

**PROGRAM**

**OF THE**  
**DEMOCRATIC**  
**OPPOSITION OF SERBIA**

**FOR DEMOCRATIC**  
**SERBIA**



**G17 PLUS**  
THE INITIATOR OF CHANGES

As citizens of Serbia and candidates for people's representatives, we wish to inform the entire public that once we become elected to the Parliament, we intend to abolish privileges, discontinue the government's hitherto uncaring behavior towards the citizens and completely change the current disastrous state policy.

Radical changes will start from ourselves. With this document, which has no disguised clauses, we take full responsibility and commitment to renew the citizens' confidence in the state, uproot corruption in administration and public institutions and launch all-inclusive reforms aimed at regaining the position Serbia used to have in the community of European states.

Citizens of Serbia are given an opportunity to change the composition of the Parliament and the Government at the elections, preventing their further irresponsible, illegal and arrogant handling of the people's money. We have a chance to replace corrupted politicians with authentic people's representatives. The state must no longer be the defender of criminals and idlers and a screen for accumulation of personal wealth. We shall rather build a state which will protect the poor and give strong impetus to those who work and are able to initiate entrepreneurial endeavors, invest, save, learn and develop our country.

Citizens, our victory at the elections in year 2000 is only the first step towards our main goal - the democratization and economic reconstruction of Serbia. We are therefore committing ourselves in advance to the Program that includes decisions and laws in the best interest of Serbia, which we will pass immediately after taking over rule in the Republic.

## **The First Day of the New Parliament**

We, the undersigned candidates, having a majority in Parliament, on the first day of the first session of the newly elected Parliament undertake to vote for the following ten acts aimed at restoring the confidence of people in the state and its organs:

**Firstly**, we shall adopt a declaration on urgent preparations for adopting a new Constitution so as to remove the existing constitutional chaos. New constitutional and legal solutions will be harmonized with contemporary legal and civilization standards, particularly in the sphere of human rights, protection of civic and minority rights, parliamentarism, responsibility of the government and the rule of law. We shall meanwhile prescribe a legal obligation for all agents in power to give up selective and discriminating implementation of the law. All laws in Serbia must be equally applied to all of its citizens. In the course of drafting laws and conducting the policy, we shall be guided by the principle that citizens be allowed everything which is not explicitly prohibited by the law, and that the ruling authorities and state be prohibited everything that is not explicitly prescribed by the law.

**Secondly**, we shall adopt a resolution that abolishes of the ongoing economic and political blockade of Montenegro, whereby the highest state bodies will undertake to start immediate negotiations with the legitimately elected leadership of Montenegro concerning the form and functions of the future common state of Serbia and Montenegro.

**Thirdly**, we shall oblige the future Government to immediately submit a program of specific measures before the UN Security Council, which would provide consistent implementation of the UN Resolution 1244 on Kosovo, maintain the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Serbia,

guarantee the right to peaceful life for all citizens of Kosovo and encourage its integration into new democratic institutions of the country. We shall particularly insist upon an urgent solution to the problem of abduction and assassination of people after the arrival of the KFOR.

**Fourthly**, we shall pass a law reducing the number of ministries by at least a third, abolishing all ministerial positions "without portfolio", and retaining three vice-presidential positions at most. Meanwhile, we shall adopt a decision to reduce the number of parliamentary boards and commissions by a third, while their personnel will also be reduced by a third. In addition, the decision will oblige all parliamentary boards and commissions to complete publicity in their work, without exceptions.

**Fifthly**, we shall pass a law by which all representatives and members of the Government will be prohibited to cumulate functions during their mandates. Members of the Government will be explicitly prohibited to run companies (private, state and socially owned). People's representatives and members of the Government will have the right to membership in only one main (supervisory) board of economic, sports, scientific and other social organizations, but without the right to receive any reimbursement for their engagement. All members of the Government will be prohibited to use official transportation, operating facilities, equipment and accompanying state services except for the performance of their regular official duties.

**Sixthly**, we shall adopt a resolution which will oblige the new Government to place under inspection of authorized parliamentary boards all secret police dossiers on citizens that were compiled without their knowledge, except in the case when this was required in order to file criminal charges in the struggle against crime. Documentation of special agencies with no operative value will be given to archives. A separate law in compliance with European standards will regulate a system of official data registration on citizens, with respect to the country's security and defense. A competent parliamentary board will carry out regular political control of this law's enforcement.

**Seventhly**, we shall adopt a resolution which will oblige all members of the Government and people's representatives to state details of their property and that of their closest family members on the day of the beginning of their mandate, as well as on the day of leaving the service. People's representatives and members of the Government will be bound to publicly declare the gifts, money and other donations received during their mandate in relation to official visits and contacts in the performance of their public functions.

