scenario for the case that something goes really wrong and/or the ruling elites decide to change their strategy toward the European (and Euro-Atlantic) integrations: in this case the Slovenian public would have be at least partially prepared to accept the fact that EU is simply not an option.

Though critical and skeptic attitudes are in fact an integral part of professional journalism, heavy and constant criticism directed against certain aspects of the social reality may also serve to hide some other problematic and questionable aspects of this reality.

The combination of the sample of the mainly quantitative analysis of the variety of articles in our sample and the qualitative analysis of the first page commentaries in *Delo* reveals an interesting picture. Both reveal a high level of fears, pessimism and perceived differences during the initial phases of the negotiation process. Latter, especially after 1999, there is a growing inconsistency between the general material which mostly consists of the news and the specific comments from *Delo*. The *Delo* commentaries are much more pessimistic than the news included in our sample. While in the news the presence of fears is systematically decreasing, it remains very high in the *Delo* commentaries. It is interesting that the commentaries, which were *never* really optimistic, usually criticize the “former” or the “prevailing” optimism. Is this caused simply by the deeper insight of the commentaries or by the deliberate intention to construct a reality where the EU is not as nice as it may seem from the “everyday” news? Anyway, the analysis of the commentaries clearly reveals that potential skepticism towards the EU was much higher than it might have seemed from the general mainstream political consensus and the comparatively optimistic daily news.

Appendix 1: Chronology of the EU accession process from the Slovenian perspective with the commentaries in Delo ("The Theme of the Day"/"Tema dneva")

From the declaration of independence to the beginning of the accession negotiations
(chronology only)

25.06.1991 Since the proclamation of Slovenian independence, the integration of Slovenia in EU is a priority task of the government.

15.01.1992 All members of the European Economic Community recognize Slovenia as a state.

01.09.1993 Agreement about the cooperation between Slovenia and EU enters into force. (signed **05.04.1993**).

09.12.1993 Slovenia asks to open negotiations for the conclusion of European agreement.

09.12.1993 Copenhagen European Council: The Council sets out the requirements for membership.

16.12.1995 Madrid European Council: EU and Slovenia conclude the so called Spanish compromise, which enables the foreigners to buy immovable property on a reciprocal basis.

10.06.1996 Europe Agreement is signed and Slovenia officialy applies to join the EU.

01.01.1997 Interim agreement on trade between Slovenia and EU enters into force. (signed **11.11.1996**).

may 1997 Slovenia accepts the elements of strategy for the integration in EU. There it expressed the will to become a full member of EU.

16.07.1997 The European Commision has presented the opinion about the candidate countries. (Agenda 2000). Favourable opinion for Slovenia.

13.12.1997 Luxembourg European Council: Slovenia falls in first circle for the beginning of negotiation.

Chronology of integration of Slovenia to the EU with the overview of the Delo (“The theme of the day”) comments concerning the EU related issues

1998

08.01.1998 The government adopts the Strategy for the integration of Slovenia in EU.

26.03.1998 The government adopts its national programme for the adoption of the EU acquis for 1998 – organizer to meet the overriding tasks from Accession Partnership

Commentary with the title **Summit yes, but why?** (Vrh že, a čemu?, Božo Mašanović, 13.03.1998;) talks about the London EU conference, which took place on 12 March. Commentary talks about three (3) reasons which forced EU, to warm up the idea of French president Jacques Chirac, last autumn. It is interesting to see which expectations had the author at that time, we could consider this expectations as an indicator of that time’s atmosphere about accession negotiations for the entrance in EU. We can notice, that the bearing wasn’t exactly optimistic. Hard path was expected. “/.../ European conference got an aureole of solemn beginning of the process by the decision of Luxembourg European Council. This process will convey the ten transition countries and Cyprus under the wing of EU, *after a decade* (!, op. a.), perhaps *even later* (!, op. a.)” The conference *should* have blurred the line between the six candidates, with which the negotiations about the terms of entrance will begin in the end of the March, and between the five applicants which are *temporary* (*till when?*) *pushed* away and were given *only* a seat on the bench for *reserve players*.” This valuable colored words make us feel, that the author is not particularly enthusiastic about the EU politics which concerns the expenditure. He doubts in the reasonableness of optimism. But he is not attributing these doubts to himself: “But the substitution team knows, that even the first category candidates will have a hard time to make it trough the marathon race. So they do not hide the doubts, even if EU guarantees, that they could invite them to the real negotiations, if they are in a good shape.” So – hard path is expected for everyone. Then the author mentions the problems of negotiation with Turkey, which is the most persistent, but the least desired country. Turkey has denied the invitation to the conference, due to the fact

that EU wanted to put her on a trailer chair (so not even on a chair for “reserve players”) Author concludes: “And so even the sparrows around the Lancaster House, are asking themselves what is the use for European conference.”. So this commentary is filled with doubts, pessimism and criticism. The article is not directly connected to Slovenia, but it still talks about its path in EU.

Another interesting article in this period is: **Who will fill the holes?** (Kdo bo mašil luknje?, Ilja Popit, 25.03.1998;). This article shows the fear that the conditions of Slovene economy will be (much) worse after the Slovene entrance in EU. The article talks mainly about the patching of the holes in the budget. This facts are not interesting from the point of view of this research, but it is necessary to expose this words: “But the independent and integrating policy, is pretty much forgetting about the other one, and it roughly cedes it to the economy. Chamber discussants [Chamber of commerce and industry in Economy Slovenia] have found out, that a lot of companies had gone down when Yugoslavia had fallen, and that a lot of companies will fall down when we enter in EU.” The author is obviously criticizing Slovene politics. From the patching of the holes in the budget (which they are supposedly more drilling than patching), to the lack of establishing a good ground for Slovene economy (not for the present and not for the future). The author is also saying, that Slovene politics keep forgetting the fact that the proper policies are important for the development of the economy (for example with suitable changes of laws which would enable better competitive position). Instead of stimulation and assistance to the Slovene companies, the country is leaving the companies to the economy, where the fight for existence takes place (stronger lives, weaker becomes extinct). So both, CCIS and the author, are calling the Slovene politics, to do something about the condition of Slovene economy before it is too late (because there have been too many casualties so far).

31.03.1998 intergovernmental negotiating conference: the official beginning of negotiations between EU and the countries of first circle.

The commentary **Maturing of Europe** (Dozorevanje Evrope, Lojze Kante, 31.03.1998) is related to the visit of the president of Italian government Romano Prodi

at the Slovenian border (Trieste, Gorizia, Udine). The commentary seems like a summary of the visit, so it is not so important. But we would like to expose the next words: "After the misunderstandings with Slovenia have ended, Prodi has introduced himself as the bearer of the flag in Slovene's incorporation in European integration. With this, Prodi has provoked border businessman to offer new stimulations for Italian cooperation with Slovenia and through her with other eastern countries. But is Italy ready for this?". So it is all about the stimulation of the economy in which the author doubts, because many organizations for the development of economy were projected in the centers of Friuli-Venezia Giulia, but these organizations have not produced important results and the plans of joint investment have been stagnating for too long. So Prodi's words sound like beautiful words which we are used to hear during similar visits. The commentary concludes with the words: "After Prodi's words of maturing of Europe, even Slovenia should define its place in the plans which are connected to her and to the wider area." Slovenia had till now only accepted the initiatives of the Italians, or had just remained silent. This is leading to the fact that Slovenia is not showing that it actually has its own spine and that it does not need a wheel chair which would be used as a substitute for the spine. And even though the commentary does not explicitly talk about the entrance of Slovenia in EU, the incorporation of Slovene businessman in the wide area refers to the times, when Slovenia will be a member of EU. And so Slovenia should build a solid foundation, which should be built on behalf of our own interests and not only on the interests of EU.

The article: **Without illusions is** (Brez iluzij, Božo Mašanović, 01.04.1998;) has followed the intergovernmental negotiation conference in Brussels, which meant the official beginning of the negotiations between the EU and the countries of the first circle. The title itself is eloquent enough. "We are starting to do the hard work", the words of the boss of British diplomacy Robin Cook do not allow illusions. These words do not fall only to the candidates, but also to the other members of EU. First troubles should be expected when the candidates will be acquainted with the ordinary law of EU. Then it is expected that the candidates will recognize, that there is a lot of work and "sacrifices" in front of them, before they will be able to pass through the doors of EU. But the troubles supposedly won't end with candidate's acquaintance with ordinary law, since the candidates will be obliged to also accept the legislation

which will be adopted by EU during the accession negotiations. So the sacrifices and uncompromising adaptation of the candidates are expected. The author emphasizes that this road will be everything else but an easy one. Years are also mentioned in the commentary. First membership cards will supposedly be awarded in 2003, “ or *only* during the period of 2005-2006, as they are *more realistically* predicting in Bonn and Paris.” So the author is skeptical about the announced year 2003, and is looking pessimistically on the real date of entrance of candidates in EU. The author also mentions the problems which EU (who “won’t wait for the candidates with arms crossed”) will supposedly have because of the new candidates. In order to “avoid the bankruptcy” because of the new candidates, EU will be forced to “remodel the *wasteful* agricultural and the *generous* regional politics and turn off the danger of the reduction of money flow from the countries which contribute to the EU budget *a lot more*, than they get from it.” Those who get the money, won’t be ready to give up this flow so easily. So the enlargement of EU is supposedly going to be “a test of European solidarity”. So the critique of the pre-extending European politics is felt and also the fear that all of this will mean harm for the candidates, which will turn off as a unnecessary appendage which steals/will steal EU money.

The commentary **Sobering** (Streznitev, Božo Mašanović, 04.04.1998) can be considered as a sort of sequel of the above commentary “Without illusions”. Even the title of this commentary implies that it will be necessary to step on the real firm ground again. Again the hard path in accession negotiations is emphasized: “The party is over, a period of hard work is beginning”, are the words of European commissar Hans van den Broek; these words were written on the beginning of this commentary. This hard work relates first of all to the take over of “high stack of rules” (those which already exist, and those which will be accepted before the candidates will become the members of EU) by the eleven candidates, and also to the enforcement of ordinary law in national legal system. And this is uncompromising duty of all the candidates, but this process will be more pretentious for the six first category countries (which are supposedly starting the negotiations about the terms of admission, this autumn). Great emphasis is given to the non-negotiable adaptation: “The candidates have no choice when we talk about taking over the ordinary law since all the rules must be fully accepted /.../.” This warning given by the British foreign minister Robin Cook was pretty much emphasized in the above commentary which was already mentioned.

From this we can infer, that this words have not gone smoothly down the author's throat. The doubt in the ability of the candidates, the doubt that they will really succeed, or at least the fear of the fact that this is going to be an extremely hard work for everyone, is felt. Yet again that negative modulation of enlargement is quoted in relation to the negative consequences for the 15 members of EU. The candidates "could *at the utmost concentrate* on the effort of intervention of precedent periods on the most sensitive sectors, or to divert the attempts of the other side /../" at the negotiations. When we say the other side, we think about some of the actual members of EU, which are afraid that the new members will deduct privileges from them, and that they will also bring other negative consequences. When new candidates are accepted, this will (from the point of view of the "other side") supposedly bring next "unwanted consequences:" *overflow* of agricultural harvest, waves of employment seekers, *hordes* of unwanted newcomers from third countries or *outflow* of money from Brussels budget". Author seems to be cynical on this expectations of the "other side", but still hopes, that the candidates will be firm enough not to take over the modulation of their incorporation, but that they will be sure, that they won't "steal". Even this "unwelcoming" to the candidates from the side of some member countries does not please the author. The beginning of the accession process does not "announce only the beginning of the period of hard work, but also the period of sobering after the euphoria, which has been triggered by the placement of the first category candidates.(also in our country)". As the last commentator suggested, there is neither time nor place for illusions.

27.04.1998 The initiation of the review of consistency between Slovenian legislation and the EU acquis (screening).

An article **Enlargement in the vice of reforms** (Širitev v primežu reform, Božo Mašanović 28.04.1998) was published a day after the beginning of examination of consistency of Slovene legislation with EU acquis. This article is not optimistically oriented. The beginning is promising "After the scenario of EU enlargement, which was till recently mentioned in Brussels commission, the examination of ordinary law /.. / could be finished till autumn or at most till the end of the year, right after that, the actual negotiations could begin with six candidates." However, the author continues,

that in spite of the announcements “the start of the negotiations is slowly – and irreversibly – moving away.” The new Brussels scenario announces the discussion about “the most controversial dossier of EU” – the report of European commission about the financial aspects “agenda 2000” – “after the September elections in Germany”. But this is not the main reason for the delay of the actual negotiations. The announcements are being said more carefully, that is also because the reasons which were mentioned in the last two commentaries. We must consider that EU will have to consider the demands from the receivers of money (Spain, Portugal, Greece), when planning the compromise about the financing of Union till the year 2006. This is because these countries do not have the intention to give up the inflow of financial fund from agricultural, regional and cohesion funds. Also EU will have to consider the demands for the reduction of contributions from the largest payers (Germany, Netherlands). “The solving of this financial rebus will be hard and it can slow the process of EU enlargement even more, as Pierre Moscovici hinted: /../” A concrete step can be delayed until June 1999 (conference in Koln), “when the 15 members will supposedly reach the compromise about the reform of common politics and their financing”. But at that moment, “a new garniture of European delegates” will appear “and they will open the hot dossier of reforms about financing only in the months of autumn”. So these expectations of the author, due to all the facts and potential obstacles, are very pessimistic. His announcement of the start of actual negotiations is one year later than the first announcement from the first Brussels scenario stated. So again it is about the hard path with many obstacles that will slow down the EU enlargement.

The beginning of implementation of the government programme for informing the Slovene public about the integration in EU, under the slogan: “Slovenia, home in Europe”

There was no commentary about this event in the newspaper Delo, under the Theme of the day section.

Although not directly, the commentary **Silence about enlargement** (Molk o širitvi, Mojca Drčar Murko, 26.10.1998) is interesting. The article was published right after

the informal EU summit in Poreče. The title itself tells, that there was not much talking about the EU enlargement in this summit. The commentary is concluded with the words: »But it is not possible to avoid the feeling that the turn of EU to the majority of social democratic color, decreases the will to accept the historical decisions for integration of Europe, if it is believed that they are risky and unpopular sticks to them«. So the fear that the EU enlargement will be delayed and that the path to the goal will be even harder is present once again.

The next commentary which is turning around the annual report of European commission about the progress of Slovenia, **The vain prelude** (Jalova predigra, Božo Mašanović, 27.10.1998), first of all criticizes the members of the Council of ministers. The commentary is at the beginning emphasized by the self-criticism by the British boss of diplomacy Robin Cook: »If we can not solve even our technical problems, the council of ministers will loose its credibility.« Most of the discussions and problems are caused by the distribution of money from the pre-accession mechanism to the rest of the candidates, after the first candidates will be accepted.« Instead of the devotion to the topical problems of enlargement the members of Council of ministers *only* took »into notice« the report of presiding Austria about the preparations for the six intergovernmental conferences, with which the concrete stage of EU enlargement will begin on the 10 of November.« The main reproach is that the Council of ministers is at the moment dealing with less important things than it could deal with. And even these things cause them problems and they are proving their ineffectiveness. But there are even more reproaches. » Ambassadors of 15 EU members and *even* diplomats of the lower rang will be involved (as they were till now) with the adjustment of 42 negotiation starting points.« The critique falls to the selection of adjustment actors and also to the organization of the whole process which is first of all too slow or not effectively arranged. That is because the foreign ministers will begin to deal with the strategy of negotiation only at the 9 November that means only a day before the official beginning of the enlargement process. And the author of this commentary does not take this rather easy into the account. Also this words are eloquent: »././ we must not overlook that the 15 EU members haven't pushed away the important political dilemmas and throw themselves in the *jobbing* for percents or even tenth, for the *first not* for the *last* time [this relates to the meeting of EU foreign ministers in Luxembourg]« So the distrust in effectiveness in the decisions of the leading actors is

felt. Also the author announces that this ineffectiveness could be also expected in future actions. Another reason for the fear of ineffectiveness is also Germany under Gerhard Schroeder who has supposedly put up employment and the adjustment of economical strategies on the top of the list of European priority tasks. Similar fear can also be found in the last commentary (Silence about the enlargement). The »acceptance of new members after the political chill of Bonn, who will *in addition* preside from January 1999, could *still* feel the consequences of ineffectiveness of the decisions that are made in the Council of ministers.« So there are even more obstacles that could hold back the enlargement process. The author obviously feels nostalgic for the times when Germany was under Helmut Kohl, and when Germany was the main stimulator of the enlargement. This commentary demonstrates the hope that the enlargement process will be triggered effectively and again a confirmation of fear (which was mentioned repeatedly) that this is only a naive wish.

05.11.1998 Annual report of European commission about the progress of Slovenia in year 1998.

10.11.1998 Negotiation conference: Official beginning of substantial negotiation: “nothing is agreed until everything is agreed”. 7 negotiation chapters are opened.

Two commentaries: **Train into the distance** (Vlak v daljavo, Božo Mašanović, 10.11.1998) and **The price of consensus** (Cena konsenza, Matjaž Albreht, 11.11.1998)

The first article emphasizes the difficult road toward the accession negotiations for all the candidates (the 6 chosen ones). There is a touch of pessimism in the article, which is illustrated by the sentence: »/.../ but the perspective of enlargement of EU is however slowly moving away.« . Even though the report mentioned that none of the candidate countries meet all the acceptance criteria, optimism can be felt »/.../ The first category candidates will (unfavorable finding) sooner or later improve their standing.« Also at the same time, fear can be felt because the author of the article mentions three (3) dangers, on which the candidates have no effect. So at the same time there is this positive faith in the ability of candidates during the accession negotiations, but on the other hand, there is a doubt in the order of EU and fear of the

problems which are derived from EU and some of her members. Slovenia is not specifically mentioned in this article – the article roughly speaks about all the candidates.

The second article talks about the acceptance of the so called Spanish compromise and about the amendment to the Constitution concerning the right of the foreigners to own real estate in Slovenia. The debate in the article concerns the association agreement with the EU. The opinion that Slovenia is speeding too fast in accession negotiations, is present all the time. Also, there is a doubt in the determination of Slovenia, because it is noted, that Slovenia had to succumb to the will of the stronger when the association agreement was signed, this implies that Slovenia blindly follows the directive of EU. The acceptance of the Spanish compromise and the change in the constitution are producing the statements about the betrayal of national and state's interests, which we could, by author's opinion, still protect, if suitable legislation is prepared. Despite the government's goal to prevent this by the preparation of suitable laws, the author expresses doubts. The government promises the mechanisms for perfect protection of national interests. Even though the promises are made, we have to find out that even the law, which is currently in the parliamentary procedure, is not well prepared.” In this article the fear of haste and speeding up, can be felt all the time. “ Warnings about the haste of entering in EU are worth of thought.” Unfavorable evaluation of European committee, which was expected, should make clear, that Slovenia has a lot of work to do in order to harmonize its legislation. And because of that fear: “ For the preparation and the quick acceptance of everything, a high degree of political consensus is needed, which at the moment is not present in Slovenia. The question is at which price would it be wise to implement it«. So the commentary is to a great extend marked with the fear of speeding of Slovenia in accession negotiations. There is also doubt in Slovene politics about the internal harmonization and protection of Slovene interests. Article refers concretely to Slovenia.

Another interesting article in this period is: **Only the results counts** (Štejejo samo rezultati, Marko Jakopec, 21.11.1998;). The article refers to the 3rd meeting of the Prime Minister (Janez Drnovšek), president of the National Assembly (Janez Podobnik), and the president of Supreme Court (Mitja Deisinger). The meeting was

about our juridical system – and about the EU evaluation about the progress of Slovenia. As in most of (formal) meetings, everything seems good and optimistic. Even though the prime minister and the president of the National Assembly ensure full readiness of the government and the parliament that the court will reach the level which it is similar to the countries of west Europe, the author is skeptical. It implies that there are too many words, and not enough actions.“ Author doubts that the lead actors, at least on the juridical level of harmonization, are operating optimally. The harmonization should be speeded up and it should be active. The article refers concretely to Slovenia.

The commentary **Tax school** (Davčna šola, Marjeta Šoštarič, 26.11.1998) is also telling. The theme of the commentary is the adoption of the act on VAT, which is one of the key demands of EU in order to accept Slovenia as a full time member. In this commentary again can be felt the reproach of the author who claims, that Slovenia acts too slow. There are too many words and promises, too less actions. Along the act about VAT, many necessary implementing regulations should be needed, because we shouldn't count on “improvisation with still improper technical equipment and too weak fiscal work personnel.” All the things should be arranged “ as soon as possible “, and “not still only thinking about “ how, what and when. “ So that we wouldn't tremble in our first steps in new tax era, and that the hole in our national funds won't be even more bigger than it is now /.../” Even though the article is not directly connected to the entrance of Slovenia in the EU since the article talks more about the fear about the consequences of VAT (which is a requested action from EU), but it tells much about the distrust to the government, about the reproaches which fall to its slowness, and again about the fact, that it thinks too much, promises and talks much more than it actually performs.

The article **Opposition hours of truth** (Opozicijske ure resnice, Matjaž Albreht, 27.11.1998) clearly criticizes the work of the government. The buzz of this comment is the reaction and the statement of the minister for European affairs Igor Bavčar, about the report of the European commission about the progress of Slovenia: “The report of European commission about the progress of Slovenia towards accession to the European Union *has not surprised me.*” The author tells that “the statement indicates the essence of the problem, about which all the discussion in National

Assembly was about”. “With this diplomatic statement minister Bavčar most likely wanted to tell, that the project of entering in EU has not gone out of government’s hands and that it is controlled and monitored.” And that the objective circumstances for instance “work of the parliament, or more accurately, the teasing by the opposition” and not the government are responsible for the result, “whatever the result is”. So (the opposition) should have its wings cut with the change of the rules of procedure”. Author’s critique gradually increases throughout the article. The opposition has obviously criticized the work of the government at the discussion of the National Assembly, and the author obviously agrees with these critiques: “If indeed government has expected (really?) such a report from the European commission, it should be more concerned and it should take measures, because it has the scissors and the linen in its hands. So its responsibility is as big, as if the report would have surprised it. But because it hasn’t, we could think, that it wanted to cover up this condition. If not, it would hurry and examined that which was achieved, set primary tasks, and gave them to the competent ministry and accurately set the program of accession to EU, before the report was made. “Again the government is explicitly criticized because of its slowness, disparity, inefficiency, indetermination, verbiage and so on. Also the end of the commentary is eloquent: “In short, the government, surprised or not, should perform its role and should not transpose its responsibility to the other reins of authority.” The government transposes the responsibility for it’s own failures to the other actors, instead of adopting timely measures.

European agreement about the association between EU and Slovenia enters into force.

The commentary **Suffering** (Kalvarija, Božo Mašanović, 01.02.1999) relates to the official acceptance of Slovenia as associated member of EU. Slovenia has joined the candidates for the members, who already have European agreements, as the last one among the central- and east European countries (1.February is the date when the European agreement between Slovenia and EU has become valid). At the beginning the commentary indicates the author’s belief that this agreement should be signed much earlier. Slovenia has, as »most developed and – at least till the November’s report about the progress of approximation to EU – the most serious of the candidates

././ finally achieved the same institutional rank as the rest (nine) of the central- and east European countries«. With the regard to the November's report of European commission, the author obviously rises Slovenia above other countries. This can be seen in next words: » Including [it relates to other 9 countries, translator's remark] Bulgaria and Romania, who are *far on the tail* of the scale of potential members of community, but are *however* – just like Czech Republic and Slovak Republic – boasting themselves with European agreement for exactly four years, Poland and Hungary *even five*«. So the author's opinion on Slovenia is positive, if not even overvalued. Of course it is based upon the positive opinion of European commission but it can be felt that Slovenia is deservedly the best between these countries for the author. Slovenia has this way become equivalent associated member of EU, but with one distinction, the author is warning. And this difference was one of the obstacles, that the agreement wasn't signed much earlier. » But the difference with Slovenia is, that none of this countries has a neighbor *which is blinded by it's own interests*, which will by the *tactic of blackmailing* demand and get concessions from the candidate.« The author refers to Italy, which has »on every step till the enforcement of European agreement between Slovenia and EU, raised conditions for the future partner, and demanded concessions and assurances from her«. The author emphasizes, that the tension before the ratification lasted till the last moment, because the minister for European matters Igor Bavčar had to calm down the »fears« of permanent representative of Italy Cavalchini over the telephone, only a day before the informal end of ratification. And then the agreement »hanged on a thread«. And if Slovenia had Germany for it's neighbor instead of Italy, everything would most probably take a different swing, at least if we take into account the quoted words of German ex foreign minister Klaus Kinkel, who has said that »the problems from the past should not shade present negotiations«. But Italy has skillfully taken advantage of the negotiation in favor of its own interests. The author openly reproaches this to Italy. And because of that looks pessimistic ahead: “Will the *suffering* of below alpine candidate continue also on the accession negotiations?” But this sounds more like a rhetorical question, and not the question to which a negative answer would follow.

The commentary, which followed the first session of association council in Luxembourg, has a telling title: **Stepchildren** (Pastorke, Božo Mašanović, 23.02.1999). The author criticizes the lack of participation of the 15 EU members at

the association council, which has become an established practice, that *eloquently* tells about the political meaning that in the Union are paying to the highest authority for tracing the path of cooperation with the candidates.« Of course this leads to the fact, that this path will be everything else than perfectly paved. Slovenia will supposedly have even more bitter experiences than the other candidates, because even the commissar for the enlargement Hans van den Broek was not present at the founding session of joint parliamentary board (December 1998), even though he was supposedly »sitting in his office in Strasbourg, not far away from the conferencial hall right then«. Even though the author realizes that »the protocol level of consultation with candidates does not affect the quality and the extension of their cooperation with the Union«, he warns, that this doesn't give a positive picture and a base for an optimistic look on the enlargement. »././ frequent absence of foreign ministers from the 15 EU countries at the association council, *clearly* announces, what part and meaning will the candidates have in the expanded community. Even though high statements about the historical meaning of enlargement were given, the candidates *are and remain the stepchildrens* of a new European architecture.« Again this is obviously a critique of the main actors of the accession process. And a doubt in that, that the candidates will have an equal part or at least an equal meaning in the expanded EU.

Soon after that, there was an unofficial EU summit in Bonn arrived. The commentary **Crumpled idols** (Pomečkani idoli, Damijan Slabe, 27.02.1999) is telling as well. The commentary is both humorous and a sharp critique of EU or at least some of it's members and their way of negotiation and adjustment. The introduction is already full of cynicism: »What doesn't EU demand from the candidate country: *to turn the economy on the head*, to radically *reform* agriculture, to *drastically lower* the subsidies, to *abolish* the protective customs *overnight* and to open the capital market. `A trifle` for the transitional weak countries, which should along this changes, chase the developed countries, and by the economy growth advance to the club which they want to join.« These are interesting words which openly reproach Eu's subjectiveness and unreal pretentiousness. The sharp words in this commentary are only intensifying. »When it is about the EU, the *teachers* who like to share their teachings so much, are *not even approximately* so consistent«. Author mentions the problems with the adjustments of Agenda 2000, whose failure would harm the enlargement, Euro as well as the reputation of EU. EU is supposedly prepared to fight for every single per cent,

»the rich, who would (at least from the candidates' point of view) easier give up some billions, are not prepared to understand the *largeness* of their *visionary* words in their everyday political practice«. In these value laden words, the anger of the author can be felt. To the biggest individual members of EU, he reproaches the following: »Germans wouldn't like to pay so much anymore, British want to keep their »discounts«, French are interested only in their agriculture, Italians seem to care more about the question if Prodi could be the successor of Santer than to care about too little contribution in the jointly bag, and Spanish don't want to give up `their` cohabitation funds« The sequel is telling and even more cynical: »It seems that it is like that if Slovene people would say that they want to be a member of Nato, but that they wouldn't want to see an American soldier on their soil (that is not even so impossible), or that the Hungarians would like to have Euro-forint when they enter the EU, and Polish people all the European agriculture settled following the Polish example.« Again the critique fall on the inefficient adjustment and the failure of the leading EU actors to adopt decisions, who should pave the path to the new Europe sovereignly, and should not tremble on every step. The author feels that even the threat of a crisis doesn't change their activity. »Ideas, idols and ideals are beautiful, but only if we don't see them from the completely near.« Has EU showed it's real face, a face which is suggesting, that we would not force into it, if we would know it better? It is obvious that the author wants to lay everyone in the heart, the fact, that in no way everything is so beautiful as it might have seemed. Of course he exaggerates in his expressive speech, but only in this way he can show a part of the truth. (even though this truth is seen subjectively).

Negotiating conference: 8 new chapters are opened, 8 chapters closed: Small and medium-sized undertakings, science, industrial policy, education, statistics, telecommunication, consumer protection and fishery.

Again we have expected that the negotiation conference will be followed by a commentary under the Theme of the day, but it hasn't.

31.05.1999 The government accepts the National programme for the acquisition of EU acquis till the end of the year 2000.

The commentary **European regardless of the referendum** (Evropskost ne glede na referendum, Stojan Žitko, 02.06.1999) is quite positively and optimistically adjusted. Even though a breeze of doubt and fear can be felt, the article is generally positive. The doubt is based on the fear, that all stimulating words from EU were perhaps only pretty words, but the author believes that Slovenia is capable to confirm and to follow the zeal in accession negotiations. “Nice words about how Slovenia is esteemed in foreign countries because of its favorable political and economical indexes, and how many supporters has got between the most powerful countries, will soon be on crucial test. Perhaps already on December's presidential EU summit in Helsinki, there they will most probably tell for the first time and in a more binding way about the countries that are supposed to be in the first line of the future enlargement.” This leads to the fear, that it will turn out, that all the praises were only a diplomatic approach of the biggest countries. But the author wants to believe in all the praises and also in the fact that EU sees a “factor of bigger European stability” in future members. Also the effort of Slovenia for quicker inclusion in EU is mentioned, but also the fear that this does not have enough weight for the EU actors. He emphasizes that the advancement of Slovenia towards the EU membership does not only depend on chancellor Schroeder, but above all from Slovenia itself: “We will must take care for ourselves above all, the others will at the utmost remove an interfering rock during this path” So the praises coming from EU, should be a stimulation for even better cooperation and progress, but in no way the effective work of Slovene politics should stop because of this positive opinions. And even though help is expected, the Slovene policies must be careful. “Slovenia has presented a state's programme for the acceptance of the EU acquis till the year 2002 on a *very large scale*, and it has presented it to Brussels at the right time. *Certainly* it wasn't possible to compose it just to please the European commission,” Author believes in the efforts and good supplementaries of Slovenia, he doubts only whether Slovenia is really able to realize all of its (perhaps too demanding) plans. And even though in the first line this effort is intended for the entrance of Slovenia in EU, this effort is really important and welcome for the development of Slovenia itself – in Europe or not. The programme Slovenia has prepared “brings also much of the things that we will have to do at home, no matter if we enter EU or not”. And even though the talk is about the “eventual” entrance in EU, the belief that this is unavoidable can be felt in authors words. “Demanded changes are so necessary /.../that the entrance in EU is almost an obvious consequence”...“We

will have to gain the Europeanity without the regard to the referendum, which will only decide if we will formally unite with Union.” The author suggests that even if Slovenia won’t be a formal member of EU, it has to become at least a substantive part of EU or to be similar to it. In the last paragraph again a slight doubt in capability of Slovenia to fulfill it’s plans is felt, even though it will soon be clear, “if our goals are solid enough”. The conformation of this would be if president of the government Janez Drnovšek would inform foreign spokesmen, that “we were able to harmonize a considerable part of *acquis* with European *acquis* in a really short time, and that we are really devoted to the expected 2.5 to 4 per cent of gross domestic product in order to accomplish this.” And again a doubt whether the goal is realistic is emphasized “Even this goal will be *extremely* difficult to reach, what about some of the others?!” Author warns that because of these, we will have to “decide *very* quickly” on some things (for example the future budget). This commentary is full of doubts, even though it can be felt that the author believes that Slovenia is on a good path and that it’s present moves are good, he is only afraid that everything is too exaggerated. Effective and quick deciding would undoubtedly erase this doubts and fears.

Report of government about the realization of national programme – 1999.

There was no commentary about this report.

Accession Partnership 1999: EU sets new priority tasks.

There was no commentary under the Theme of the day about the partnership for accession either. This date was followed by the commentary **Tax and what is worth to remember** (Davek in kaj si velja zapomniti, Katarina Fidermuc, 01.07.1999), which questions the introduction of value added tax, which by the directive of EU, Slovenia had to accept in the frame of accession negotiations. The author is not so sure, whether the introduction of value added tax, especially in such a form, is such a good decision. “No, not every country has a value added tax, as self-sufficient Europeans might think. Americans don’t have it. Only that Slovenia doesn’t want to become the 51. American federal country, but it is trying really hard to enter the EU.”

Slovenia had to accept the value added tax, because this tax is “agreed and required form of tax” in EU, but the author is warning that besides its strengths, this tax has also its weaknesses. But she realizes, that Slovenia had no other choice in the path to EU, mainly because of her dependency from export to European countries. It looks like the author herself would wonder or hardly believe that “even if we would stay alone with ourselves, domestic experts from the tax and economical line generally ensure, that the value added tax is better than turnover tax (the precedent of value added tax op.a.)”. ”/.../ in reality we haven’t noticed an *enthusiast*, which would yell, give us back the turnover tax, do not succumb to Europe!” These words somehow imply that the author actually realizes, that the value added tax is better than turnover tax. But the “doubts, as usually, are triggered by the details.” The buzz of the problem obviously hides in the fact, that two levels of value added tax were introduced, even though the finance minister promised only one levels, twenty or twenty one percent. Finally, because of other politicians, who were supposedly by the minister words, only flattering to the citizens, two levels prevailed, but this supposedly is not a good solution, even by the opinion of “reputed econometric Veljko Bole”, who spoke in favor of one degree, twenty one or twenty percent. “He is still sure, that the decision for two degrees is a mistake.”

The commentary **Now it is for real** (Zdaj gre zares, Marjeta Šoštarč, 08.07.1999) speaks about the problems of agro-food policies, which are (by the directive of EU) required of renovation in the negotiation process. “In the following week we will see, if the Slovene government will *sacrifice* agro-food in negotiations for the acceptance of our country in EU, or if it will decide to keep it *nevertheless*.” The author thinks that the demands of EU are worth of thought, because she is afraid, that the suggested reform from the EU side, which is quoted in the document, could cause damage to the Slovene agriculture and alimentary industry. The field is not so stable anyway. “Now it is for real. As it goes for real for the most of the part of alimentary industry, which was till now, mainly ceded to the wind and storms of disordered market, on which the agricultural ministry knew only how to solve the basic problems of agricultural harvest, with their more or less successfully firefighting exercises.” But for the processing industry (by the author’s opinion) the ministry hasn’t done very much.” If the building will collapse because of the more and more eroded foundations, under which up till now and in spite of everything, *the extremely dispersed* food processing

more or less successfully *battled*, the farmers will again pull the short one” The minister Ciril Smrkolj supposedly only gave promises to the farmers (for example the controlled import, “real” purchase prices) and consoled them with unsuccessfully intervention purchases. So the author warns that the country should do much more, than it has done till now for the “neglected food industry” and that it should be very careful in the introduction of reform, because the food industry itself still gives the important part of income to the country. The fear, that the bad condition of agro-food industry, will only get worse with entrance in EU, is obvious. And incomprehension of the fact, that the country does nothing to at least try to avoid the fracture. She realizes that most of the things in food industry can be precautionary done by themselves, without only waiting for the time when EU will actually happen, but that it would be extremely cynical and irresponsible by the government, to leave this part of the economy to the flow which would throw us into a harder and for the unprepared even more dangerous embrace of EU.« Fear before the danger which threatens the Slovene agro-food is substantial, and so is the doubt in the capability of the government to avoid these threats.

The commentary **Regate** (Regata, Božo Mašanović, 14.10.1999) is optimistically adjusted. “Already much before the publication of the second series of regularly reports about the progress of candidates on the way to Brussels, the capitals of candidates for the membership in EU were deeply relieved, because since the 15 members of EU decided this May, that they will try to attract also the countries of restless southeast Europe with special agreements, it became clear, that they will invite every single candidates for the membership, even if with the terms which Romano Prodi yesterday set to Romania and Bulgaria. But to the author this still seems strange. It is not clear to him, why the picture suddenly took such a positive turn. “ The *danger* of displacement of less successful between “first category candidates” in the waiting room for the enlargement process, with which they rattled in the Breydel palace on the last November, after the publication of the first, for Slovenia and Czech Republic *strongly critical* reports, had disappeared *over the night*. And that *regardless* of the evaluation of the accomplishment of the candidates during the second year of accession marathon.“ So there in an unexpected change that has no concrete basis. And from this leads the misunderstanding that, even though the six of the candidates began the negotiations before the others (November 1998), and have by

this done more than the other candidates (they temporarily closed seven to ten chapters of adjustment of *acquis*).this “does not mean”, that they will be the among the first to enter in EU. All of the sudden the ten candidates (excluding Turkey), are on the same point, even though some of them started earlier and had done relatively a great deal in this time. The author does not complain over the fact, that all the countries became “equal”, but more on the fact, that this does not arise from some logical basis. He adds that despite the fact that the countries will negotiate simultaneously, the accession process will take place in more groups, dependent from the capability of adjustment of the candidates. The countries that will succeed to take over the whole EU *acquis* as soon as possible, but without to many requests for the granting of transitional periods that would complicate the negotiations, will get the first tickets to the EU”. About this the fields, in which EU does not want to give concessions (free flow of goods, services, capital and people) are emphasized above all. For the end, there is one more obstacle or danger that could slow down the path to the goal. It will be “easier for the candidates, whose neighbors won’t throw log of woods in front of them”. But Slovenia from the point of this danger, is not really in the most favorable position. Again there is the fear that Italy will exploit Slovene negotiations for its own interests.

Annual report of European commission about the progress of Slovenia in year 1999

The day after the annual report of European commission, an article titled **Goops** (Packarije, Marjeta Šoštarič, 19.10.1999) has followed. The article talks about not so exemplary condition of Slovene meat production industry. EU veterinary inspectors have come unannounced to examine some of Slovene factories, registered for the export in EU, in September. There they »././ saw and loyally registered all the *dirty details*. Even those, past which the people competent for veterinary sanitary control walked everyday, but which have not touched them« The critique addresses not only the meat production factories, but to the Slovene veterinary inspectors, who are too much tolerant or blind, as well. Bad conditions of factories are the consequence of inefficient work of veterinary services. The author expects that Slovenia will have to keep all the given promises (reorganization of work and the authorization of veterinary services, complying to the rules of the game), that there won't be any doubts about sanitary control and integrity of food. And the result should show that

Brussels actually believes in these promises. »The assurances that the food that is produced in Slovenia is faultless or that in the big and modern equipped export factories is sometimes even better than in those, in which they work and sell into countries of Union, do not help at all.« So the author is still realizing, that the Slovene bad condition is in some cases better than in the rest of EU, but expresses that EU has »all the rights and possibilities to nail us on the wall of shame, even though because the dirty details (and possible political games of some of offended individuals), because Slovenia is still outside EU and it has to try hard to accomplish the entrance, and not only showing it.

The next commentary also touches the problems of Slovene meat producing industry. In the commentary **Conditionally and educable** (Pogojno in vzgojno, Vojko Flegar, 21.10.1999), the author quite critically shows the Slovene condition of selling and producing of meat, the relationship to the consumers and the work of agricultural minister Ciril Smrkolj. In the accession negotiations and in the effort for the entrance to the EU, the author sees above all an opportunity that the mistakes get fixed, because Slovenia is forced to do that. And just because of that, the effort for the entrance is “smart and necessary – literally necessary”. It is “useful and educable” even to “only negotiate” and cynically adds : “even though (by the Greece example) it would be even better to sign the *one-sided dictated contract* “ In this word can be seen, that the author is not satisfied with the state of meat producing industry. And so he goes one “Only because of the pressure from Brussels, the agricultural minister Ciril Smrkolj will have to take care of the normative order and of the organizational adjustment of veterinary service. Therefore, even the Slovene consumers will get faster to the reliable faultless meat with clearly marked origin.” If we summarize, this commentary above all criticizes the inefficient work of the minister, for the care, that because of that above all the consumers are cheated and that by the fact that the minister had not taken the measures, and because of the organization of veterinary field, as the work of veterinary services.