**Eighthly**, we shall pass a resolution that will oblige the Parliament of the Republic of Serbia to cancel the implementation of legislation that produces immense social damage to Serbia and its citizens; current laws on information and university will be abolished while the previous laws will be proclaimed valid until new ones are adopted; the law on "expropriation of uncultivated land from farmers" and law on "presidential privileges" will be revoked; implementation of the current privatization law will be frozen until adequate amendments are passed by urgent procedure. Meanwhile, the tax for exiting the country will be annulled at once.

**Ninthly**, we shall select a reputable, independent auditing house to revise the budget and complete inspection of financial operations of the Parliament and Government during two previous and the current mandate, and to make public all data on undue expenditures, as well as financial malversations, misuse and excessive use of funds. This firm will also propose to the Parliament and Government the adoption of regulations aimed at attaining maximum savings in their activities (rationalization of motor vehicles' use, protocol expenses, furnishing of offices and other official premises, etc.).

**Tenthly**, the Parliament will set up an independent expert commission to re-examine and make publicly known all relevant documents and audio-video tapes kept in secret by the present authorities, which concern the conduct of domestic and foreign policy of Serbia between 1987-2000, as well as the contents of all talks and negotiations of high state officials who decided on the fate of the nation in that period.

## **The First 100 Days of the New Government**

**We shall compel the new democratic Government** to present for consideration and debate, to both the Parliament and public, proposals for key systemic laws within the first 100 days of its mandate. Each of the legal proposals mentioned below will be in full compliance with the EU judiciary and drafted by our lawyers and economists in cooperation with experts from the OSCE and other relevant international organizations. The following laws will be proposed to the Parliament in the given term:

### **1. Package of economic reform laws**

Laws ensuring an immediate reform of the monetary system and the start of a fiscal system reform, including legislation on a balanced budget, will be proposed. The existing privatization law will be changed considerably. The law on social security and relief for the poor will also be proposed. The law on foreign trade will be changed, thus enabling a substantial reduction and equivalence of tariffs.

### **2. Anti-corruption law**

This law will introduce draconian measures for all abuses and malversations with state-owned, socially-owned and private money and property. It will in particular sanction the acts aimed at acquiring profit and other material benefits through misuse of public functions. A decision will be taken to join the "Group of states for anti-corruption struggle". The Council of Europe's anti-corruption covenants on criminal and civil law will be ratified. Starting from these covenants appropriate changes will be made in the domestic legal system.

### **3. Law on the military and police**

New laws will redefine the present role of the military and police. They will prevent political misuse of the military and police, and their use as means of repression and limitation of constitutional rights and freedoms of the citizens. All forces of para-military and para-police type will be strictly sanctioned and disbanded.

By a Law on Defense and Yugoslav Armed Forces a thorough reorganization and rationalization of the military will be performed, along with its professionalization, modernization and the establishment of a new military doctrine. The military will be provided with stable material backing and sources of finance.

The police will be transformed into a highly skilled state service whose members will be trained for crime prevention and an efficient discovery of lawbreakers, as well as for citizens' personal and property safety. This law will introduce parliamentary control over police work, particularly over the State security agency. The law will also foresee considerable improvement of the police material position, in accordance with their increasing responsibility for the security of citizens. It will be proposed to Parliaments of the Republics to incorporate these changes into republic legislature on the police.

#### **4. Law on the judiciary and judges**

Changes of the Constitution and the passing of a special law will further ensure and guarantee the independence of courts. The system of nomination and election of judges will be changed. Candidates for judges and presidents of courts will be chosen by the High Judiciary Council, two thirds of which will be the supreme court judges and reputable law professors, while one third will consist of parliamentary representatives. Without consent of the Council and compliance with the Constitution, none of the judges can be dismissed. The law will envisage autonomy of the judiciary budget and a significant improvement of the material position of judges. Republic Parliaments will be advised to adjust their legislatures according to these principles.

#### **5. Law on public prosecution**

A new law will envisage an identical system of nomination, election and relief of prosecutors and their deputies as in the case of judges, aimed at reaffirming their independence and maximum emancipation from the current overemphasized and direct influence of political organs. Parliamentary control over the work of the prosecution will be introduced, particularly in prosecuting those charged with political crimes.

#### **6. Criminal law and law on criminal procedure**

A new criminal law will, in the first place, revoke the possibility of introducing verbal offense or the offense of opinion, which protect those in power rather than fundamental values of the state and society. The criminal law will be based on generally accepted legal standards of a democratic society.

A new law on criminal procedure will introduce contemporary legal standards in this field. This law, in accordance with the Constitution of the FRY and international legal standards, will cancel the possibility of imprisonment by the police without a court order and introduce the right of the arrested to a defense lawyer from the moment of arrest.

#### **7. Information law**

A new law on public information will define recognition of constitutional principles and international standards that concern freedom of the press, banning all sorts of censorship and the rights of citizens to freely express their opinions and beliefs, as well as to criticize the work of state organs and officials. No administrative bodies or magistrate courts, but only regular courts will be able to decide, in strict adherence to the law on proceedings and substantive law, upon possible violations or misuse of the freedom of press which impair the dignity, privacy, honor and reputation of citizens. The law will determine the obligation of state media to work as non-partisan public media. Their administrative boards and director will be appointed by the Parliament.

#### **8. University law**

A special resolution will stipulate the passing of a new law on university by the Republic of Serbia Parliament. The university will gain full autonomy and again become an institution of vital importance for the development of Serbia. This presumes complete independence in the election of lecturers and administration bodies, the adoption of teaching plans and programs of scientific research, as well as in financial policy. The election of the rector, deans, teachers and associates will be under exclusive jurisdiction of faculties and institutes and their respective councils, composed of all employed teachers, associates and researchers. Representatives of the Government will be totally excluded from the decision-making process at the University and will not be represented in any of its managing bodies. All decisions of the present politically appointed deans, brought in accordance

with the current monster law and related to the dismissal of the previous or employment of new teachers and associates, will be subject to re-examination under the new law and verification by university councils, according to standard procedure. In order to improve the quality of teaching methods at the University, the new law will foresee substantial improvement of its material situation. The law will encourage the establishment of broad connections between the University and similar institutions in the world.

## **9. Law on local self-governance**

A special resolution will stipulate the passing of a new law on local self-governance by the Republic of Serbia Parliament. The new law will introduce distinct decentralization of power. The jurisdiction of the republic and its organs will be clearly separated from self-governing rights of local communities and their bodies. Local communities will conduct their activities in full autonomy with regard to state authority and in compliance with the Constitution, which presumes the right of state organs to control their constitutionality and legality. The new law will introduce a multi-type model of municipalities, wherein large industrial and cultural centers will have a high degree of local autonomy and perform a wide scope of state organs' duties, which the Republic will transfer onto them by law. This particularly refers to Belgrade, Novi Sad, Nis, Kragujevac and Pristina. The new law will guarantee stable sources of finance for local communities, with a remarkable degree of autonomy in the course of its collection and spending.

## **10. Package of electoral laws**

A new electoral law will introduce European standards and procedures for free and fair elections, supporting the development of parliamentarism in Serbia and social control over the work of the Government and people's representatives. This will enable their replaceability in case they do not work in the interest of citizens. The electoral system will be based on a proportional model which achieves complete harmony between the number of gained votes and the number of seats. The law will establish a system of updated and precise electoral lists, unified and computer-processed at the level of the whole country. A system to control the printing of ballots, the equality of participants in presenting their electoral programs through public media, the efficient control of voting legality and its results, as well as an adequate judiciary control of electoral procedures, will be established. New laws on political parties and their financing will be prepared as well, in accordance with the generally accepted standards of democratic societies. Republic Parliaments will be advised to adjust their legislatures according to these principles.

# **The First Year of the New Government**

## **1. Return of Yugoslavia and Serbia to the world**

- Inclusion in all relevant international institutions, which will provide immediate lifting of all sanctions, including the so-called "outer wall" of sanctions
- Immediate inclusion of Yugoslavia and Serbia in the Stability Pact for SouthEast Europe and access to important financial means for reconstruction and economic recovery of the country, secured by a regional funding conference
- Renewal of membership in the most important international financial organizations (the IMF, the World Bank), which will enable an access of our country to the world capital market and create conditions for serious foreign investments, essential for an economic reconstruction of the country

- Swift solution to the issue of succession with former Yugoslav republics and the acquisition of relevant finance on these bases
- Start-up of negotiations for the EU associate membership, entry to all relevant regional integrations, and free trade with SouthEast European countries
- Adjustment of economic legislation to prevailing world standards.

## 2. Radical economic reforms

### *The state budget equilibrium and the beginning of fiscal reform*

#### **Increase in public revenues**

- substantial reduction in tax rates and elimination of tax evasion (lower tax rates will bring about higher tax revenues)
- increase in public revenues through legalization of the shadow economy turnover
- increase in revenues on the basis of turnover taxes and excise duties on products deliberately pushed into “black economy” by the state (tobacco, coffee, petrol, etc.)