Another commentary which relates to the meat producing industry in Slovenia. It is rather more a critique of undecided and cracked EU, but it seems reasonable to quote at least the main thoughts which open yet another unsettled area – the geographical characterization of Lippizaner. The commentary **Little mixed** (Malo mešano, Božo

Mašanović, 22.10.1999;) talks about the temporary delay of embargo for Slovene export of red meat to EU. The author asks himself, if this is not the second Slovene political victory. As the first (potential) victory he counts the fact, that the Brussels commission has not disproved the soundness of order by the government of Slovenia about the geographical characterization of Lippizaner, even though Austria insisted, that Slovenia has to withdraw it from WTO. Questions about whether these are victories, could become statements if, both would not be only a temporary fact, but the fact is that the final result is only delayed. The commission has set up an ultimatum for the arrangement of conditions in Slovene slaughterhouses and in meat processing divisions. This arrangement should happen by 1 February 2000. The question about the Lippizaners, has been delayed till the next session in Geneva. EU rather decided for the “conciliative method of two sided negotiations”, then for the tension in relations, which would be triggered by the embargo. The author sees, at least a partial reason for this, in the divergence between the member of EU (because they could not get the demanded majority). As the other possible reason, the author states the ”consequences of the cracks in the wall of solidarity, which protects individual members of community in disputes or even conflicts with third world countries.”

The complaints about the bad condition of Slovene meat processing industry were not over yet. The article **May the wind still blow** (Burja naj kar še piha, Stojan Žitko, 28.10.1999) also persistently mentions this Slovene problem. The complaints of European inspectors is here recognized as a positive engine, which will enable that the matters will actually get better. The author warns, that the embargo of export is only temporary laid off, and not withdrawn, and that only “fast activities” and not “sterile debates” will help that the prohibition of export will really be withdrawn. Also the decision that Slovenia is still “a serious and credible partner”, even after this black mark, is on the side of EU. So the Slovene actors must seriously activate as soon as possible. “We need to govern also in exceptional circumstances /..”, so that the fear about the Brussels evaluation after the visit in December, will not realize. The author fears (based on the debates so far) that there is a possibility that the rebuke will be repeated.

Another commentary talks about the events related to the meat-veterinary affair. The

article **Too little rain** (Premalo dežja, Marjeta Šoštarič, 29.10.1999) suggests, that “even though there were vast thunderstorms and threatening lightnings, there was too little beneficial purifying rain”. More movements, and changes (especially personnel changes), which would “sober” the whole agricultural and veterinary authority, were expected. The author wonders, how it was possible to “expand the authorization of the top of veterinary authority, make order in labeling of animals and change the veterinary law, over the night.”, and at the same time adds with disappointment: “in a way, it was maybe also possible to expect the quick changes (removal) of the most responsible”. It is obvious that the author thinks, that they would deserve the change or removal. But the personnel changes ended only with disciplinary procedures. If the last commentary, May the wind still blow, talked about possible positive movement, which would be stimulated by the critical evaluation of the European Commission, this article desperately recognized, that “the mountain was shaking and only a mouse was born”.

The commentary **When it's hard, fly away** (Ko je težko, odleti, Marjeta Šoštarič, 02.12.1999) criticizes the inefficient work of the agriculture minister Ciril Smrkolj, who by belief of many, should have been sacked as a minister a long time ago. Slovenia will supposedly have a lot of problems (especially in agriculture) when entering in EU, because of it's specialties. And the heaviest exam will be on the field of agriculture, which the probationers of the negotiation starting-point are well aware of. But the author is asking herself, if the minister is aware of this too. He is supposedly functioning with »incomprehensible facility”. Members of parliament have, during the proceedings of suggested temporary changes of law of veterinary, openly reproached and took amiss his inactivity, and the author is not amazed of this. Perhaps the minister had decided to » consciously jump across the puddle in a wish, that the others would wash the dirty laundry instead of him”. Also the general criticism of Slovene politics is perceptible. »Even though the *incomprehensible facility* of the game in the direction of *more and more less understandable* politics and the individuals, which are acting under the mask of profession, because of which Slovenia has earned herself a slap in the face of Brussels veterinary inspection« the change of law succeeded at least by a makeshift.

Yet another commentary, commentary with the title **Delusive victory** (Varljiva zmaga, Marjeta Šoštarič, 03.12.1999), touches the agriculture problems. The government adopted the last two negotiation starting points, among this two, the negotiation starting point for agriculture is one of the most sensible, most entangled and one of most demanding fields of negotiation. The commentary is filled with the fear and doubts in the success. The document full of promises is written, but for the realization of these promises, a lot of serious work is needed. It does not help, if Slovenia gave to Brussels well prepared promises, because the European bureaucrats are only interested in actions and not in words. »Also because of this, the fear whether Slovenia will be able to realize the negotiation starting points (with for now too loose agricultural competence), with which it wants to convince the European bureaucrats, that it will be able to succeed at the maturity exam for the full time membership in the Union till the end of the year 2002. And this fear is supposedly also present among the people who prepared the expert groundwork, so that Slovenia would also succeed to subdue the legal order on the agriculture field, without the transitional period. But even though the invested effort and will, the only possibility of success that remains is – that the noted promises will be fulfilled. And the changes should start immediately. »Also on the countryside, which will because of new shocks because of the release of the markets of individual key crops, even more vulnerable expect the help of the country.« So the regulation of agricultural order in accordance with EU, will be the heaviest task, which according to the commentary seems as almost unrealizable goal.

07.12.1999 Negotiating conference: 8 new chapters are opened, 1 chapter closed: Economic and Monetary Union.

The commentary **Reckoning** (Izračunavanje, Božo Mašanović, 08.12.1999) begins optimistically, but also expresses doubts. The presiding of Finland fulfilled the plans concerning the accession negotiations, and if Portugal will be able to keep up with this dynamic, the negotiations could be over before the end of 2001 (by the calculations of the candidates). So the first candidates, if we consider the two year term for the ratification of the accession agreements, could officially enter in EU in year 2003. So quite optimistic announcements, but the author immediately warns: » The pledges are audacious, but till now quite quick negotiation process should not fill the candidates with exaggerated optimism. The dangers, which could clog the tempo of enlargement,

are not few. »the dangers he is mentioning during this skepticism and fear, are not heard for the first time. The Union will, because of the incorporation of the candidates from the second round, double the number of negotiators of accession process. And this will supposedly have negative influence to the adaptation and the confirmation of joint negotiation starting points of the 15 members, and consecutively on the tempo of enlargement. Besides, the most difficult files of legal order will be discussed, where the unity of the members will be very hard to accomplish, due to different interests. The last problem, which the author mentions, is the fact that the candidates from the second round (except Malta), are less prepared, and this means, that more troubles are expected. And before the Union opens the gate to the new members, it has to accomplish, ratify and put into force the agreements on the reform of the institutions, which according to the experiences is not an easy task. »Even if beautiful predictions will come true, Ljubljana should not overlook the fact, that the year 2003, this is the year when Slovenia is supposed to get the membership card, is again electoral in Austria. We have already felt how it was this year.« So the fear of throwing of the logs from the side of Austria is much rooted. It is interesting, that all the possible dangers and troubles, which could stop the dynamics of the enlargement negotiation for the candidates from the first round, derive from the outside and not directly from the candidates.

10.12.1999 European Council in Helsinki: introduction of negotiation with all the candidates.

The commentary **Reexamination** (Popravni izpit, Marjeta Šoštarič, 13.12.1999) again opens the troubles on the meat processing fields. The European veterinary inspectors are coming back to look at the establishment of exports, which were given a »catastrophically bad« evaluation in the reports three months ago. Slovenia has promised much to Brussels in the October publication of the report, now it has to prove that this has actually been accomplished. »So that it could wash off the stain, which was earned because too negligent and irresponsible work of veterinary experts, and of course to prevent the legalization of embargo for the Slovene meat and meat products in the EU, which was adopted with the delay till the 1st of February 2000.« The author has expected the resignation of responsible in older commentaries dealing

with the same topic. Above all the resignation of the agricultural minister was expected, and she still thinks, that »to be honest, it was expected that the heads of the persons held responsible would fall, but this has not happened«. The author is not optimistic about the result of the »reexamination«. She does not exclude the possibility that some positive changes will be seen but she expects that there will still be »quibbling punctilious«. And she warns that they will probably seek all the »mistakes« and »diminutive mistakes«, which could again lead to the unwanted results. Anyway, it is felt, that the negative evaluation is more expected than the positive one.

The commentary **How suitable** (Kako prikladno, Majda Vukelić, 16.12.1999) is mainly interesting because of the last paragraph, which critically reproaches that the Slovene politics is able to take a measure only when a warning signal comes from the side of EU. The troubles which are mentioned in the commentary talk about the reform of the Slovene judicature which is supposedly full of deficiency (the biggest problem represent the arrears in judicature) which should be solved as soon as possible. But the jurisdictional ministry and judicature have not done even the necessary analysis, which would enable the reform measures to bring along the desired results. The positive consequences are not to be expected too soon, if we take hundred thousand unsolved cases in consideration. Only a dramatic and effective warning from Brussels would do the job and not the thousands of unsatisfied citizens whose looking for the justice has been pushed away in the future for years.”

The temporary epilogue of food processing and veterinary story is quoted in the commentary **Unfinished game with the ball – Nedokončana igra z žogo** (18.12.1999; Marjeta Šoštarič). The author was too much pessimistic in her last commentary, because the evaluation (with regard to her announcements) was more than perfect. The Slovene veterinary authority proved that »with will and persistence, much can be done even in a short time« and had managed to get a good evaluation and the recall of the embargo for the export of red meat and products, with its effort. But this in no way means that it is over. For the year 2000 a new visit from the veterinary inspectors from EU is announced, so Slovenia will still be under control«. So for now the stimulating evaluation of the success in reexamination should not make us sleepy«. Despite the great evaluation and stimulating results, the author still

warns that the »soccer game«, as the director of Slovene veterinary administration had named the happening in allegory, is not finished yet.

The commentary **Able to realize** (Sposobni uresničiti, Stojan Žitko, 29.12.1999) is relatively optimistic but still critical. The commentary rounds up the accession negotiations. Slovenia is entering in the »decisive stage /../ because it will soon have to prove that it is able to realize all the promises that it had given«. Now the »real game for the membership« has began, between the 12 equivalent candidates. Each of them will try it's best to enter the »Slovenia has undoubtedly again confirmed its goals with the Monday's delivery of the last (agriculture) starting point to EU. But its perhaps favorable »position« will be strengthened only when the real negotiations in agriculture as the most demanding field in the inclusion in integration will begin.« So even though the path to hear was well taken, the path is not over yet. »It is important that we do not retrograde in the coming months«, because even Malta and Slovak republic are in the game, these countries could interest EU from different objective reasons. Some announcement say that the candidates will »came to the first Brussels rail«. So now new fear is present, the concurrency of more wanted candidates. From now on »the readiness of the candidates for the tough life in the EU« will matter the most. Even in the negotiations till now the EU had demanded »very much« from the candidates (in the name of the members). »Let us just think about the demanded reforms which on some of the fields are being prepared against the will of people, but still in the wish, that they would please the Union in time.«

2000

Intergovernmental conference 2000

26.05.2000 Negotiating conference: the last 6 chapters are opened – 2 new are closed: common foreign and security policy and company law.

The commentary **Alibi** (Alibi, Božo Mašanović, 23.05.2000) speaks about the accession negotiations with the candidates from the first group of the enlargement process, especially about the free movement of people. The results of the study made by five economic institutions, are showing the unfounded fears of some of the members (especially Austria and Germany), This fear is the fear that because of the abolition of the obstacles for the free movement of workers, job seekers from the candidate countries will flood the EU. The study among this neutralizes also some other fears and dilemmas from this field and it also states that the beneficent effects of abolition will be bigger than the troubles which will arise because of the abolition. But the author says that this findings won't have a big influence on the negotiation starting points for the old EU members. The union does not intend to give demands for preliminary periods yet, but "the arguments that were often repeated /../more than obviously speak about that intention of the union". And this does not sound optimistic at all. So the author critically finishes with the statement, that the professional studies about the consequences of the enlargement to the labor market will be "mainly an alibi for the later demands by the EU-15 members".

A day after the negotiation conference, a commentary titled **The first swallow** (Prva lastovka, Božo Mašanović, 27.05.2000) was published. The commentary emphasizes the important success of Slovenia, because EU had pleased her demand for the two year preliminary period for legal adaptation of savings banks and savings-credit services. This is supposedly a big success, because the members were rejecting all of the requests for the preliminary periods till now, even if the requests were supported by concrete and weighty reasons. Here the author is adding, that with the constant rejecting, the EU has "shown a little understanding for the problems of the candidates." Their main argument for the rejection of the request was always that "the applicants wants to enter in EU and not vice versa". This can be understood as a critique of the EU that puts the applicants into an inferior positions and it seems like

EU wants to let them know that they are only an appendage, a necessary evil and that they are not welcomed at all. The author among other emphasizes that Slovenia “is not in the most favorable position” in the accession negotiation. That is because with regard to the temporary closed chapters, Slovenia is “only a step” before Hungary and Poland which are on the last place. So the author warns that hard work and accelerated rhythm of adaptation and enforcement of European legal order is expected if Slovenia of course wants to be among those who will step through the Brussels door in the first positions. He mentions that the Slovene actors are working too slowly and that they are not effective enough.

The commentary **What does the meadow daisy say** (Kaj pravi travniška marjetica, Stojan Žitko, 06.06.2000) refers to the meeting of the foreign ministers of the six first category countries in Brdo pri Kranju, Slovenia. The author talks mainly about the negotiations in general and he evaluates them as one sided, meaning the better position of the old EU members. The candidates are supposed to conscientiously and uncompromisingly fulfill all of the assignments by the directives of EU, and EU is supposed to have no obligations. The metaphor that the negotiations seem like the tearing of slips of daisy – “loves me, loves me not” is telling. The author mentions also that the initial excitement over the historical event of this wide moved and extensive enlargement, is slowly fading. And this produces additional doubts and fears of the candidates, that “new sticks are being stammered in still not so fully fled wheels”. The worry that the enlargement could really move away is obvious, even though in Brussels they are saying that this can’t happen. “That is why nobody knows for real from which end blows so cold that it can be felt in the bones” The commentary is filled with pessimism, fears and doubts that the enlargement process is moving on the right and wanted tracks.

The next article **Doubts** (Dvomi, Božo Mašanović, 15.06.2000), also talks about the fear that the enlargement process is slowing down. It speaks about the last accession conference before the presiding of Portugal. Among the six from “the Luxembourg group”, the fear that with the taking over by France, the rhythm will slow down, so that they won’t be able to realize their wishes that the negotiations will end by the end of 2001, so that they could enter in EU by January 2003, emerged. At the conference,

the German commissioner supposedly emphasized that they had never before opened all the chapters in the two years of negotiations, this was supposedly said for consolation and stimulation. This supposedly happened for the first time and this is supposedly the main argument which will stop the doubts of the candidates. But the doubts are being strengthened by the fact that France cannot guarantee, that the reform of the EU institutions, which are an essential prerequisite for the enlargement, will be adopted. That is because the harmonization of the reform “could again strand on the demands of countries who want to get a concession which would give them the influence in deciding and in the management of the expanded EU, or the unabated flow of money”. And this without the consideration on the interest of the candidates, but at contraire “even on the expense of the candidates”. The feeling that the candidates are only marionettes which are moved by a large hand of the members according to their own scenario is more and more apparent. And exactly this (pre)dominance is the main culprit which does not let that the reform of the EU institutions could be finally harmonized and confirmed, because the members don't want to loose anything but rather to get something (by blackmailing or by bargain). “Any delay behind the intergovernmental table would supposedly mean that the enlargement is postponed. And this is what strays the candidates. So the consolation word of German commissioner seem soil and insufficient with the mentioning of this. The fears and doubts are staying.

In the article **Dog days – time for hard work?** (Pasji dnevi – čas garanja?, Jana Taškar, 17.06.2000) the author is amazed by the National assembly meeting during the holidays. If we consider that the rules of procedure of the National assembly do not intend the meetings outside the intended time, only when there are extraordinary circumstances, the author asks herself if this means that there are extraordinary circumstances in Slovenia. And she even more ironically replies “Most certainly not. The falling behind with the adoption of the European legislation can not be qualified as extraordinary circumstance. At best it could be qualified as a extraordinary high irresponsibility, and even this only if the fate of Slovenia would be dependent from the intention that Slovenia enters EU among the firsts.” Almost ironical tone can be felt. The author reproaches many unfinished tasks that were not finished by the former and present members of the parliament. ”They are all guilty”. The former coalition was supposedly working “too slowly and also too irresponsible” Especially with the

enforcement of European order, and also with the implementation of decrees which are not dictated by the EU. “The former opposition and present coalition are guilty because of the teasing and hesitation, and this had only delayed the procedures. The article is an obvious and direct critique to the political actors who must do the work that should be done many time ago, during the vacations. We should not afford to be late.

19.06.2000 European Council in Feira.

The article **From Council to Council** (Od vrha do vrha, Božo Mašanović, 20.06.2000) is talking about the European summit in Fiera. Again the troubles in the reform of the EU institutions are mentioned. This troubles can be mainly seen in (too) slow harmonization and in very little progress in the reconciliation of the attitudes of the members. And again the fact that if the agreement is not achieved on the intergovernmental conference, the accession process will slow down. “Without the reform there will be no enlargement”. But somehow ironical, if it will come to the fact that the process will slow down, “they have a plan in Union for the appeal of unwillingness of disappointed candidates” because in Nice they will add the “table” to the existent mechanism for the control of advancement. This table will keep the record about the accomplishment of the candidates and at the same time warn about the troubles in the approaching to the EU. However, the author doubts that this would do for candidates.

30.06.2000 Report by the government on the progress of Slovenia in 2000.

The article **The deceptive impression of “reporting”** (Varljivi vtis “poročanja”, Stojan Žitko, 30.06.2000) speaks about the report about the progress of Slovenia adopted by the government. In the commentary it is essential that the author warns about the fact that the numbers in the report (how many laws were accepted, how many laws are in the process of accepting, what they had changed), are not helping at all, because the Union is more and more interested whether the candidates are

“capable and willing” to fulfill the adopted legislation. “So the nice words won’t have a large effect”. The author also mentions the deficiencies which most certainly will not contribute to the successful entrance to the EU. As an example too slow process of denationalization is being criticized. The pessimism of the author can be felt all the time, because among other things, the author says, that it can not depend from the reports (even though these are willingly showed by both EU commission and the candidates) when someone will really be in EU. If everything would be dependent from the reports, “they would not talk about the presumed scenarios of enlargement of integration which seem as two completely different worlds.”

The commentary **Bolognese hoax** (Bolonjska potegavščina, Tone Hočevar, 30.10.2000) talks about the meeting about the EU enlargement in Bologna. The meeting where twelve delegations went in a good faith, turned out to be a “preelection meeting”. The critique deals mainly with Silvio Berlusconi who was otherwise diplomatic in his speech “along with Hungary and Poland patted even the shoulder of little Slovenia”, but then the impressions in the hallways and in the meeting of the organizers of the conference with the journalists were a bit different. Some of them supposedly forgot that the Spanish compromise even exists, others have told (between the lines mainly Silvio Berlusconi was thought) “that the Italian minority in Slovenia is not protected, because it is almost gone or that it is already long decimated, but in the case of victory of the political right in Italy, we will first have an exhaustively discussion on the past with Slovenia” .So it is about the fear of Italy’s threats and for the fear that Italy could exploit the accession negotiations for it’s own interests.

08.11.2000 Annual report of European commission about the progress of Slovenia in year 2000

There was no commentary which would talk about the annual report of European commission about the progress of Slovenia.

14.11.2000 Negotiating conference: 2 chapters closed: free movement of services, financial control. On the 1st of December: social policy and employment.

The commentary **Dicer** (Kockarica, Božo Mašanović, 30.11.2000) again touches the troubles in negotiation of EU members about the content and range of the reform of common institutions. The article was written right before the summit in Nice, where the final phase of negotiations should take place, so then finally the agreement and acceptance of the reform should happen. No optimism is felt because of this, but rather quite substantial pessimism. The author does not believe in the successful ending and he warns, that this is almost impossible (if we take the previous course of negotiation in consideration). The arguments which support the pessimism are mainly (too)slow reform process and incompetence of the members in harmonization and agglomeration of discrepancies between the members. The main reason for this slow tempo and for other problems as well is supposedly the bargaining negotiation if not blackmailing of the members for concessions, “which they want to achieve right before the candidates enter the Union /.../” Again the hireling position of the candidates and the exploitation side of the members is emphasized” The obvious fear that there won’t be a agreement in Nice is felt. And by that again the fear that the accession negotiations will be in danger is emphasized. That is because the “reform of the institutions is an indispensable condition for the Union enlargement. And if it does not succeed in Nice, the “rein of intergovernmental conference will be held by till now unsuspecting Sweden, which intended to completely devote its time to the accession negotiations with the new candidates”. And this is a hint for yet another danger which could worsen the condition of negotiation. The author claims that after a possible black scenario in Nice, “the enlargement process would stop or that this chance could “torpedo the enlargement”.. But he foretells that then the course of the process would be extremely aggravating and this at the time when it is slowly coming to the “decisive and at the same time the hardest phase” of negotiations. It is a fact that the summit in Nice had many people worry about the further course of negotiation. The pessimism was obvious.