#### **Reduction of public expenditures**

- demilitarization (elimination of expenditures caused by unnecessarily strained relations between our country and the international community, and of those related to repression over citizens)
- rationalization of public administration through elimination of unessential ministries, state chambers of commerce and other types of inefficient public spending; introduction of new priorities and strict discipline in budgetary expenditures (priorities: health care, education, judiciary, benefits to the unemployed, their re-training and new employment, social welfare, culture, pensioners, support to farmers, reformed police force, etc)
- radical and immediate simplification of the tax system (it will be based on only a few tax rates, contrary to the existing system with over 250 tax rates)
- reform of tax administration and the adoption of a tax codex
- beginning of a wide-scope tax reform, aiming at introducing the VAT (value-added-tax)
- reform of public revenues' management, including the introduction of a Treasury and public procurement system
- introduction of elements of an integrated information system in fiscal area through the provision of electronic cash registers

#### **Introduction of stable currency**

- Option 1: the issue of a new domestic convertible currency, with a transfer to the floating exchange rate policy (if sufficient foreign currency reserves for defending the exchange rate by the central bank are secured from abroad at the start)
- Option 2: introduction of a dual-currency monetary system, i.e. legalization of the German mark in internal circulation

#### **Renewal of confidence in the financial system and the reform of banks**

- full integration of the banking system into the international financial system
- reforms of domestic banks and enabling free entry of foreign banks with a high reputation
- beginning of genuine repayment of the foreign currency debt towards the population and restoration of domestic savings
- crediting of economy and population

- immediate annulment of administrative formation of interest rates, through affirmation of market criteria.

### **Financial support to macroeconomic reforms**

- fund for macroeconomic stabilization (stabilization of currency and bridging of budget difficulties)
- direct financial support from abroad (finance collected at donors' conferences, credits approved by international financial institutions), ensuring at the very beginning a stable work of the new Government in carrying out economic reforms
- finance on the basis of direct foreign investments (sale of state property in the process of privatization)
- funds based on the legalization of shadow economy and activation of domestic savings, following a legalization of foreign currency circulation and reform of the banking system

### **Price liberalization**

- gradual annulment of administrative price control
- subsidies to the poor, so as to alleviate the social implications of price liberalization (presently all population categories are being needlessly protected through controlled prices)

### **Rescheduling of external debt**

- request for certain concessions in debt repayment
- request for a partial writing-off of the debt

### **Foreign trade liberalization**

- cancellation of all import and export quotas (except for agriculture) and their replacement with appropriate tariffs
- substantial reduction of tariff rates along with their balancing and the acquisition of appropriate budgetary compensations from the EU
- provision of preferentials for export to the EU
- abolition of all limitations for trade with neighboring countries
- liberalization of legal and administrative regulations of export and import

### **Privatization**

- privatization must be carried out relatively fast due to an enormous delay in comparison with other countries in transition
- privatization will be made compulsory
- the process of privatization must be transparent
- privatization will predominantly be conducted through the direct sale of state property, taking into account the huge amount of inherited public debt that should be paid
- privatization will stimulate development of a capital market

### **New agrarian policy**

- given the fact that Serbia is naturally linked to agriculture, the state will radically change its attitude towards farmers and regain their trust lost after the breach of undertaken commitments by the current regime (unsettled debts based on taken agricultural products)
- economic stimulus to agricultural production, along with simultaneous adequate protection from unfair foreign competition

- stable system of guaranteed prices, which will enable adequate compensation to producers from a specially formed agrarian budget in the case of low market prices
- new mechanisms for crediting agriculture from real sources (commercial bank credits, investments of organizations from the area of agricultural goods production and processing, commodity futures, program for crop insurance), which will provide the purchase of modern agricultural equipment, renewal of livestock and introduction of new technologies into production for farmers

**Social and health care security of citizens**

- transformation and substantial strengthening of the child protection fund so as to alleviate the alarming birth rate decline
- most affected parts of the population (refugees, unemployed, pensioners, poor) must be socially insured from a special fund for bridging budgetary gaps
- the fund will also be used for short-term improvement of the health service until this sector manages to secure its own finance for development through GDP increase, which is a condition of the nation's biological survival and future prosperity
- this one-year fund for bridging budgetary gaps will be partially formed on the basis of state capital sale in the country, and mostly by foreign donations and credits from international financial institutions
- without securing this fund at the very beginning of the new Government's mandate, economic reform stands no chances of success because social and political pressures would soon become unbearable, leading to a blockade of the Government's regular activities and resulting in a public call for abandoning reforms

**3. Start of large investments in infrastructure**

- Reconstruction and modernization of electric power infrastructure
- Start of the reconstruction of main roads, railroads, gas and oil pipeline networks
- Rehabilitation of irrigation and drainage channels in plains
- Development of the telecommunication network
- Realization of major local infrastructure projects.