The commentary **Naive kibitzer** (Naivni kibici, Božo Mašanović, 06.12.2000) similarly as the article before, discusses the European summit in Nice, and the article is pressing again, that for a normal and undisturbed further course of negotiations, an agreement about the reform of EU institutions need to happen in Nice. And again the things that have been already said are repeated. “The possible fiasco of debates by

Azure coast would not derail the accession negotiations, but it would most certainly slow them, simply because the arranging about the change of the rules of the game in Union, which EU members want to adapt to the expanded community and of course to their own *political interests*, before the first applicants would enter in EU.” Again the suggestion to the bargaining of the members, assuring of uninterrupted superiority of members even in the expanded community, fear of members that they could lose something with the enlargement. Political and national interests of the members are the main logs, which with regard to the commentaries, are flying under the legs of the candidates constantly. And if the agreement in Nice really does not succeed, agreeing could drag on far in the six month presiding of Sweden, the author foretells. And by this its pessimism is obvious and not even a slight hope that the deal could be realized, is felt. “But the danger of black scenario /../ does not worry the kibitzers from the candidate countries.” They still supposedly optimistically believe, or read with the title better told “naively” believe that the failure of agreement about the reform, can not “drive away from the outlined goal that possibly in the beginning of the year 2003, as it is written in the national accession strategies, they will enter through Brussels door”. Similar optimistic person is also Gunter Verheugen”, but not because the naive trust in success of Nice, which entails the candidates, but only because he is certain that the members are aware of the urgency of the settlement, as the failure of intergovernmental conference would cause bad psychological consequences to the candidate countries.” So this could be understood that they will strive, that the agreement will be achieved in Nice, but only because they would not bruise the candidate countries even more, because they are already full of doubts, pessimism. The author finishes with an ironic thought and a wish, that the Verheugens optimist realizes for the sake of “psychological health of public opinion of twelve applicant countries.”

07.12.2000 European Council in Nice.

Another commentary, the commentary **It is about authority!** (Za oblast gre!, Slava Partlič, 08.12.2000) speaks about the summit in Nice. The essential part of the article deals with the reasons of inefficiency and difficulties in arranging of the members about the institution reform. And again the article emphasizes the political and

national interests of EU members. Members, especially “the first born” France and Germany, are of course afraid that because of the reform and enlargement, their power and influence will diminish. The members would of course want to keep their share of authority in EU (or even increase it) even after the enlargement. But this is an unrealistic demand that cannot realize. And this is the main reason for so many problems and pessimism. The members are insisting at their interests and it does not seem like they are willing to abate. The interests of the members are a sort of a driving wheel of enlargement. Therefore, the lack of reconciliation on the proposal for the division of the authority is the core of the temporary problems which are spreading so much pessimism and bad will around.

After all the pessimism, a positive epilogue occurred at the European summit in Nice (even though not without the shadow of the doubt). The commentary with the title **European New deal** (Evropski New deal, Slava Partlič, 11.12.2000) at least temporarily closes the chapter of reform of common EU institutions. With a big relief, which can be felt even when the article is read, a new contract which is reconciling the reform will be finally signed, “The union will keep the word that it gave to the candidates, so that by the year 2003 it will be ready for the acceptance of new members. So in any case the interests of EU won, also the losses of singular members were not that significant. With this the hardest work is not over yet, because the contract has to be ratified by individual parliaments of EU countries.

The commentary **It is not all in the commissioners** (Ni vse le v komisarjih, Stojan Žitko, 12.12.2000) also talks about the summit in Nice and about the final results in negotiation of the reform. Even though most probably the candidates impatiently waited for the results (from the summit of Nice and from Amsterdam as well – both were crucially important for the enlargement), they were all openly satisfied, even though six smaller members had threatened to leave a couple of hours before the end. That is because they had an opinion that they are forging the agreements on their account”. So that because of the interest of some of the biggest members, not only the candidates, but also smaller members are curtailed. Among this, the author mentions the doubt that the meeting in Nice was really so successful as they want it to show, because among other things, the decision for a new intergovernmental conference

about the further reforming in 2004 was made. This suggests that the present agreement has more temporary characteristics. So the dilemmas, doubts, doubts that concern efficient, fair, equal activity of Union, stay opened even after the successfully accepted contract. Among other things, it was decided that the candidates will have their own commissioners a few years after the entrance, which now seem really more important than the sum of administrative voices, as the Maltese say, but the author warns that “till the referendum about the EU membership, it has to be clear that a commissioner is not everything!” So again, the doubt in equal evaluation of future and present members of EU is felt.

Before the end of the year, another commentary was published, the commentary touched the adaptation of Slovenia to the European legal order. The commentary **Soured milk** (Skisano mleko, Marjeta Šoštarič, 28.12.2000) talks about the enforcement of market order for milk, which Slovenia at first should enforce by the beginning of the year 2000 or later with semestral ordinance. This supposedly did not happen because last minister “was simply afraid to bite in the sourly apple”. Because of adaptation to EU, the country had to let go and leave the role of “judge in the rack of purchase-sale prices of milk” and with this loosing the power “of the direct defender of farmer benefits”. With new formulation, now the firming of buy-sell prices are in hands of producers, and this raises fears and doubts.

2001

Negotiating conference: another 4 chapters closed: environment, energy, free movement of goods and capital.

The article **Who will buy you, a golden flat?** (Kdo te bo kupil, zlato stanovanje?, Stojan Žitko, 23.03.2001) critically mentions the national interests. It would be beneficial for Slovenia in the accession negotiations, if it additionally released trade with real estates, but this is becoming “a new controversial apple in Slovene political quarrels”. The author is expecting “a new war between those who don’t care for “the holly Slovene land”, and those who would battle against it till the last brick”. Slovene flats are too expensive to be afraid of the sell out, so the author says, that “the outcry because of the presumed noxiousness of the Spanish compromise, which happened years ago, was exaggerated”. And again there is a doubt in the determination of Slovene negotiating actors, because it would be better if we “would do things in such a way, that it would more seem that we are doing them under the influence of common sense, rather that we are doing them under Brussels dictate”. The author also mentions the difficulty of unimpeded and legally valid purchasing of holiday residences at the Croatian coastline, which is more interesting for Slovene people than buying holiday residences somewhere in the far European north. “National anxiousness is one thing, but the other thing is what we really want.” So we could emphasize, that the negotiators and other political actors, are focusing on the things that have no particular meanings, but not on the things that are actually a problem. And there is again a doubt in the determination of Slovenia and allusion on its meekness.

The article **„Good bless the Balts“** (Blagor Baltom, Božo Mašanović, 30.03.2001) was published one day after Slovenia temporally closed four chapters. And even though Slovenia with this has “climbed on the first place among the most successful candidates” in accession negotiations, (this says even the commentary), the bearing of author is rather more pessimistic than not. In the beginning he is stimulative and even happy: “Getting the first conference on accession under the patronage of Sweden is delightful, and it brings out the hopes, that the accelerated approach towards Brussels community will continue /...” But in the next paragraph, the commentator takes again

a more “realistic” bear, which in the sense of pessimism only graduates. “On the wings of high hopes we should not forget, that the achievements are however relative; /..” The fear of exaggerated optimism is emphasized with the dangers that are threatening from some members of EU, mostly on the harmonizing of fields that are particular sensitive. “Maybe even more troubles for a weak candidate, which till now could not count with the benevolent neighbor countries, when executing the integration plans. Certainly we are no Balts.” So the author emphasizes that the current impulsion of Slovenia in accession negotiations is stimulative and laudatory, but says, that we must stay on the solid ground, because the obstacles and dangers are not over yet.

The commentary **Magical years for good candidates** (Magične letnice za pridne kandidatke, Stojan Žitko, 04.04.2001) questions the unknown year of Slovene entrance in EU. It begins ironically: “ It seems that the visitors are getting enthusiastic on order over our devotion in scrupulous fulfillment of Brussels tasks”. But the interests of the Slovene politics are focused only to the opinions of foreign ministries of important members of EU. “Of course no one has ever told, when exactly we could really expect the entrance of Slovenia to the EU or Nato. People talk about different years, but if we consider this accurately, they have allways done it this way. “So there is nothing clear, even though – also about assured years – people are talking about the entrance for years (2000,2001).”/.. Now they are talking about the magical year 2004.”But the author remains sceptical and he does not believe in this year so much. He says that we should be worried if people begin to talk about the year 2005.

The commentary **With solidarity for the respect of rules** (Solidarno za spoštovanje pravil, Mojca Drčar Murko, 24.05.2001) emphasizes the appeal of so called Luxembourg team in Prague, that EU must respect the rule which demands that the beginning of the acceptance of the candidates should start when these candidates are ready – so without the waiting for the others, which are falling behind with their preparations. Foreign ministers agreed in Prague, that some of the EU countries, base the demands for preceding periods on the field of free flow of residents, upon round sum evaluation, which is against the negotiations rules. The commentary alludes to the fact, that the Brussels actors are forgetting the rules, and that they are adjusting some matters with regard to their own interests (also with regard to the interests of

single members). The candidates are aware of this, and warn EU about the imperfections, and are appealing to the consistent consideration of the rules of the game.

01.06.2001 Another two chapters closed: culture and audiovisual policy, and external economic relations. This leads to the total of 20 closed chapters.

The commentary **A bitter taste of enlargement (Trpek okus širitve**, Božo Mašanović, 02.06.2001) speaks about the demands and conditions of EU in the field of the free flow of workers. The demands are supposedly sharp, and by this, the EU shows, that it will be a “hard and unyielding negotiator”, during the negotiations. And at the same time the author clearly points out, that the candidates can’t rely on concessions. As the author says in the beginning: “The principle, that the candidates are associating with the Union and not vice versa, is in the last part of accession process more and more real. And more and more bitter.” Author sees the problem in the fact, that EU “won’t consider only the general interests of community, but also the single demands of single members, when the rules of the game will be established. “So EU has satisfied Germany and Austria in the matter of movement of workers, in the matter of regional policies the Mediterranean members, which do not want to give up the financial inflows of union, in the agriculture the EU will bear in mind the interests of France, as the biggest recipient of supplementary allowance, and so on. The candidates would “perhaps easier bite in the bitter apple”, if the conditions for the movement of workers would lean on the general interest of the whole community. Slovenia as a candidate, had already experienced this tactic of EU, which the author mentions as “pushing the candidates in front of a wall”. This happened in so called Spanish compromise, and the author with pessimistic expects the similar trials also in the future of negotiations. This contestable way of negotiation would seem more trustworthy, if EU in the matter of movement of persons, would gave the candidates the adapted demands, and not “the same demands” to everyone of them. And this fact should be taken into consideration by EU. Among other, also the fact, that EU set up the same transitional period to Slovenia, as it did to the Czech republic, “which has not even delivered with numbers emphasized prediction of possible outflow of labour force, to Brussels”, is noted. So the taste of enlargement is bitter, because of illogical

moves by the Union, which should be much more systematical and adaptable to the demands. Also the fact, that every single member can conceive its conditions, which are derived from its own interests, is not exactly a positive matter of negotiations. The candidates are, after the reading of this commentary, recognized as a mass, which the hands of EU are uncompromisingly processing.

The commentary **Magical year 2004** (Magično leto 2004, Stojan Žitko, 08.06.2001), optimistically predicts, that the year 2004 is entirely founded and reachable for the entrance of Slovenia in EU. The author is basing on the predictions, which were given by the president of European commission Romano Prodi, on the 7th of June at Brdo pri Kranju, and he's saying, that if the Slovene entrance would depend from him, the entrance in year 2004 would be undoubtedly assured, and in this way also the participation of Slovenia in European elections in the middle of the year 2004. Also the opinion of the commissar for the enlargement Günter Verheugen, will be (as the author believes) "undoubtedly stimulative as well". "Praises to Slovenia are not unexpected, as they were many of them till now, only that now it is perhaps even more clearer, that we're probably really entering in the final stage of the long and hard process of enlargement." Even though the optimism can be felt, the author leaves the place for the doubt and the possibility, that something can bungle on the path of negotiation. Even between the Slovene representatives of the process of enlargement, the opinion that Slovenia will be in EU in the year 2004 and not in the year 2003, as it has been predicted for a long time and till recently, is established. But the author does not see anything bad if it will really stay in the year 2004. The idea, that Slovenia will be able to participate in European elections,"as if the placing of Slovenia in Europe, would mostly depend from some of Slovene Euro delegates", is becoming more and more important. But the author sees rather "forced obligations on both sides" in this. EU has to, if it wants to fulfill the promises, enable the participation on European elections, to at least some of the fresh members. But because the acceleration in the ratification of the document from Nice, and the timely agreement about the joint policies lays on the candidates, "/../ the process of enlargement is not over by far." Optimistic or rather more realistic bearing of the author is strong, even though that he realizes that the negotiations are not over yet, and that more obstacles could raise on the path. That is mainly because he has a lot of arguments, which are founded on the high probability of entrance of Slovenia and the other candidates in

EU in the year 2004. So he emphasizes the urgency of more decisively reformation of EU, the ability and the capability of singular candidates, the needs of members and the mechanisms of EU, which are the decisive factor in the enlargement.”The year 2004 from his mouth (the mouth of Romano Prodi **OP.A.**),are because of this well founded for the first time.”

One day after the very optimistic commentary (Magical year 2004), where even the mentioning of possible troubles would seem extremely pessimistic, new problems of enlargement process are emerging. The commentary **“The teacher in perplexity”** (Učiteljica v zadregi, Damijan Slabe, 09.06.2001), opens new obstacles on the way. It goes for the problems with ratification of the agreement from Nice, because Ireland supposedly voted against it on the referendum. And even though Günter Verheugen explained before the first results were known, that this would nothing bad for the enlargement of EU, because the enlargement negotiations would still continue. The system of deciding in the Union is supposedly not set yet, also there is not enough time for the internal reformation of the 15 members – also for such a reformation, which would abolish the necessary concordance of every member. But these theses of Günter Verheugen do not convince the author, because it is supposedly completely clear, that the decisions from the summit in France could not be valid, if the agreement from Nice won't be ratified by all the 15 members of EU. »/.../ Rollicking Irish »golden boys« /.../ have raised the skirt of the European teacher insolently high«. It would be expected that during this process the candidates would blush, because they wouldn't be able to meet the criteria and the demands from EU, » But now we found ourselves in front of the biggest parody after the fall of the wall in Berlin«: those »teachers of new European democracy are in troubles since they are not prepared to change even a comma in themselves, for the sake of different Europe«. The author reproaches greediness to the rich countries (Austria and Germany are mentioned), which do not want, or can't change, This countries are raising the obstacles (mainly for the defense of their own interests), and then they blame Spain and Portugal. And by the author's opinion, they should be ashamed. Also because there are still a couple of countries like that in EU, »which, like the candidates because of the reform games of the »leading countries«, do not want and cannot pay the enlargement«. Author stays critical and pessimistic till the end: »the Greeks are

(also because Cyprus is a candidate), most probably the next opportunity in which the teacher from Brussels could again show something, that should be hiding because of the manners.«

European Council in Göteborg

After the European summit in Göteborg, the commentary **Signals** (Signali, Božo Mašanović, 16.06.2001) again opens the question of the ratification of the agreement from Nice, which is a condition for the acceptance of the candidates in the community. The highest statesman of the Union have otherwise all confirmed in one voice, that the process of the enlargement is irreversible, but the fact, that they have found themselves in front of a hard political task after the Irish referendum, remains. This task is the question how to do the procedure of ratification in the expected time (till the end of the year 2002), and at the same time avoid the complications which the Irish voters could trigger again. Ireland could understand the persistence by the agreement from Nice, as a necessary adaptation to the agreement, without a possibility, that some of the unfavorable provisions could be alleviated. On the other hand, the acceptance of the Union in additional explanations or supplements to the agreement, could cause disagreement elsewhere across the Union (especially in the countries which have already ratified the document). None of the solutions can guarantee that the Irish will accept the agreement in the second, because it has received immense critics since the very beginning. All this internal problems are only increasing the intolerance, distrust, anxiety, uncertainty and the anger of the candidates who are persistent, that they will already be ready for the entrance in January 2003. »Dark clouds of uncertainty«, have started to gather above the enlargement before the Irish referendum, because the process is above all concentrating on the common legislation, and here EU and singular members are not ready to give concessions to the candidates. Even more problematical is the fact, that EU has a lot of problems with the preparation of jointly starting point because of the national interests of the members. The author says that the distrust of the candidates could be annulled if the date of the entrance of the first new members would be determined, but this is not an option right now. For now only »verbal signal about irreversibility« remains, these signals are obviously the only answer and a stimulation for »more and more angry applicants.« So again there is a talk about the fact, that

above all EU itself has problems in the enlargement process, and not the candidates, which would be more expected and logical. The problems from the side of EU do not seem to end. A sort of parody of enlargement is happening, this parody is only bungling the reputation of EU.

The commentary **Old tune** (Stara viža, Božo Mašanović, 27.06.2001) follows the 10th anniversary of Slovenia announcement of independence. At this even the commissar for the enlargement Günter Verheugen has flooded Slovenia with his compliments, but the author emphasizes, that the compliments were not narrated only by the diplomatic politeness, but that their even more important purpose was, to “present” all the accomplishments of Slovenia till now, “as a consequence of perspective of membership in Union”, because (according to Verheugen) the accomplishments of Slovenia testify about the fact, “how important the European integration is for peace, stability and democracy. Among all the praises at the accession summit, some of the familiar reproaches were heard: unfinished process of denationalization, falling behind with the reform of juridical system, unsettled bilateral problems with Croatia, lengthy privatization of the banks, insurance companies and telecommunications. Beside this, the constitutional court, which had judged about the procedure of adoption of the law about the transformation of free-customs shops, “stepped on the blister of EU right before the session of accession council”. All this critiques of course fog all of the earlier praises and broad-hearted compliments. New critiques have joined the old reproaches. The money from the fund for agriculture and the development of the countryside (Sapard) will go to Slovenia only when the Agency of the Republic of Slovenia for Payments and agricultural markets will get the accreditation from Brussels. So even in spite of all the praises, the mentioned imperfections, which mostly aren’t mentioned for the first time, tell us that even though Slovenia is mentioned as an example to the other countries, it has to remain on the solid ground and still do a lot of things. Not only because of the accession process, but for its own effectiveness as well.

Report by the government on the progress of Slovenia in 2001.

The commentary **New tones** (Novi toni, Miha Jenko, 03.07.2001) is interesting mainly because of the emphasising of the new tone by the Slovene prime minister

Janez Drnovšek, who on the summit in Salzburg in far-reaching public polemic about the German and Austrian idea of limitation for the circulation of labor force from the new members of EU, decisively opposed the European commissar Verheugen. The author asks himself, if this “new rule of conduct, will bring any benefit and compensations in the negotiation with Brussels, to Slovenia. Or if we will get a status of grumbler among the eurocrats”. This it’s yet to see. But it is obvious that the author suggests, that the determination of premier was overhasty, and more useless than useful. Otherwise this “noticeable” Slovene self-confidence, was recognized as “refreshing” from the authors side, no matter if the fear that the determined move by Drnovšek is dangerous, is present. This is because of the fact that the representatives of the other candidates (exactly like the last year) “were only modestly thanking the organizer for the invitation to the elite meeting”. So Slovenia, unlike other candidates, has shown its own spine and not only the silent nodding. It is interesting, that the negotiating actors are often reproached because of their indecision and their silent adaptation, and now when someone from Slovenian lines decisively raised his voice, this is still not the best, even though the determination has been expected and even demanded many times. Obviously no move can be accepted by the commentators, without their reproaches

The commentary **The bill will be salted** (Račun bo zasoljen, Božo Mašanović, 10.07.2001), shows the ideal picture of EU enlargement at the beginning of negotiations in a less idealized light, as the Brussels side were selling at the beginning. Even at the beginning it was known, that the candidates will have to put into force the whole European legislation, and that EU will help only in the most critical problems in the form of preliminary periods. “But the illusion of hard, but truthful accession negotiations, lasted *only* till the reading of the first chapters, which are critical for the Union or for the individual members of Union”. In other words, the candidates were soon after that, aware, that after the acceptance in EU, they won’t be equal members by far. Instantly it became clear, that at least in the first years they won’t receive direct payment to the farmers, that the access to the labor market will be restricted (even for seven years), the restrictions in transport are expected, and also the sympathetic help for the development of poorer regions, will be written off in the case of (too) high gross domestic product (which applies for Slovenia). This unfair negotiations in the sense of establishing temporary restrictions to the candidates,

would be by the author opinion somehow understandable, because EU has to insure its own interests during the enlargement. But it is unfair and illogical, that some of the individual members “also put on their own kettle”, as the case is in the persistence for the high level of nuclear security, which the common legislation does not define. So here the members invent the demands, they see a possibility of realization of their own interests in the process of enlargement. But these interests do not necessarily coincide with the interests of the Union or with the joint legal order. EU would have to avoid this, because its credibility is declining this way. The opportunity for the fulfillment of special demands can also be seen by the parties or narrower groups. The author is “not wondering about the fact, that the primary enthusiast of the citizens of the candidates is gradually decreasing, due to the condition and due to the fact that the “bill for the acceptance in Union will be salted”, “as they are nearly surprisingly finding out in Brussels, where they only dealt with the persuasion of their own public about the benefit of the enlargement, till now.”

The commentary **Three from the second league** (Trije iz druge lige, Miha Jenko, 06.11.2001) questions the condition of the privatization of Slovene banks. The pressures from the side of EU regarding the privatization are becoming worse, and with the “closing European dates, even our governing politicians are becoming more and more nervous”. Because of this, the author warns, that Slovenia should not make mistakes. He is afraid, that with the (un)sale of NLB, the “short-term budget or sentimental national interest” will prevail.” This (by the authors opinion) would be the worst that could happen. With wrong steps in privatization, bad side effects for the Slovene banking could happen. The author is afraid that with the possible entrance in EU (after three years), the Slovene banks would not survive or that they would only vegetate if they would be in a condition like they are now. “The Slovene financial pillar would be very shaky”. If Slovenia wants to avoid the tragedy of Slovene banking, it will have to change a lot of things. The author is very pessimistic because of this. The privatization is supposedly only the beginning in the revival of the banking. Not only that the privatization of the banks is a condition of EU, the privatization is the necessary beginning of the rehabilitation of the bad condition, which in no way could save the Slovene banking from the deluge without other measures.

The commentary titled **The hard fight for interests** (Trd interesni boj, Mojca Drčar Murko. 08.11.2001) is again exposing the interest of some of the members, especially the interests of Austria, which represent the obstacles in the process of enlargement. The article is based on the two day visit of the president Milan Kučan in Vienna. Hard fight for interests between Austria and Slovenia, where it seems that Slovenia has to adapt because of the stronger position of Austria, which Austria has as a developed country of EU. The author is asking herself, if Austria won't perhaps take the advantage of this position, or even misuse it. Will Austria realize that Slovenia has its own legitimate interests? Can Slovenia be sure, that the enlargement of EU is supported by the whole Austrian government? The questions stay open, even after the visit of the president Kučan . The matters which are being towed for a long time, are still unfinished and unsaid and full of fears and doubts. "Indefiniteness of some of the standpoints, which are being illustrated by occasional threats of stopping the EU enlargement and by threats of setting up new obstacles on the negotiation path of Slovenia«, are the consequences of two-sided relation, where both sides are getting acquainted with each other and finding out to where it is possible to go in this fight of interests.

Annual report of European commission about the progress of Slovenia in year 2001.

The commentary **The tenth in the finish** (Deseterica v finišu, Božo Mašanović, 14.11.2001), which was followed by the annual report of European commission about the progress of Slovenia in year 2001, talks about the general condition of enlargement and again mentions the problematical interests of some of the members of EU. The European commission will only by the end of the year judge which countries will be ready for the entrance in EU. Except Bulgaria and Romania, all of the other candidates expect, that they will be accepted in the first round of the enlargement, and this is more and more real and reachable, because the political analyses are confirming, that the simultaneous entrance of these ten countries would be the most practical solution for EU and for the impatient candidates as well. The commission emphasizes in its strategic document on the progress of 12 countries, that EU should be capable to finish the negotiations till the year 2002. This fact should worry the candidates. The 15 member of EU have already many problems with the adjustments of jointly starting-point, and over the next year the process will focus on

the chapters of legal orders, this means new problems, because in this field some of the influential members have important economical interests. Again France is mentioned, which as the biggest receiver won't give up the money from the agricultural funds and it will try hard to restrict the access to the Brussels manger as much as possible. Spain will most certainly demand undiminished flow of money from the structural funds and from cohesion funds. And Germany as the main payer won't be ready to take on too big financial burden. Already this will represent a lot of troubles and obstacles, "in addition there will be parliamentary elections in Germany and also the president elections in France, and they will happen in the critical time of accession negotiations." This will only aggravate the process, mainly because of the pushing for the realization of as much interests as possible (which will be in pre-election campaigns even more important)."So the candidates in this critical year of the enlargement should not expect very rich gifts from Brussels, in spite of big words." And again it seems that the candidates will be everything else than the equal members of EU, and that the promises which were given at the beginning of the negotiations, won't be fulfilled completely. And with this the credibility of the bearing of EU is again shaken.

Negotiating conferences – 6 closed chapters: **27.07.2001** customs union, **28.11.2001** competition and national aid, **12.12.2001** free movement of persons, taxation and justice and internal affairs, **21.12.2001** transport.

The commentary »**Give-give**« (»Daj-daj«, Božo Mašanović, 13.12.2001;) where the title itself is again alluding that the candidates in accession negotiations are in absolute inferior position. The candidate are in fact obligated to take over the whole European legal order and beside this accept all of the special demands from the individual members of the EU (forced limitations for free movement of people, transport and agriculture are mentioned). »In return the candidates can hope for utmost few of transitional periods«. So it is not about the »classical jobbing under the principle of »I give-you give«, where the countries try to get as much concessions as possible«, the enlargement negotiations are following the method »you give- you give« And even though Slovenia has temporarily closed 25 of 29 chapters of European legislation with this, and it has climbed to the top of unofficial scale of momentarily condition of readiness of the candidates, the author is realistic and

doubts that this fact has moved Slovenia closer to the community.«Partially yes«, says the author, but even though all of the satisfaction, we have to keep in mind that »the final goal is still far away«. The length of the process does not depend from the readiness of the candidates or from »possible changes of the attitudes of the members of EU where the elections will take place (France, Holland, Germany), but from the political will of the members that in the critical phase won't throw logs in the machinery of the enlargement marathon«. Again it is about the interests of individual members who want to take advantage of negotiations to reach their own particular goals. And the reciprocal interests of the candidates do not matter to them. So the number of temporary closed chapters is only a relative indicator of the progress of the candidates, because in every moment one of the member can achieve that the chapter which was closed, is opened again. The author quotes the case of Austria (which was already in the year 1999 temporarily blocked the enlargement process for couple of times), which could at any time »find out« that Slovenia has not fulfilled all the obligations on the field of nuclear safety. Especially if EU conceives some new jointly measures » which would *of course* be valid only for the novices«. So again the suggestion to the inequality between the novices and the members. The candidates should give even more than it is necessary and logical, but it is not even approximately necessary for the members to adapt. As if it would go for two types of citizens of EU. And again the credibility of negotiations is put under question.

European Council in Brussels – Laeken..

Another commentary – the commentary with the title **Feathers are going to fly** (Perje bo frčalo, Božo Mašanović, 17.12.2001) – decisively concludes, that in the accession negotiations, the “scissors and the linen are in the hands of 15 members countries”, this is supposedly proved by the decisions from European summit in Brussels (Leaken). “/.../ even though the *apparent* bright pledges when the list of ten future members was published”, EU will likewise “in the future set the way and the tempo of accession process” This is of course understandable, because it is a clear and a legitimate fact, that the candidates are approaching EU and not EU to the candidates, and also that the adaptation of the candidates is a obvious consequence of the negotiations, but it still seems somehow less acceptable, that the rules, demands and

terms are changing with regard to the interests of the members, even though not in the general welfare of the EU. And that the candidates haven't got even the minimal power for enforcement or for the protection of their own interests. "Only at the end of negotiations will be clear, how much feathers the candidates left on the altar of enlargement." The author is obviously disappointed with this, also the "chosen ones" supposedly don't have "special reasons for euphoric thinking", so he alone is clearly skeptical about the course of the enlargement process. The fact that EU has published the list of the "chosen ones" is not something radical and extra stimulative, because it was already known which of the candidates can expect the entrance in the first round of enlargement. They have supposedly "insured well from possible reproaches of the candidates, if the process of acceptance would be delayed or if some of the listed countries would stay in front of the Brussels doors" in Leaken. Even though EU is assuring that till the end of the year 2002, the accession negotiations will be finished, these ten candidates will be ready for entrance only if they will keep the same rhythm of negotiations and the enforcement of demanded reforms. And again the mentioning of individual members which could "block the enlargement process", which supposedly won't "avoid" when it goes for national interests. The fact that the legislation and financial agreements from the summit in Berlin (March 1999) will be considered in the negotiations, is supposedly not a "special consolation for the candidates", because the "intrusion" of new rules of agricultural and regional politics would be timely impossible to realize. "The persistence in budget perspectives gives the least reasons for satisfaction", because the ten candidate will have to divide the money which was originally meant for six candidates. So it goes for various questionable moves, which are throwing a bad light on the negotiations and which are bending the credibility of EU. The candidates have to accept everything that EU orders them. All of this gives a negative sound to the enlargement and at the same time the premonition or a doubt that the enlargement is a mistake or that at least the direction of the process is wrong.

The commentary **A new broom** (Nova Metla, Majda Vukelić, 18.12.2001) bases on the take-over of the Istrabenz holding from the side of former minister of European affairs Igor Bavčar. With his departure, by the words of the leader of the delegation of European commission Eric van der Linden, the possibilities for the entrance of Slovenia in EU supposedly won't decrease, because supposedly also the top Slovene

negotiator Janez Potočnik is doing a “great” job. And even though the year 2002 is a key year for the candidates, “it would be frivolously to say, that the accession negotiations will be threatened because of the departure of one man”, due to the fact that Slovenia already closed 25 chapters.

Introduction of Euro banknotes and coins in 12 EMU countries.

After the introduction of Euro a commentary **Euro** (Evro, Stojan Žitko, 03.01.2002) followed. EU is for the candidates supposedly still attractive as it was, so Euro does not change anything, but they are expecting easier and more fluent negotiations. "For example because of the fact that EU will be able to dedicate more time to the enlargement since it was hard to work on two equal demanding and far-reaching fronts at the same time". So the introduction of Euro was supposedly slowing down and aggravating the enlargement process. After the introduction the relaxation and more effective negotiations are expected.

A rather cynical commentary titled **The Union after the Union** (Po Uniji unija, Radovan Kozmos, 12.01.2002), again criticizes the enlargement negotiations, mainly because too much importance is attributed to individual (old) members who want to exploit the enlargement for the enforcement of their own interests. Michel Barnier, has praised Slovenia in his interview for Delo, as Slovenia had reached "the best possible result" with the temporary closure of 26 chapters of the EU acquis. However, the author cynically comments that his words sounded like they were "biblical": "You are not entering in Union only because of (materialistic) benefits! With the membership in Union you are uniting with the politically stable region, peaceful and democratic community. Do not think only about what you will get and how much you will have to pay!" So the candidates should be satisfied with the fact that they have an opportunity to enter in the European integration and they should ignore all the giving up, jobbing and uncompromising adaptations. But the author thinks that the French, Germans, Brits, Spaniards, Belgians, Italians and Austrians should "from time to time forget about their own interests" for more effective EU. The Brits supposedly want an enlarged Union which would "suit mainly the interests of the United Kingdom", the French are "thinking of confederal Europe with more or less sovereign national countries, France especially of course". "The Germans would want nothing less than the solid federation in which of course the biggest, most influential and richer has the most to say". And the other "less lethal" members are standing by the side and quietly calculate. In addition these interests of different countries are supposedly in conflict

with them. This makes this matter even more complicated. It seems that it is going for a sort of a game, where the candidates are dolls, which are being moved by some of the members of EU according their own scenario. The author finishes: "The one who will train in obedience and asceticism will be redeemed". So the candidates should quietly accept what is given and demand nothing in return. Because the only fact, which they can negotiate at all, is a big gift from the EU. Even though the enlargement process is intended for the enlargement of the Union, it seems that this is more a nuisance or penitence for EU, rather that something that is welcome or perhaps even effective. No, as the author says: "It is obvious that the company in which someday, after all the closed and some again opened and again convulsively closed chapter, also Slovenia will be ceded, won't be harmonious and even less equal" Again the fear of the fact, that the candidates will be just like the black sheep on a pasture, where the best pasture will be reserved to the old sheep. And the herdsman will do with the black flock as they will feel like.

01.03.2002 Abolishment of national currencies in countries of EMU

Negotiating conference – treatment of the last chapters: transport, agriculture and financing and budget.

The commentary **A (too) large morsel?** ((Pre)velik zalogaj?, Gregor Pucelj, 05.03.2002) is based on the ratification of Kyoto protocol by the EU environmental ministers. With this it is clear, that the candidates will have to take measures as EU will have to take. And of course Slovenia is not excluded. But the fact is that Slovenia is in the most difficult situation among all of the candidates. This is because the emissions have risen for 4 percent compared to the year 1986. So by the Kyoto protocol the emissions should be by the year 2008 lowered for 12 percents and not for 8 percents as required by the Kyoto protocol. Beside this, Slovenia is not yet a member of EU, so the advantages of the "European bladder" are not valid for Slovenia. The less developed members have less burden about the lowering of emissions. Even though this is a huge morsel, the Slovene government already started the procedure of ratification. "This is not so hard, a lot harder will be to fulfill the "promise". So it goes for a founded fear that Slovenia won't be able to lower the emission and for a paradox that it is none the less obliged to ratify the protocol

because of the accession negotiations (even though it is not ready for realization).

The commentary **The Unconventionals** (Nekonvencionalci, Božo Mašanović, 23.03.2002) speaks about the consultation and the selection of the representative of the candidates in the presidency of convention (about the next institutional reform of community). The members of parliament of the thirteen candidates have supposedly prevented the “disgrace” which would happen if they left without the agreement, the “disgrace” was prevented only by the additional debate. The biggest organ of the forum which prepares the suggestions for the reform of the EU institutions, has set a “additional seat” and with this, the demands of the candidates were at least partial realized. But the “*concession is minimal*”, because the future members have expected (with regard to the declaration from Laeken) that the representation in the presidency of the convention will be the same as the representation of the members of EU. This again proves the eternal hints to the fact, that the future members in Union won’t be on the equal position. The resolution is providing only the “guest” status that is not even defined yet. The question was “should the thirteen candidates be represented by the parliamentarian or the representative of the government.”. This would mean, that either Lojze Peterle and the former polish premier Jozef Oleksy would be chosen. On the special meeting they have decided that the parliamentarian will be named as a representative in the presidency of the convention. “If there *won’t be any new complications*, and the complications wouldn’t be so surprising if we take the recent happenings in the account”, the “guest” will sit at the given seat at the second meeting of the convention. Again the complications are mentioned, and they are (with the shadow of pessimism) expected even in the future. Among this, also the skepticism about the functionality and the effectiveness of this “guest”, because the “parliamentarians of the candidates had already showed that they are prepared to exceed mutual political, parties and the national dispersion only after the friendly suggestion of Euro parliamentarians.” So the question is asked, how will (if we take the experiences in the account), one representative for all thirteen candidates, effectively represent all the common interests of the candidates?” This is most certainly not a good travel ration for the Union, where the new member will effectively defend their common interests only if they will act as an united front.” So the decision about one “guest” has triggered the wave of new fears, doubts and pessimism.

The commentary **The weaker get the bill** (Račun dobijo šibkejši, Ljiljana Đerić, 28.03.2002) talks about special EU measures for the protection of the market against the too large import of steel. The measures are the consequences of the protectionism by the USA, which with its questionable measurements succeed, that the import of steel in EU had risen for one fifth. And with this measurement EU wants to “return the soap for cove to the eternal concurrent beyond the Atlantic ocean in the fight for prestige”. But the author notes, that the negative consequences of the measurement will harm third countries. They will also harm Slovenia, because its largest buyers of steel are from EU. “The candidates for the entrance in Union are in a bit better position than the other importers of steel, because special customs are added to lower basis and so the import of our steel should be – in spite of indiscrimination – cheaper than the import from the countries that are not the candidates.” It would be bad for Slovenia if EU would choose the system “who comes first, gets first” for their quotas. What does this measure actually means for Slovenia, will be clear at the end of 2002, but “because of the collapse of the steel market, where the *stronger overthrewed on the weaker*”, the most affected between the candidates will be Slovenia, So again it goes for a hint about the realization of EU interests which are indirectly harmful for the candidates.

The article **Without panic?** (Brez panike?, Božo Mašanović, 10.04.2002) is about the fading of the public support for the entrance of Slovenia in Union and in Nato, this is (according to Slovenian foreign minister Rupel) “indeed causing some concern”, but it largely goes for “exaggeration and unnecessary panic”. The fading of the public support was explained by Rupel with “the seriousness of Slovenians, who are getting more and more critical during the approach to Nato and the Union”. The author somehow suggestively adds that “they are getting more and more aware of the consequences, that is why they express doubts”. The government will supposedly answer to this “alarming” condition with the extensive information campaign which will supposedly influence the attitude of the public. The authors question, “With arguments or the *pressure on those who think differently?*”, clearly shows the skepticism and the pessimisms in the approaching to the integrations, as in the government’s way of persuasion of the positivity of the entrance in Nato and Union.

The commentary **Sand in the eyes** (Pesek v oči, Božo Mašanović, 16.04.2002) even with its title clearly claims that the intentions of EU are not really transparent or that they are at least deceptive in relationship with the candidates. The role of the additional seat which is intended for the representative of the candidates in the presidency of the convention for new Europe, is not so important as it might seem. It goes more for a favor to the candidates. The fact that it was set up to the table only “after the hard political pressure by the candidates”, tells a lot. Lojze Peterle who was elected as a representative, after his election naively announced his role as an important one: “Most surely I won’t be just a observer.” In other words, he intends to “discuss, give suggestions and *take part in the decision-making*”. And he founds these ambitious plans on the assurances of Jean-Luce Dehaen, that every representative will have the same rights as the members of the presidency of convention and on the establishment of “Laeken statement” where it was supposedly said about full cooperation of the candidates in *setting up the suggestions* for the next reform of EU institutions. But the document, which was accepted by the top EU statesman in December 2001, is showing that the additional seat “will be perhaps less comfortable than Lojze Peterle believes”. It says in the document, that the presidency of the convention is composed of 12 members and not 13, “and the representatives of the candidate won’t be able to spoil the concordance”. This means, that the seat for the “guest” is really more like “the sand in the eyes”. “Parliamentarians and the representatives of the candidate countries will be able to discuss, to give suggestions and even to lobby for them, but when the decision is made, they will be able at the utmost to nod at the decision of the EU member.” “In other words, the convention hasn’t got the decisive meaning, because it is meant only for the preparation of the suggestions, which also “generously” the “Laeken statement” offers to the candidates.” This suggestions will be later on the intergovernmental conference either accepted or not by the representatives of community members. So only the members of the EU will decide, and Lojze Peterle won’t have a chance to “take part in the decision-making”, even though he ambitiously promises that. “././ For well considered steps of Union which only lets the candidates the passive ushering of the reforms of their future home. Logical inference would lead to the conclusion that so well prepared field of convention and the institutional reform of the community, has no

positive intentions to the candidates. The reform most probably won't set up the candidates in the equal position with the members.

12.06.2002 The European Council in Seville.

The commentary **The measuring of muscles at the conference** (Konferenčno merjenje mišic, Luka Dekleva Humar, 04.06.2002) talks about the European conference about the informational society. The ministers and the other high representatives from the thirteen candidate countries had met in Ljubljana, where they presented the first report about the progress in the fulfillment of the action plan *e-Europe+ 2003*. And the fact, that the conference was hosted by Slovenia, so the author, is good for negotiations, because along the results in the referential report it is also important, who hosts the last similar conference before the next round of enlargement. But the author emphasizes, that it is mainly about the “political measurement of muscles on the back of informational development of the countries”. Even the organizers themselves say that the intention of the conference is more political than technical. “It can be seen in the referential report, that Slovenia had made a good result in this game, *but it is still a long way to go till the end of the tournament.*” The author says that in such events it is important what the politicians say, “if they don't promise”. The minister for the informational society Pavel Gantar, ph.d., had talked to the audience and “indirectly to the citizens” with a warning that there is a lot of work to be done in this field. The author evaluates his speech as unsuitable, because such conferences are not supposed to give answers to this kind of questions. “They could be only a reminder in full filing the political goals, such as the entrance to the EU. The commentary is positive and optimistic about the progress and successes of Slovenia. Even though also a piece of doubt and criticism can be felt. The critiques obviously fly to Slovene politics, the safety before the overhasty optimism is represented by the relativism of the momentarily success and by the warning ‘the path is still long’.

Another relatively positive commentary which quotes the successes of Slovenia on its path to the EU is **Towards innovative Slovenia**. Here the realization that Slovenia is

not far away from the goal and that the entrance in Slovenia is a matter of time, can be felt for the first time. The commentary (*Za inovativno Slovenijo*, Barbara Kramžar, 10.06.2002) starts with the economic summit in Munich (Europe after the enlargement), where the president of the German central bank Ernst Welteke presented Slovenia as more developed than Greece. Also the Bavarian premier Edmund Stoiber has expressed praises; “Among all the candidates, your country fulfills the terms for the membership in EU the best!” During the meeting many praises were expressed on Slovenia account. The author stresses that Slovenia has “all the right – and even an obligation to its citizens – that it understands the entrance in EU as a first big step to the arena of world globalisation”. The author warns that the “hard” adaptation which was demanded by the accession process, should not be an “intention for itself”, “after the integration of most beneficial European frames in the domestic economy, now it’s the time that Slovenia thinks about all its own interests and that it prepares its citizens for a successful landing in the global space”. Slovenia will necessary have to define itself on the new field, and it will have to make a “clear strategy of innovative, educated society of new technology”.

The pessimism and fear which are gradually being transmitted more and more into the future, are present in the title of the commentary itself. This is true for the commentary **The bitter taste of enlargement** (*Grenki okus širitve*, Božo Mašanović, 11.06.2002). The main dilemmas and doubts are in the agricultural politics and with them connected threats and vagueness which supposedly originate from the reform of agricultural politics. It is mainly about the distribution of the direct agricultural payments between the two blocks in Union. Supposedly there are the strategic interests of the members in the background of this quarrel. The first block is structured by the four members who give more money to the budget that they get from it. This is a reason that this block strives that the subventions in the expanded EU would be abolished or at least radically diminished with the agricultural reform, so that the saved money would be used for the ecological production of healthy food and for the development of the countryside. The block is also striving to prevent that the big receivers of the financial funds would take the advantage of the concession of the candidates for the preservation of direct payments. Because of this they reject the proposal that the candidates would get at least a minimal subvention. The other side, the receivers of the money from Brussels, see an opportunity in the concession for the

candidates, an opportunity that the system of direct payments would be prolonged at least for the next decade (European commission is suggesting that the transitional period would last for ten years). The author notices that neither of the blocks really understood well what is going on. “Both are deaf for the arguments of the commission and the presiding Spain.” The first camp neglects the fact that the candidates “will get the payments only in the period of 2004-2006, the later destiny is not known yet.” And the other side has obviously overlooked the stipulation of the outline of negotiation position, under which the subventions to the future members do not announce the result of the reform of agricultural politics. “A fight for the interests of the members, which is happening on the “shoulders of the candidates” will most likely continue till autumn. And then it will be clear if the quarrel made delays in the calendar of enlargement. And even if the accession process will finish in time, as it was announced and expected, “the candidates will remain with a bitter taste of the fact that they were cheated”. And they will most probably lose the most in the struggle between two EU blocks. And an equal struggle is not made possible for them.

The division in the Union because of the reforms of the agricultural policies and the consequences which are brought by this separation are also continued in the next commentary **Adversary winds** (Nasprotni vetrovi, Božo Mašanović, 14.06.2002). In spite of the warnings and the expression of worry by Gunter Verheguen and the Spanish state secretary Ramon de Miguel about the consequences because of the disagreement among the fifteen members about the negotiating position for agriculture, it seems that the compromise is still far. Germany and Holland (probably mainly because the German elections and the forming of the new government in Holland) had namely rejected the “conciliatory suggestion of Spain, that the Union *fundamentally* recognizes the right to the agricultural subventions to the candidates. Talks about the details would be on the summit of the fifteen members at the end of October” So they didn’t want to accept even a namely deal, let alone the real. With this adversary, the author warns, “it is even more obvious, that the destiny of the integration process” will depend mainly from the autumn session of European council. Then also the political will be more favorable, because there won’t be elections in Germany, and the new government in Holland will be already formed. But there are still founded reasons for the fear that the Copenhagen 2002, which is

supposedly the “boundary stone for the first wave of enlargement”, will be postponed. At the summit in October all the questionable issues will be solved, because of the “Adversary winds” the agriculture will remain open. ”The candidates who will by then /./ temporarily close all the ‘technical’ chapters of common legislation, will then be able only to *measure the time that was thrown away* and to hope for the best *when waiting for the clearance of political conditions*. Namely the reforms which in many places had a big economical, but most of all social price, were not in vain”. The quoted end of the commentary shows in an ironical way the unreasonable condition which was made by the internal European quarrel. The interests of some members who do not want to subject to the well being of community and undisturbed enlargement process, are making a strained atmosphere, they make the normal process of enlargement and (perhaps even) make the candidate doubt and fear. The candidates may begin to feel like they are not welcomed or are a sinner goat, which is only raising the internal dust in the EU.

The commentary **The two worlds** (Dva svetova, Marjeta Šoštarič, 18.06.2002) also touches the agricultural quarrel. But this time it stays within the borders of Slovenia. Dissatisfaction of the farmers is a consequence of setting up the market rules and enforcement of European laws”, which “also the Slovene farmer will have to comply with”. So it is important that all the sides would “harmoniously take the paddle and drive to the goal as soon as possible”. And the government should more decisively negotiate in Brussels, and it would have to demand more benefits and rights in harmonization with the trade unions.

Also the commentary **Auto-goal** (Avtogol, Božo Mašanović, 22.06.2002) relates to the agricultural problems and with this connected fears about the postponed enlargement of Union because of the delay in the accession process which would be made by the postponing of the decision about the agricultural subventions. The announcement that the autumn Brussels summit will be postponed “has quickly woken up the black scenarios of postponing of enlargement process”. And the pessimism has its own reasons. Even if all went according to time plan, there is not enough time. The negotiators would have only six weeks for the last three financial

chapters of legal order (among them also and above all – agriculture). And the minimal postponing of the Brussels summit could harm the finish of accession negotiations a great deal. Any postponing would mean “less time for the final phase of the negotiations with the ten candidates, for which it is already known that it will run in time distress and under political pressures”. The postponing would “././ in the eyes of the citizens of the future members, who had for four years patiently listened to the story about the opening of Brussels door, most certainly sound like a “Union’s auto-goal”.

Yet another, almost identical commentary **Consolatory rewards** (Tolažilna nagrada, Božo Mašanović, 29.06.2002), is finding out, that the candidates will be cheated in agriculture. The expectations of the candidates, that the accession process will take place according to the agreed plan, have moved away. The effort of Spain in succeeding that the 15 members would have accepted the agreement about the “most difficult field of legislation”, had failed. Finally the members of EU have reached a compromise, but this compromise does not solve anything. It got the general support because it can be interpreted in many different ways. The dilemma about the direct payments stays open at least to the late autumn if not even further. And this puts “in trouble the whole last phase of accession negotiations which are supposed to end in the middle of December in Copenhagen”. And Spain has made a “symbolic *gesture* and had invited the candidates to the accession negotiations in the field of agriculture, *of course* with the exception of direct payments”, right before the handing over of the presidential duties to Denmark. “Today’s negotiation position of community is of course scooping more than 95 percent of agricultural legislation, but without the subventions, this is only a *consolatory reward* which should *calm down* those who cannot wait and partially worried candidates”. It looks like it is going more for the entrance of the candidates to the EU, which is a purpose for itself, and not for the adoption of equal chances in the community. As if the candidates are a necessary evil, which will be accepted out of mercy. So they should not be too much demanding, and should be satisfied with things that EU is generously giving to them.

Yet another commentary, commentary **Rebus** (Rebus, Božo Mašanović, 01.10.2002), is confirming the step-motherly relationship of EU to its future members. Even though the solidarity is supposedly “the elemental load star of stages that happened so far”, it

has shown in the springtime 2002, that the “members of Union are not ready for the opening of their portfolios yet”. This happened when the presiding Spain started the debate about the consequences of the enlargement to the community budget.” Already the suggestion of financial flow to the candidates, which the commission published at the end of January 2002, showed that EU won’t be so generous to the novice members. And no matter if it was frequently repeated, that the novices should not allocate more money to the community budget as they will get from it, the calculation of the budget balance showed, “that the deficit threatens four out of ten new candidates”, This uneasy position “ is supposed to be solved by the raise of the expected flow from the funds.” Denmark has suggested that the members would get four percent of additional aid from the structural funds and cohesion fund (here the sum has already decreased), but the suggestion did not get the support of “the Mediterranean club”, namely the few countries which are getting regular Brussels infusions since their entrance to the EU. “The solution of the rebus”, how to prevent the financial deficit of the novices, without the need for EU's financial contributions, is postponed to the end of October. There is not much time for the salvation of the financial troubles. The lack of solidarity and the avariciousness of some members seems incomprehensible. Especially not from the side of the members who already went through the accession negotiations. And when they did, they most certainly expected at least an equal position.

09.10.2002 Annual report of European commission about the progress of Slovenia in year 2002.

Negotiating conference – the final financial bundle of negotiation was transferred to the Copenhagen European Council.

The commentary **Even the Union is not (yet) prepared** (Tudi Unija (še) ni nared, Božo Mašanović, 10.10.2002) is not really optimistic. The enlargement of Union is still not unimpeded. This fact is admitted even by the European commission which had already “light a green light” to the ten candidates. Two chapters, agriculture and budget are still open, at least in two, institutions and regional politics the key provisions will be entered only at the final phase. The author thinks, that this should not be worrying, because Union can give a choice “take or let it go” at any time from

the candidates, especially in the decisive moment. The enlargement is in danger especially because of political interests of fifteen members who simply cannot get a common point. Again the unsuccessful coordination of negotiation position for “heavily cut” direct agriculture payments, are mentioned, “for which a less than percent of the budget of the expanded Union (with the contribution of the candidates counted) would be enough till 2006”. This information takes the blind alley in an even less understandable position. The reason for the pessimism is also in the fact that it is still not clear, how will the Union “fulfill the promise to the candidates that they will not be net payers already at the entrance, no matter if they are falling behind in the degree of economic development, which is exploited even by the richest members. But the reasons for worrying are not over yet. “The least predictable is the solution to the rebus of institutional relationship in 25 members Union”. The result of the Irish referendum about the contract from Nice supposedly won’t have any influence on this. “Institutional status quo could cause ‘thrombosis’ of Union after the enlargement, because up to the present the Union had serious troubles”. So the trouble of the EU are especially that it is still not (yet) prepared, as even the title of the commentary says. Beside this EU is full of internal problems. “Especially because of this it is not tragic, if the candidates are not completely prepared for the acceptance of membership obligations”. These facts were posted in the report on the progress. “The steersmen of enlargement should be more worried about the cognition, that fifteen members are still *obstinately persistent* behind the *narrow national interests*, moreover it was not able to design the long term solution for the most difficult problems for the successful operation of the enlarged Union, but it has satisfied itself with the patching of the holes.”. As it was said in one of the previous commentaries, it goes more for a method “give-give”. Then the commentary relates to the fact that only the candidates give.

The commentary **Sinful goat** (Grešni kozel, Božo Mašanović, 15.10.2002) talks about the opening of the Schengen area to the candidates and about two key conditions which will have to be fulfilled so that the members of EU “will decide for the risky political step”, which would be represented by the enlargement of the Schengen area to the east and the south (for the members this would be supposed to mean the enlargement toward the “security uncertain areas which are in the immediate nearness of the secret paths of traders with people, drugs and weapons – perhaps even the terrorism networks”) The first condition is “obvious”. The candidates will have to

prove, that the enlargement has not “worsened the internal security and that it has not diminished the effectiveness of cooperation on the Schengen area or even threatened the functioning of the project”. The ministry council of the Union will of course evaluate if the candidates are able to ensure the effective and safe control. And then the Schengen could be expanded. But the author warns that there is a condition which should cause much more worry to the candidates. The fact is that the capability of information system is supposedly too low, and this system should be upgraded and refreshed when new users will be accepted. The system is supposedly being developed, but this could take at least till the year 2005. “And here is the danger that the candidates will stay outside the Schengen area even after the hard demands will be fulfilled. And this informational system will supposedly play a role of “sinful goat”, in the case of delay. It wouldn’t be for the first time that they would postpone the enlargement on the new area, under the “pretence” of insoluble computer”. So “after the acceptance of the candidates in the Union, the ‘troubles with the computer’ could repeat”.

The commentary **Dangerous relationships** (Nevarna razmerja, Branko Soban, 17.10.2002) touches the doubts derived from the incorporation of Slovenia in euroatlantic connections. Because Slovenia is in front of the entrance in EU and Nato. And the Slovene negotiation actors are proudly bragging with this. “Slovenia has become a successful and reputable country in this time /..” The author asks the question of recognition of Slovenia, because foreign countries are supposedly still sending the greetings from under Tatras to the president, and in sports the Slovak flag is still flickering for Slovenia. So the problem of recognition is emphasized. Along that, the doubt in the words of authority which is proud on “the walked through decade and the independent foreign politics”. The author asks himself if “our foreign policy is really alone and freely deciding about the incorporation to the EU and Nato.” He answers negatively, because in both cases the final decisions are in the hands of Brussels. “The will can be hard, but Ljubljana has no decisive word in this, and from this side Slovenia is rather an object than a subject of a new Euro-Atlantic policy”. And the commentaries about the entrance to the EU are confirming this thesis also from the other angles. But the author emphasizes that the entrance in EU is a “necessity”, because “only with united Europe the Berlin wall will finally fall in the heads of many western politicians who (un)willingly divide the Europeans on the

citizens of first, second and other categories.” So the candidates would get an equal position (at least in principle). The author on the other hand openly and directly doubts in the incorporation in Nato. And because Slovenia in the last period has “because of such a (blind) crush in Euro-Atlantic”, which it has put on the first place and at this forgot the relationship with neighbors, this decision (in the case of Croatia) “has hit Prešernova as a boomerang”. And because of this the author says that “a good neighbor is worth more than every, even so solid (Euro-Atlantic) military and political alliance.”

In the next commentary Miran Možina **Smaller and smaller cake** (Čedalje manjši kolač, Božo Mašanović, 26.10.2002), the title itself obviously points to the fact, that the new members will get less financial means as it was expected. Even though a relatively important move was made on the unofficial summit in Brussels, the accession negotiation about the financial chapters of common legislation will continue again after the eight month blockade. And so also the probability, that the final phase of accession negotiations will happen according to the time plan, accordingly in Copenhagen, is bigger than before. The candidates can “recover the breath” about this. Germany and France have with “unexpected and –at least on the eye-spectacular move” moved the accession process again on this summit. “Germany had agreed with agricultural subventions for future members, and France had agreed with the restriction of agricultural expenses of expanded Union in the next budgetary “septennial” (2007-2013).” These two proposals were confirmed without problems. “But this is also the only favorable news” from the meeting in Brussels. There are many reasons for this. The negotiations have still to end and in the last phase the candidates could feel like they were double-crosses, the author says. “There won’t be so much money from the Brussels budget as the governments (who have to assure the referendum support of the citizens) were expecting, even more, the flow will be obviously even smaller from the expected suggestions of the Commission which considered the instruction that the expenses for the enlargement must not exceed the budget restrictions from Berlin (1999).” So the means for solidarity aid for less developed candidates will be substantially lower than it was expected (even promised) and that is a founded reason for the feeling that they were double-crossed. Along this the actual flow (till the year 2007) will amount to the approximately 20 percent of all expected means. The author legitimately asks himself “And what would this mean for

the countries that are separated from the average income of 15 members by the decade of accelerated development?” Probably the candidates have expected a different scenario and more financial benefits at the start of negotiations. And this avariciousness of Union seems even less understandable because of the fact, which the author mentions in the commentary, that not so long ago Germany had invested 600 billion of euros for the restructuring of its new eastern regions, and they were not less poor than most of the candidates. The amount of euros which will be given to the candidates by the EU will be a lot smaller. And this is the main concern and disappointment which goes through the authors and many others heads. And the feeling that the candidates were double-crossed will probably pervade even in the public opinion of the candidate countries.

The commentary **Uf!** (Uf!), Božo Mašanović, 29.10.2002) again, like the last one, speaks about the partial success of the EU summit in Brussels. The aid from the structural funds for the period 2004-2006 has been lowered from 25.5 to 23 billion euros. The gradual enlargement of the agricultural subventions is extended to the year 2013 (then the farmers from the candidate countries will supposedly equalize with the farmers from member countries), but the common agricultural policy which will be used then is not known for now, so this fact does not represent any assurance about the concrete improvement of the condition of the farmers from the candidate countries. Also the sanctions against the countries which after the entrance in EU won't realize the given promises have expanded their range. The protective clause has become a bigger threat in this way. “*The only real* concession to the future members is the promise, that the balance of financial flows with Brussels shouldn't be less favourable in the year 2006 than before the entrance (2003).” And even this, by the author's opinion, is more like a fuse against the reduction of the support of the citizens of some candidates which could refuse the entrance in EU on the referendum, than the “sudden *outburst* of generosity of the fifteen member countries.” The governments of the candidates are consoling themselves with the fact, that the EU statesmen could be “*even less* open handed”. Meanwhile the candidates are hoping, that they will be able to get still some concession, or at least to achieve minor improvements of the momentarily condition in the last phase. The author's description of the four years of negotiation process is also telling. “The time had kindled the hopes of countries, which were pushed away from the flows of the European

integration for many years, but then it has gradually lowered them to the solid ground with the cognition that the solidarity of the rich and the developed is a *strongly limited term*.”

The commentary **Austria is no longer a perilous factor for the EU enlargement** (Avstrija ni več dejavnik tveganja za širitev EU, Mojca Drčar-Murko, 25.11.2002) tells the essence with its title.

The commentary **Poker** (Poker, Božo Mašanović, 27.11.2002) speaks about the decision of the presiding member Denmark to offer the “compromised bundle” to the candidates, the decision was accepted with critical annotations. The Danish themselves are guilty for this trouble, as they took a path which is not consistent with the practice of accession negotiations. Till now the presidency tried to accomplish a common EU starting point on the basis of the outline of Brussels commission. But Denmark had decided for a “solo action which cannot be reproached because of the lack of boldness and even more the lack of risk”. After two unofficial consultations with the negotiators from the candidate countries, Denmark had composed the “bundles”, which could (with a large dose of optimism) enable the end of the negotiation even before the summit in Copenhagen. If we base to the complication and difficulty of the accession process in the last period, “the chosen method should not be questionable in principle /../ if the presiding Denmark would not decide for a simultaneous poker with the fourteen members and ten candidates on its own hand.” It is true, that if Denmark would succeed with this risky move, it would get “the glory of the savior of the enlargement process”, on the other hand it is risking a defeat which would bring heavy consequences. Denmark has the on and “only trump” in this dangerous game. And this is the political obligation of the EU that the negotiations will be finished before the end of the year 2002. If the game on this card won’t succeed, “the whole scenario of enlargement would be put on its head” (according the plan the accession contract will be signed on the 16 April 2003, and the entrance in EU would happen on the 1 of May 2004, two months before the elections to the European parliament).” And obviously the Union presidency plays on this card.”

The commentary **Columbus’ egg** (Kolumbovo jajce, Božo Mašanović, 06.12.2002) talks about the proposal of the “new institutional building”. The Prodi’s team

believes, that the proposal would raise the EU effectiveness and at the same time “abolish the danger of paralisation, which threatens the ministry council more and more – the governments are even now threatening with the veto, but after the acceptance of the candidates there will be even more opportunities for the blockade of displeasing directives”, which the author compares with the problem of the Columbus’ egg. He evaluates the suggestion as a “case of classical division of authority.” And this solution of institutional reform would be appropriate only if it would go for the federal or centralized entity. “But the union will remain a community of countries even after the acceptance of dozen (and more) candidates. And these countries are very different, so Brussels will probably never be the capital of federal units of *United states of Europe*. ”The “fathers of integration” had followed the example of the system of USA even more than fifty years ago. So the author does not believe in the optimistical fate and in the acceptance of the suggested new “constitution”, especially if its fate will be decided on the referendums. But even if it won’t. “the radical simplification of the Union way of working”, has no chances according to the author.

The commentary **Crown princ** (Kronski princ, Miha Jenko, 07.12.2002) talks about the Kučan’s granting of the mandate for the composition of the government cabinet to Anton Rop. The author in the article warns that the momentarily government team does not assure “a soft landing in competition circumstances in EU”, so the new prime minister should ventilate at least three ministry competences. In this way the new government will be directed above all “on the goals which would raise the stability, competitive position and economical growth.” It is worth to try because “every additional drop of sweat before the entrance in EU would mean a tear less after the fight with competent European and world circumstances – and vice versa” But there is not much more time for the corrections.

The commentary **Subtracting and adding** (Odštevanje in seštevanje, Božo Mašanović, 10.12.2002) again touches the problems of the suggested Danish “bundles”. The optimistic announcements by Denmark, that the compromised “bundles” will help that the key financial agreements will be made even before the summit in Copenhagen, where the top statesmen will merely “solemnly approve”, have not realized. Even the negotiators of the candidates, “who are generally satisfied with the Danish ‘bundles’ /.../ are hesitating to do as Cyprus did when it accepted the

offered terms.” According to the author the reason for the failure of the Danish proposal lies also in the “nervous war” of candidates who are trying that the “avariciously given funds” would be improved as much as possible (in the period 2004-2006, EU will give to “the least developed group of candidates” “only” 0,032 percent of the year GNP), the main fault is supposedly the hesitation of the candidates who still haven’t accepted the financial offer of the presiding member. So the epilogue is postponed till the summit in the Danish capital. This moves the uncertainty of negotiations to the last moment of the enlargement process.

12.12.2002 Copenhagen European Council.

13.12.2002 Negotiations for the integration in EU are concluded.

The commentary **Also officially in Europe** (Tudi uradno v Evropi, Radovan Kozmos, 14.12.2002) talks about the positive unraveling of the summit in Copenhagen where it was said that “everyone will be in a better position with the enlarged European union. The author mentions many doubts in this solemnly and “inspirational statements”. “Great, let us open the champagne and wish that it will really be like this.” The expressed doubt falls above all to the “European story of success” and it is a question for how long this story will continue. “How long by the *shouting alienation* of influential elite of Brussels bureaucrats, for which it sometimes seems that they are leading the matters of the continent mainly for their *own welfare?*” He reproaches the lack of transparency to the council of ministers, more accurately the “unexpected” meetings behind the closed doors and “that the contracts which become a part of common European legislation are more a fruit of *diplomatic plotting and intrigues* than a fruit of public debates” Beside this he warns that the expanded and reformed EU has to stay “a community of sovereign national countries, ”which will realize their own identity, but still tightly cooperate with the partners, and that they will be ready to sacrifice a part of their sovereignty for the benefit of common EU goals. “It is a time for a clear practical cooperation” and not for the intention to raise the community to “a sort of super-state” “The Being European should be above all a state of mind, a state which would be respected and which would call for imitation.”

The year 2002 is closed by the commentary **Breaking Acropolis** (Prelomna Akropola, Stojan Žitko, 30.12.2002), which gives a first real seal to the negotiation process. The author at first mentions the pessimism which was wide not long ago. "Two years ago in many places they made a fool from anyone who thought that Slovenia and with it a couple of countries would be able to enter the EU in this time" But at the end it turned out, that the path of enlargement process had finished according to the "optimistic scenario" In order to join the EU and Nato, the statesmen need to break only through the referendums. The referendums will be "an important boundary stone in the life of the country". The referendums would not mean the distrust in the actors who tried that Slovenia approached both integrations. "It is more about the fact that those who will live with the future should decide about the future." So the important role is now on the side of citizens. The statesmen have the "decisive precedence" only when "they have to tell accurately about what we are going to vote about." The life in the EU "will most surely won't be without the consequences, only that we do not know all of the till now, perhaps we do not even know for who and when it is going to be harder"

2003

23.03.2003 The referendum on joining Slovenia to the EU

After the referendum the commentary **Towards the new adventure** (Novi pustolovščini naproti, Marko Pečauer, 24.03.2003) was published. The author warns that even though there were two referendums, one for the entrance in EU and the other for the entrance in Nato, mainly the last one occurred in the consciousness of voters.” As if the concordancy of citizens towards the entrance of Slovenia in EU is obvious, and as if the most important for the future of Slovenia is whether the country enters in a military union or not. But NATO is just a marginal episode in the story about the shaping of Slovene future, and EU is the main subject”. So the importance of entering in EU is supposedly not emphasized enough. The entrance to the EU will influence the life of the Slovene citizens to a much greater extend than the entrance to Nato. But it seemed just like the entrance in EU is a completely non-problematical choice. And the organizers of the referendum are partially responsible for this. Author says that “the decision would seem a lot harder” if the citizens only decided on the entrance to the EU at the referendum. Much more hesitations would be found, and the support on the referendum would be a lot worse than it was.” As if they wanted to use Nato (which seemed less acceptable) to cast a shadow to the questions about the entrance in EU and to enable the support in this way. So according to the author, the weakness of the referendums was the fact that they happened at the same time. “Both of them would earn an independent thought”. And he adds that the referendum on the EU happened too soon, because there was no need to rush, but that the referendum about Nato happened too late. And the deciding about the entrance in EU should have a lot more weight, because Slovenia is supposedly becoming “some other country” mainly because of the decision for EU. In any case the referendums meant an end of a period in the Slovene history and “a start of remodeling its position in international community, and most probably the remodeling of positions inside of it” So Slovenia has started a new stage with the closure of the last one. So as the title says, it “goes toward a new adventure.”.

Also the next commentary **Nato! And then?** (Nato! In nato?, Saša Vidmajer, 25.03.2003) speaks about the referendums on the entrance of Slovenia to the EU. The

effort of Slovenia to join the Euro-Atlantic integrations supposedly occupied “the whole foreign political horizon” in the last decade. And after the convincing support of the public on both referendums, the entrance became “only a technical problem”. “But under the big words emptiness arisen”. The negotiations had “very conveniently hidden the lack of foreign politics contents” till now. And because of this the author warns that the membership won’t always be such a filler. The safety of “the Slovene interim” will soon be over. The fear and pessimism flies mainly to the fact that Slovenia is small, because the “toleration to the small ones never longs for a long time” One of the negative expectations is the use of smallness for the manipulation from the side of big ones.

The commentary **The green light** (Zelena luč, Božo Mašanović, 10.04.2003) presents the positive epilogue of the enlargement process which was, mainly because of the internal EU troubles, uncertain and unpredictable. The process will continue according to scenario. Parliamentarians of the Strasburg parliament have finally convincingly “turned on the first green light to the convoy of the ten novices in front of the Brussels door”, “even with the votes of Euro-skeptics.” Almost two month long quarrel of the parliamentarians with the EU council, “which pushed the novices (that were not guilty for anything) in the ungrateful role of silent witnesses of jobbing between the two budget institutions”, had finally ended with a happy ending because of the conciliation gift in amount of 540 million euros. The hypothetical danger that the date of enlargement will be postponed is only in the eventual delay with the ratification of accession contracts in the parliaments of EU members. But the probability that this will happen is small, because if a parliament would oppose to the entrance of some candidate and that it would not ratify the contract, the enlargement process would be over. And this risk no government is willing to take. So there aren’t any real dangers anymore. Because of this the author emphasizes that this green light is at the same time “the first warning for the candidates for the acceleration of the preparations for the challenges of membership.” Slovenia is otherwise in a better position here (if we take the other candidates into account), that is because of the absence of introductory warnings of the European Commission for the fulfillment of the responsibilities that were taken over, but still the threat of protective clauses does not go past Slovenia. Those members who are aware that the enlargement does not mean only the opening of a new market but also a “hard fight” with the competitors

from “less productive but more competent economies from the point of view of costs”, may force the announcement of sanctions.

16.04.2003 Treaty of Accession is signed.

The commentary **Boundary stone** (Mejnik, Božo Mašanović, 17.04.2003), talks about the signature of the accession contract which is a boundary stone for the future members. Only the ratification of the contract in the national parliaments is needed before the official entrance. Even though harsh words will fall on the debates, no negative surprises are expected in relation to these ratifications, as it was already mentioned. The author then thinks about the decision that there won't be referendums where people could decide about the ratification of the contract. There is a fear that the citizens won't be objective, but rather more emotional in the delicate matters, so the fear that the ratification would not be supported is present. That is because in many places the enlargement is linked with the probability that the degree of criminal activities will rise, also unemployment, migration and similar fears. And even though it is about an important decision in this case, a decision that will change the economical and social figure of EU, the decision about the ratification was not ceded to the citizens, because the eventual refusal of only one member would mean a catastrophe for the whole enlargement process, it would also made a »deep crack on the continent«- Also the fact that the surveys showed that 40 percent of the surveyed do not know any of the candidates shows that it would be hard to ask the EU citizens for the opinion. The author warns that the candidates should use the last period before the entrance in EU for the preparations, but he adds that these preparations should not be limited to the fulfillment of the directives of European commission. It would be good to concentrate to the exploitation of opportunities which the membership gives (cooperation on internal market, pumping the money from Brussels funds), at least so the author thinks. And here a lot of effort will be needed, because »hard rules of the game, even the concept of the will of the stronger« are valid in Union. The smaller countries won't be able to calculate on the influence at deciding, that is why they will have to play on the note of national interests, of course with the consideration to the obligations and rights in EU. And then it will be clear if the expectations and the promises which the membership brings are realizable or if they will »end on the

cemetery of unrealized illusions«. So the reached boundary stone does not mean the end, but only the real beginning.

The commentary **Agreement for Europe** (Sporazum za Evropo, Jelena Gaćeša, 23.04.2003) talks about the signature of the second Slovene social agreement which shows that Slovenia is able to »catch up the step with the developed European countries, who find important the agreement of three meddling sides about the social swing« Here the author emphasizes that for Slovenia who is right before the entrance in EU, the contents of the agreement on social and legal safety are the most important. Because these fields are the most risky in this moment and if the partners of the agreement won't realize the tasks that were taken, there can be a lot of problems in these fields.

The commentary **New club rules** (Nova klubska pravila, Božo Mašanović, 07.06.2003) talks about the presentation of »long awaited – and even longer criticized« proposal of the constitutional contract, which contains the institutional reform of the expanded Union. By the words of the president of convention, this suggestion is »a foundation for the final agreement« which for a long time seemed so hard to accomplish. The proposal means that there will be a lot of institutional changes, so the author asks himself, why the candidates do not seize the rules of the game which are not yet reformed, due to the fact that they were forced to adopt the whole legislation. Why wouldn't they incorporate into the working institutional mechanism to which they could adapt with slight corrections, as it was with all the enlargements which have happened so far when no one has thought about the need for radical changes. This radical reform shows (by the author opinion) that EU tries to change the rules right before the entrance of the candidates. »As long there is still time«, probably for the sake of their own interests.

The commentary **Friday the thirteenth** (Petek trinajstega, Božo mašanović, 14.06.2003) talks about the acceptance of the sketch of new European constitution which will again be put on the table during the autumn at the intergovernmental conference. The result won't supposedly be excellent, but »incomplete constitution is most surely better than the sketch with multiple brackets or empty pages« And if we look from this pessimistic point of view which was afraid that there even won't be a

result, the result is stimulating, even though the representatives of the governments of members and future members will change this sketch (perhaps even completely). The convention is important also from the point of view of the »main rehearsal for the representative of (almost) all members of Union, which won't be able to spoil the agreement about the new contents of the new constitutional contract« But the »consultations, or better, the jobbing« for the concession were a good practice which showed how »hard they will have to fight for the enforcement of their national interests after the enlargement of community« The negotiators of the candidates got similar experiences on the negotiation in Copenhagen where the »future colleagues gave them a choice to whether take that which was given or to resign from entering in Union« And the author hinted with this, that the predominance of (big) members and with this their manipulation will be possible also in the future when the candidates will be equal members.

19.06.2003 European Council in Solun.

Another commentary, the commentary **Knell for convention** (Navček za konvencijo, Božo Mašanović, 21.06.2003) talks about the sketch of new European constitution which has »reaped promises« on the summit in Solun. »The biggest administrators were satisfied with the presented, better, curtailed document« according to which only »some fully technical work« needs to be done. That is how the convention about the future of Europe had officially (unexpectedly) ended. »The shaping of new constitution will begin at October under the wing of presiding Italy. It is not known for sure till when will the constitution be fully finished, but the »impalpable formulation« that the text of constitution should be harmonized »as soon as possible« is valid. Before the elections in European parliament. Here the author thinks, Is »the method of convention only a sand in the eye?« The fear that the contract of expanded community » will be shaping »according to the old way« so by hard negotiations for almost everything.« This »bitter feeling that the conventionalists were double-crossed«, is also confirmed by the another »unclinged decision of the summit«, which says that the constitutional contract will be signed » Soon after 1 May«, so immediately after the acceptance of new members.«The principle of transparency has been obviously put in the background« for the benefit of the political interests of the

governments, who even though all the representatives of the governments (except Spain) had agreed with the sketch, don't want to lose the last words at the composition of the contract.

Italian chairmanship.

05.11.2003 Final report of the European commission about the progress of Slovenia in year 2003.

The commentary **The end of the tuition years** (Konec učnih let, Saša Vidmajer, 06.11.2003) talks about the last report of the European commission about the readiness of Slovenia for the entrance in the EU. When the report was made, the Commission was able to keep a »perfect bearing« throughout the process. And even though Slovenia has been recognized for many times as »the best candidate« and that it had the least problems in the process, which was shown also in the reports of commission, which in comparison with other candidates contained the least critiques, this does not mean anything more. Because »these classifications are only for its home use« From now on »something more will be needed« The tuition years are over, but with this the »comfortable passive adaptation to the house order« of EU are over as well. Now the active cooperation will have to start, corroborated with a big measure of determination and hard fight.

The commentary **Bread and milk** (Kruh in mleko, Marjeta Šoštarič, 11.11.2003) speaks about the Slovene scandal of CLORAMFENICOL milk and the discovery of additives that are hazardous to health in bread and flour. The author criticizes mostly the ministry of agriculture. The minister of agriculture is supposedly exploiting the beneficial evaluation of the European commission about the readiness of Slovenia for the entrance in the EU, so that he can »self-confidentially assure«, that everything is o.k. with Slovene agriculture and safe food, because in other case the European commission would express same critiques. And with this the minister is »not only a big demagogue, but also a clumsy lying fibber« Because he concealed many things. European commission had scolded Slovenia when it wrote in the report »exactly the same thing« which was written in the report of EU inspection«. And the European

inspection had supposedly sent »it's threatening final report« to the agricultural minister and to the veterinary administration. Threatening because they supposedly had caught them on the lie, »because of this (in a normal functioning country) the head of the minister and some country secretaries would be fired«

12.12.2003 Brussels European Council.

The commentary **European millions** (Evropski milijoni, Silva Čeh, 12.12.2003) deals with the main, unified programme document (UPD) which was adopted by Slovene government. The document represents the political and practical plan after which Slovenia will receive funds from the EU structural funds in the period 2004-2006. This money will supposedly help Slovenia to deal with the falling behind in the average European development. Soon the document will be signed by the commissioner. It is principally decided how Slovenia will distribute this money. The real distribution will depend on the registration of the projects on notices. The fear that there won't be enough projects is needless. These doubts are minimized by the trial notice which showed that cca. 300 projects would apply on the notices for structural funds. This means more than 980 billions of tolar. And Slovenia has only 50 billions on disposal, and so it probably won't be hard to spend this money in two years. Even in the domestic budget there won't be troubles with the domestic contribution to the structural Euros. But the author warns that, »it is better not to be rapturous until the European structural machinery« really starts. Beside this there won't be any European money in advance, which means that the projects will have to start, only then EU will give the money. But the projects won't start until domestic private, municipal and state co-financier contribute their share. In addition, the politics of distributing the structural money will be »pedantic« which means that if domestic controllers won't be careful enough, EU simply won't pay some bills.

The commentary **On the knives edge** (Na noževi konici, Barbara Kramžar, 13.12.2003) talks about the summit in Brussels. The troubles with the constitution are not over yet. Supposedly mostly the national interests (which are not only a matter of »the big ones« but the matter of all members) are guilty for this. In the period of normality of all the EU members everyone should think about the famous sentence

from other times and from other continent: Don't ask what EU can do for you but what you can do for EU«. These words do not mean anything good for the candidates; neither are in the harmony with their expectations and efforts.

2004

The commentary **Bitter apple** (Trpkó jabólko, Božo Mašanović, 21.01.2004) already with its title announces troubles. The commentary opens the question if Slovenia will support the big payers who are demanding that the Brussels budget in the period 2007-2013 should confine to the »scarce« percent of brute income of the enlarged community. Dušan Mramor has supposedly get out with the explanation that »Slovenia is namely for the restricted policy but with the suitable transformation of items, including the lowering for agricultural expenses«, when the German colleague Hans Eichel suggested to sign the »letter of six members«.« And this is the only way that in spite of lower flow to the European budget, enough money remains for the stimulation of development of poorer candidates.« But it is about another unfavorable fact. Slovenia is (along with Cyprus who could even end up among the receivers of developmental aid) the only one which will after the year 2007 give more to the budget that it will get from it. And because of this the author does not wonder why Mramor was given a suggestion for support of the biggest payers, »as this would of course suit also for Slovenia«. If the flow would amount to 1.24 percent (which is also the highest limit) instead of one percent, the neto payers (including Slovenia) would have to allocate almost one quarter more of money. The author expresses another doubt: »What if it will show, that the shavings, which will be even able to earn after the crossing of national interests, won't be enough for the simulation for economical development of the novices/..!/?« And along this the author says, that in this case the bigger budget should be supported or »ultimately stamp down the principle of solidarity which was the base guidance of the community for decades.«.

28.01.2004 National assembly ratifies the treaty of accession.

The commentary **Until May the dreams are still allowed** (Do maja so še dovoljene sanje, Damijan Slabe, 29.01.2004) talks about the solemn ratification of accession contract to European Union. The author admits that this event is a success for Slovenia. And this success is »in many points exceptional«. He characterizes it even with the »turning point in Slovene history«, but he soon lands on the solid ground.« Still we should not overlook the common mistakes which are not repeated only by the

politicians and also not only on the solemnities«. Along this he leans on the words of Dimitrij Rupel which were said on the solemn event of ratification. »In this moment you have, honored members of parliament, the rudder in your hands, and this rudder is supposed to direct the Slovene boat to the European landing stage.« The author says that, »EU is not a goal and that we won't 'finally' sail in the safe European landing site«. We have been in EU for some years now, since when the politics started to try to adapt to European legislation (»mostly only to translate it in Slovene language«) and to other European directives. So the »sail« has actually only begun.« Consequently, for the coasters who will have to prove after the first of may, that their lettuce is not the only cheaper than the one from Holland, but that it also satisfies the fitosanitary rules, as also for the workers and managers who the European or domestic owners showed in the last year, what is the competition on the market of equal partners«. Now the consequences of negotiations and the accepted legislation will really manifest in real life. And this will be felt mostly by the citizens. Only then the »Slovene boat« will have to be »sailed on the flurry European see« »But the fact that it will be very important who (and how) will steer the rudder and what was he able to change in under board in the last years, is of course very true«

One day before the solemn opening of the door to the EU, the commentary **From star to small stars** (Od zvezde do zvezdic, Damijan Slabe, 30.04.2004) was published, the commentary gives a sort of an ironical background to the official entrance of Slovenia in EU. »The First of May is here and –what a symbolism - on the Labor Day we are one big European family.« For the country this is supposedly a »brilliant success«. As it is for the individual. And he somewhat sarcastically adds »So no one should spoil the festive mood, the rapturous speeches, the seizing of merits, the optimistic drawings of the future ..., even though somewhere inside hides the fact that even EU is not what it was«. It is clear that the author doubts in the exaggerated optimism. EU »soon after it lost its natural enemy became hard to navigate (even when there were only fifteen members in EU«. After the enlargement the members will be 25. And how it will be then, nobody knows. The author asks himself suggestive questions during this:«Will the original core of the old, but still strong, but with the lack of ideas and because of uncomfortable feeling of the newcomers even more impenitent countries win, or there will be also a space for the urgent new blood and new unconventional ideas in the big Europe?« Will the union which has reached it's

summit with the end of the cold war, able to revitalize and to find a new, all-European, even a global sense, or will Europe even in the new, expanded figure stay the same as it was in the last and in all the other centuries? World urchin with historical-national interests in the same head that is too big and only with a a bit longer tail?« In this word also the fact that the author is not really enthusiastic about the entrance to the EU and the fact that he sees a lot of deficiencies in the EU, is felt. And this also proves that the final hypothesis which also draws more on the pessimism than on optimism. »It would be tragic if we would end our historical path from the thorns to the stars in yet another collapsing federation.« If we take this commentary as the travel ration for EU, the solemnity would be probably grayer.

01.05.2004 Slovenia enters the European Union.

The commentary **After the festivities – a headache?** (Po slavju – glavobol?, Božo Mašanović, 03.05.2004) even with it's title tells, that the words won't be in a style of solemn speakers at the ceremonies, but full of dilemmas, questions, doubts and fears. Even Bertie Ahern, Romano Prodi and Pat Cox, so the "three tenors of Union" were avoiding unpleasant questions about the enlarged EU, for example the still problematical constitutional contract, which solution is supposedly only a matter of time. The other problem is the consultation about the financial perspective for the period 2007-2013. But beside these dilemmas, more of them are opened along the solution. The author asks among others, if the community will be ready to renounce a part of the money from Brussels which would stimulate the economical and social development of "the biggest and above all the most indigent group of novices?" till now? Again he praises the principle of solidarity, "the bright guidance" for EU which would "help in the abolishment of the limitations which were put into force across the Union in order to calm down the citizens which were afraid because of the economical crisis." Even Slovenia itself has to ask itself some questions, such as: Will something change after the entrance to the EU? Will it detour in the reestablishment of the country's welfare? Will social differences increase even more after the entrance in Union? A fear of the worsening of social security is present. But the author warns that the reestablishment of social model is not defined by the European directives, but by the members itself. So the entrance of Slovenia in EU had raised quite a few doubts, dilemmas, fears and pessimism.

The commentary **Laboratory for sustainable development** (Laboratorij za trajnostni razvoj, Gregor Pucelj, 05.05.2004) talks about the acceptance of ordinance about the regions Natura 2000. With the entrance in EU and with the acceptance of this ordinance, Slovenia has insured more than 35 percent of ecologically important regions, which is “by far the biggest share” in the EU. Consequently, Natura 2000 is becoming a new opportunity for development of Slovenia that enables the concepts which are based on the lasting development pattern. And there is “surprisingly a lot of European money” for the realization of these concepts. The author formulates an optimistic hypothesis, that Slovenia could be seen as a “sort of an EU laboratory for practical testing and for taking the principles of lasting developments into action” in a couple of years. But he warns “If we will be smart”. Because for the author even the fight for and against the wind power stations in Ilirska Bistrica shows the step-motherly relationship of the country to nature. The ministry of environment and the region took Volovja rebra out from the specially protected regions. So the author pessimistically concludes: ”As if the protected regions can be erased everywhere where it is about economical interests. According to the author, this may be “the start of an end of Natura 2000 even before its beginning”.

Appendix 2: The list of variables and explanations of their use

1) id_number:

- 1 Consecutive number of recorded article.

2) media:

- 1 Delo
- 2 Finance
- 3 GV
- 4 POP TV

The code number had been recorded in the base (1, 2, 3 or 4) the recorded number depended from the media where the article had been published.

3) date:

Date of the publishment of the media which contained the analysed article had been recorded in the base.

4) title:

The whole title of the article had been recorded in the base.

5) type:

- 0 other
- 1 news
- 2 opinion
- 3 combination
- 4 interview
- 5 advertisement
- 6 caricature
- 7 letter
- 8 comment
- 9 questionnaire

The code (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 or 9) had been recorded in the base, the number emphasized the sort or genre of the article. If the genre could not be established or if it wasn't among the labels, the code 0 (other) had been recorded.

6) natinst_major: major national institution involved

- 1 cabinet
- 2 parliament
- 3 prime minister
- 4 ministry for foreign affairs
- 5 ministry for economic affairs
- 6 other ministry
- 7 other institution
- 8 none
- 9 not clear
- 10 ministry of labour
- 11 ministry of finance
- 12 ministry for agriculture
- 13 ministry for transport
- 14 ministry for European affairs

- 15 more than one institution
- 16 diplomatic representative body
- 17 Bank of Slovenia
- 18 Parliamentary commission for European affairs (KEZ)

Slovene institution which had the most visible place in the article (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17 or 18) had been recorded in the base. If the ministry which was mentioned in the article was not on the list, field 6 (other ministry) was marked. Similar, when the country institution, which wasn't on the list, was mentioned, number 7 was marked (other institution). If no institution was mentioned in the article, number 8 (none) was recorded. If there wasn't explicitly mentioned about which institution the article talks about, number 9 (not clear) was recorded. If more institutions were equally represented in the article, the number 15 (more than one institution).was recorded.

7) eu_inst_major: major EU institution involved

- 1 EU commission
- 2 EU council
- 3 EU parliament
- 4 EU commissioner for enlargement
- 5 other EU commissioner
- 6 other EU institutions
- 7 none
- 8 more than one institution
- 9 not clear
- 10 European Central Bank
- 11 Veterinary Inspection of EU

European institution (1, 2, 3, 4, 10 or 11) which had the most visible place in the article, was recorded in the base. If suitable commissioner which was mentioned in the article was not on the list, field 5 (other EU commissioner) was marked. Similar in the case when mentioned country institution was not on the list, number 6 (other

EU institution) was recorded.. If there were no institutions in the article, number 7 (none) was recorded. If more institutions were equally represented in the article, the number 8 (more than one institution).was recorded. If there wasn't explicitly mentioned about which institution the article talks about, number 9 (not clear) was recorded.

8) natinst_other: other national institution involved (specify all using codes)

All the Slovene institutions which weren't marked under the variable 6 (natinst_major) were recorded in this field. These institutions were less important or less represented than those which were marked under the variable 6.

9) eu_inst_other: other EU institutions involved (specify all using codes)

All the European institutions which weren't marked under the variable 7 (eu_inst_major) were recorded.. These institutions were less important or less represented than those which were marked under the variable 7.

10) nat_firm: how are the national institutions/negotiators presented

0 n.a.: When the article was completely without the allusion on the bearing of Slovene institutions and negotiators, this article was marked with 0 (n. a.).

1 firm, strong: If the representatives of institutions or negotiators were decisive when they stated their opinion, showed their interests etc. for example if they uncompromisably interceded the interest of Slovenia or its attitude, the article was marked with number 1 (firm, strong).

2 soft, compliant: If in the presentation of the national institutions or Slovene negotiators, indulgence of any kind was felt, for example if they were subjected to the orders, rules, interests of EU or any other, so if they were inconstant and unfoundedly adaptive, they were marked as 2 (soft, compliant).

3 mixed: When the national institution or Slovene negotiators bearing was partially decisive, but on the other hand indulgent, they were marked with number 3 (mixed).

9 not clear: If the bearing of the representatives of Slovene institutions or its

negotiators could not be accurately comprehended or perceived, they were marked with 9 (not clear).

11) eu_firm: how are the EU institutions/negotiators presented

0 n.a.: When the article was completely without the allusion on the bearing of EU institutions or negotiators, this article was marked with 0 (n. a.).

1 firm, strong: If the representatives of EU institutions or EU negotiators were decisive when they stated their opinion, showed their interests etc., for example if they decisively kept the rules and commands which were given to the candidates (especially Slovenia), if they were uncompromisable loyal to their interests or the rules of the game which were set, or if they were consistent and strict in evaluation, they were marked with 1 (firm, strong).

2 soft, compliant: If in the presentation of the EU institutions or its negotiators, indulgence of any kind was felt, for example that they changed an opinion or indulged in a rule of a game, the field 2 (soft,compliant) was marked.

3 mixed: When the EU institutions or its negotiators were partially decisive and partially indulgent, the field was marked with number 3 (mixed).

9 not clear: If from the presentation could not be read whether the bearings of the representatives of EU institutions or its negotiators is indulgent or decisive, the number 9 (not clear) was recorded,

paternalism: are EU institutions/negotiators presented as paternalistic, arrogant etc.

0 n.a.: When in the presentation of EU institutions or its negotiators no bearing in the sense of patronising or something similar was felt, the mark was 0 (n. a.).

1 yes: If in the article the representatives of EU or its negotiators seemed patronising, for example that it was obviously presented, that they want to change, educate, remodel their candidates (especially Slovenia) after their »ideal« style, so that because of this the countries seemed inferior, as an EU appendage. This types of articles were marked with number 1 (YES).

2 no: If such a patronage, arrogance, was not felt, the articles were marked with

number 2 (no).

3 mixed: If the EU representators and their negotiators were somewhere patronising and somewhere not, the articles were marked with number 3 (mixed).

9 not clear: If from the article could not be seen the obvious patronising or something similar or if this was not so obvious the mark was 9 (not clear).

12) sympathy: are EU i/n presented as sympathetic toward Slovenia

- **0 n.a.:** When in the article could not be seen the bearing of EU institutions or their negotiators towards Slovenia, the field was marked with number 0 (n. a.).
- **1 sympathetic:** If the EU institutions or their negotiators were sympathetic towards Slovenia in the article, so that they had for example exceptionally praised or exposed their positive accession steps and characteristics (speed and quality of advancement, reforms, adaptations) of Slovenia, or that in respect with other countries our country was mentioned as the best and had been set up as an example from the side of EU institutions or it's negotiators, this articles were marked with number 1 (sympathetic).
- **2 neutral:** If no bearing from the side of EU institutions or it's negotiators towards Slovenia was noticed, not distinctively positive not negative, but only the neutral statement of the facts and the report about the actual condition of advancement or something similar (even though perhaps the article stated positive or negative evaluation depending on the real facts) the field was marked with number 2 (neutral).
- **3 unsympathetic:** When the bearing of the EU institutions or their negotiators towards Slovenia was distinctively negative, for example when the negative evaluation, reproach, or rebuke was given (with regards to negotiations and advancement), the field was marked with number 3 (unsympathetic).
- **9 not clear:** If the bearing was not enough obvious, but it still seemed that the EU institutions or their negotiators look from one side in the case of specifical matter, the field was marked with 9 (not clear).

13) attit_nat: prevailing attitudes toward national i/n

- **0 n.a.:** When the bearing to Slovene negotiators were not shown at all, the field was marked with 0 (n. a.).
- **1 positive:** If the article was clearly positive so that it could be seen that the

article wants to leave a positive impression, for example that Slovenia was clearly praised in its accession process, for example that its extraordinary advancement and invested effort in the negotiations was superb (for example exceptional efficiency and quick reformation of the legal order, the determination in exposure of Slovenia interests itd), the field was marked with number 1 (positive)..

- **2 neutral:** If the article only showed actual conditions, without any preferences, praises, reprovals, positive or negative hints about Slovenia. So if the article included only the report about the condition of the degree of advancement without any examples with expectations, goals or other candidates, the field was marked with 2 (neutral).
- **3 negative:** If the article left extremely negative feeling after it was read, the field was marked with number 3 (negative). This for example happened if Slovenia was mostly rebuked or clearly negative evaluated, for example if the negotiators were reproached because of their slowness, indifference, exaggerated adaptation, incapability of making decisions etc..
- **4 mixed:** If Slovene side was somewhere shown as particularly positive, but somewhere negative, for example if in the article was emphasized its quick and efficient rhythm of adaptation to European directives, but if it was on the other hand reproached because of its exaggerated indulgence and hesitation in the matters that were important for Slovenia, the field was marked with 4(mixed).
- **9 not clear:** When in the article could not be clear if it went for negative or positive bearing in showing Slovene accession negotiations, the field was marked with 9 (not clear).

14) **attit_EU:** prevailing attitudes toward EU i/n

- **0 n.a.:** When the bearing to European institutions or their negotiators were not shown at all, the field was marked with 0 (n. a.).
- **1 positive:** If the article was clearly positive and it was obvious that it wants to leave a positive impression to the reader, the field was marked with number 1(positive). This happened for example when EU institutions

or its negotiators were clearly praised in the matter of accession negotiations. For example if it was emphasized how quickly and up to date the negotiations are going because of good organisation of European officials, or if they were willing to help the candidates and to adapt to their needs in a praiseworthy way, the field was marked with number 1 (positive).

- **2 neutral:** If the article only showed actual condition, without any preferences, praises, reprovals, positive or negative hints about EU institutions or their negotiators, so if the article for example included only the report about regular sessions, without any hints about inefficiency or positive movements, the field was marked with 2 (neutral)..
- **3 negative:** If the article left extremely negative feelings after it was read, the field was marked with number 3 (negative). This for example happened if EU institutions or its negotiators were mostly rebuked or clearly negative evaluated, for example if they were reproached because they were clearly one sided, or because it was clearly seen that they prefer one of the candidates, if the procedure or some newly added rule or demand (which resulted because the interest of a specific country of EU) was rebuked, or if they were reproached because their slowness etc, the field was marked with number 3 (negative).
- **4 mixed:** If European institutions or their negotiators were somewhere positively presented and somewhere negatively, for example that the article emphasized the effectivity of the examination of reports about the advancement of the candidates, but at the same time emphasized the slowness of evaluation of the advancement, the field was marked with number 4.(mixed).
- **9 not clear:** When in the article was not clear if it goes for a negative or positive bearing in presentation of EU institutions or their negotiators, the field was marked with 9 (not clear).

15) attit_by: are (non-neutral) attitudes also expressed by the author of the article

- **0 n.a.:** In case when no source was quoted, the field was marked with 0 (n.

a.)

- **1 author:** Many times the positive or negative opinion from the side of the author was obvious in commentaries, opinions, letters and caricatures. If the authors opinion was clearly (even in interviews and other articles), the field was marked with 1 (author). Many times obvious expression of author opinion can be found in word such : »I think ...«, »But obviously it does not go for ...«, » I came to the conclusion that ...«. Sometimes this is not so obvious, but it can be seen if too much emotional words or other are used. If the article is marked with number 1, it was obvious that the article included the authors opinion.
- **2 source only:** Many times the sources from which the author wrote the article were quoted. Many times the article was a report from meetings, conferences, sessions, so it was then obvious that it goes for bearing of the source itself. When that was obvious, the field was marked with number 2(source only).
- **9 not clear:** If it wasn't clear whether the opinion is from the author or from the source, because it was not enough explicitly, the field was marked with 9 (not clear)

16) nat_otherchar: other presented characteristics of the national institutions (specify)

- If in the article some of the characteristic of Slovene institutions or it's representators was especially mentioned (negative and positive as well), for example the slowness, adaptation, fear, incapability of adjustment, determination, etc, this was mentioned also in this field.

17) eu_otherchar: other presented characteristics of the EU institutions (specify)

- If in the article some of the characteristic of EU institutions or it's representators was especially mentioned, for example the slowness, inefficiency, intrusion,

incapability of adjustment, determination, etc, this was mentioned also in this field.

18) relation_EUnat: how is the relation between the national and EU institutions/negotiators presented

- **0 n.a.:** If the relationship between the Slovene institutions or its representators and the EU institutions or its representators was not indicated, or if it was impossible to infer in which relationship they are, the field was marked with 0 (n.a.).
- **1 harmony, compromise:** If the mentioned relationship between Slovene institutions or its representators and the EU institutions or its representators was without conflicts, reproaches, grudges..from one side or the other, the relationship was marked as harmonical, positive..so with number 1 (harmony, compromise). Especially if it was explicitly quoted a speech, event or an evaluation which showed that the representators from both sides are in a good relationship.
- **2 conflict, tension:** If in the article a conflict between Slovene institutions or its representators and the EU institutions or its representators was mentioned, the relationship was marked as in conflict, so with number 2 (conflict, tension). This happened for example when it came to disagreement in the negotiation process, if the relationship was under too much tension, for example if they did not agree about the harmonizations of some matter (for example because of the obvious exploitation of the accession negotiations for the realization of the interest of an EU member).
- **3 mixed:** If for example the relationship was generally harmonical and without disagreements or without the disapproval about anything, (in general the representators of both sides are in a good relationship, but they can't unite in harmonization of the agricultural politics) or if it was all the contrary, the relationship was marked with number 3 (mixed).
- **9 not clear:** If it's not visibly shown in which relationship the both sides are, negative or positive, or if it came to an atmosphere of conflict or not, the field was marked with 9 (not clear).

19) main_topic: what is the main topic of the negotiations

- 0 negotiations in general
- 1 free movement of goods
- 2 free movement of persons
- 3 free movement of capital
- 4 company law
- 5 competitiveness
- 6 agriculture, fishery
- 7 transport
- 8 taxation
- 9 economic and monetary union
- 10 welfare, employment
- 11 energy
- 12 small and medium enterprises
- 13 industry
- 14 science, research
- 15 education
- 16 telecommunication
- 17 culture
- 18 regions
- 19 environment
- 20 health
- 21 customs
- 22 foreign economic relations
- 23 foreign and defence policy
- 24 finances, budget
- 25 institutions
- 26 economic issues in general
- 27 more than one topic
- 28 other
- 29 EU law
- 30 entry in EU

99 not clear

- In the field the number under which the field of negotiation of Slovenia with EU was recorded and mentioned during the article, was marked. If the article was in general about the negotiations, for example number 0 (negotiations in general) was marked. For specific fields a suitable code (1-25) was entered. If there were more fields mentioned in general, and the main field could not be established, the number 27 (more than one topic) was marked. In case when the article talked about other matters, the code 28 (other) was marked. If the article talked about the entrance in EU, the code 30 (entry in EU) was marked. If it was not obvious about which field the article talks about, the code 99 (not clear) was mentioned.

20) difficulties: are there any difficulties in the negotiations presented

- **0 no:** If no troubles about the negotiations were mentioned in the article, whether if everything was in order, or if it only went for the report about the advancement or for a fact about the negotiations, the field 0 (no) was marked.
- **1 yes:** If problems were quoted in the article, for example problems with harmonization of Slovene legal order with EU legal order, or with acceptance of any other already harmonized laws, or problems with negotiations in general, for example unfounded alteration of the demands from the side of EU, the delay with the report of progress etc. the field 1 (yes) was marked.
- **9 not clear:** If it was not enough clear, whether it goes for problem or not or if these problem could not be explicitly comprehended the field was marked with 9 (not clear).

21) fears: are there any fears presented

- **0 no:** If no fear, anxiety, pessimism, expected bad result etc. about the

negotiations were mentioned in the article, the field was marked with 0 (no).

- **1 yes:** If in the article fear, anxiety, pesimism or the announcement of a bad result in negotiations was mentioned, the field 1 (yes) was marked. This happened for example when the fear that the state of Slovene banking will get worse after the entrance in EU was mentioned, or that the Slovene farmers will not get the money subvention and that the Slovene agriculture will suffer greater consequences after the entrance in EU etc.
- **9 not clear:** If it was not enough clear, whether it goes for fears or if these fears were presented too weakly, the field was marked with 9 (not clear).

22) optimism: are there optimistic expectations

- **0 no:** If there was no explicitall indication that some expectation about the accession negotiation are optimistical, or if the announcement were more pesimistical than optimistical, the field was marked with code 0 (no).
- **1 yes:** If the article explicitly indicated that it goes for optimistical expectations, for example that Slovenia will enter in EU in 2004 or earlier, or if it was mentioned that Slovenia will be by all means among the first candidates, or that it will succeed to harmonize whole jurisdiction with its invested effort, the field was marked with 1 (yes).
- **9 not clear:** If the optimism was not obvious, or if it was mixed with pesimism or allusions about the real condition which had shaken the primary optimism etc, the code 9 (not clear) was recorded.

23) party_attit: are there any attitudes toward the negotiations expressed by political parties

- 0 no party
- 1 LDS
- 2 SDS

- 3 ZLSD
- 4 NSi
- 5 SLS
- 6 SNS
- 7 SMS
- 8 DeSUS
- 9 other
- 10 more than one govt
- 11 more than one oppos
- 12 more than one mixed

- If in the article the opinions, attitudes, expectations, bearings, fears, prejudices, announcements etc. of Slovene party were quoted, the field was marked with a proper number (1-8). If no party was mentioned in the article, the field was marked with 0 (no party). If there were more parties mentioned, the field was marked with regard if the mentioned parties were in coalition, if that was the case, the field 10 (more than one govt) was marked. In the case of opposition parties, the code 11 (more than one oppos) was marked. If there more parties from opposition and coalition, the code 12 (more than one mixed) was marked. If a party that wasn't in the list was mentioned, the field 9 (other) was marked.

24) remark1:

- If during the analysis of the article a question if a note, annotation, or explanation was needed, emerged, space 25 (remark1) was used.

25) remark2:

- If the space under 25 (remark1) was not enough, the space 26 (remark2) was used for the same intention.