



Konrad
Adenauer
Stiftung

IDSCS | Institute for Democracy
Societas Civilis - Skopje

THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA'S 2014 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS HANDBOOK

second updated edition

THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA'S 2014 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS HANDBOOK

second updated edition

POLITICS

THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA'S 2014 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS HANDBOOK

Jane Dimeski

Impressum

Title:

The Republic of Macedonia's 2014 Parliamentary Elections Handbook

Publisher:

The Konrad Adenauer Stiftung in the Republic of Macedonia
Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis" – Skopje

Author:

Jane Dimeski

Coordination:

Davor Pasoski

Translation:

Perica Sardzoski
Jana Nikuljska Gjorgjinska
Gordan Tanaskov

Design and preparation:

Vinsent Grafika

The publication can be downloaded for free at:

<http://www.kas.de/macedonia>

<http://www.idscs.org.mk>

Note:

The stances exposed in this publication do not necessarily represent the positions of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and the Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis" – Skopje, but are personal views of the respective authors.

Contents:

1. Introduction into the 2014 Parliamentary Elections	8
Preparations for the early Parliamentary Elections	15
Latest changes in the electoral legislation	17
2. History of the Parliamentary Elections in Macedonia (1990-2011)	20
1990 Parliamentary Elections	21
1994 Parliamentary Elections	24
1998 Parliamentary Elections	25
2002 Parliamentary Elections	27
2006 Parliamentary Elections	28
2008 Parliamentary Elections	30
2011 Parliamentary Elections	31
3. Macedonian Electoral System for Parliamentary Elections	34
Electoral bodies	37
Elective rights	38
The right and procedure for nominating candidacies	39
Limitations for the current state officials	40
Election campaign	42
The role of public media	44
Monitoring the elections	49
4. Election Units	48
Election Unit 1	51
Election Unit 2	52
Election Unit 3	53
Election Unit 4	54
Election Unit 5	55
Election Unit 6	56
Election Unit 7	57
Election Unit 8	58
Election Unit 9	59
5. Overview of the Candidates for the Early Parliamentary Elections 2014	60
Social Democratic Union of Macedonia (SDSM)	61
Democratic Party of the Albanians (DPA)	68
Coalition Dignity for Macedonia	72
Democratic Union for Integration (DUI)	73
VMRO – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (VMRO-DPMNE)	78
National Democratic Renewal (NDP)	84
People’s Movement for Macedonia (NDM)	85
Coalition GROM	86
Coalition for Positive Macedonia	87
VMRO – People’s Party (VMRO-NP)	88
Social Democratic Party of Macedonia (SDPM)	89
Party for Economic Changes 21 (PEP 21)	90
Party for Democratic Prosperity (PDP)	91
Party for European Future (PEI)	94
6. Early parliamentary elections in the Republic of Macedonia 2014 - results, campaign, findings	94
Abbreviations	95
Introduction	96
Election campaign and financing	98
Media	106
Results from the early parliamentary elections 2014	114
Voters’ rights protection	116
Elections assessment by the observers	119
Elections assessment by the political parties	125
Conclusions	130
7. References	136



INTRODUCTION TO THE 2014 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

INTRODUCTION TO THE 2014 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

The seventh Parliamentary Elections since Macedonia's independence and third in line snap elections for the composition of the Assembly will take place on 27th April 2014, together with the second round of the fifth Presidential Elections. The previous composition of the Republic of Macedonia's Assembly voted unanimously "FOR" out of 117 present MPs on 5th March 2014 to bring a resolution for its dismissal, a year and three months prior to the end date of the regular mandate for the MPs obtained on the previous elections that took place in June 2011. The President of the Assembly, Trajko Veljanovski the following day on 6th March, within his constitutional and legal responsibilities, called for the elections¹ on 27th April in accordance with the legal deadline, i.e. the elections should take place 60 days by latest after the Assembly is dismissed. The voting abroad which takes place in the Diplomatic and Consular Missions (DCM) is scheduled for a day earlier, i.e. on 26th April. The same day is scheduled for the ailed and infirmed persons will vote in their homes, as well as persons doing time in prison or who are sentenced with detention in a penitentiary institution, persons on parole in the places where they are constrained, and the internally displaced persons, who will vote in the collective homes or the response centers.

The procedure for collecting signatures to the State Election Commission (SEC) for recommending candidate lists for Members of Parliament by a group of voters started 10 days after the call for elections, i.e. on 16th March until 25th March. The final candidate lists of all participants on the elections, according to the legal deadline, were filed to the SEC latest by midnight on 29th March.

The deadline was met by 14 political entities² that filed their candidate lists. The first party which announced their candidate lists in the

¹ Call for the Republic of Macedonia's snap Parliamentary Elections, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia No. 46, 6th March 2014, available at: <http://www.sec.mk/index.php?limitstart=20&lang=mk> (last accessed on 28th March 2014).

² Announcement for Submitted Candidate Lists for MPs at the Republic of Macedonia's Assembly, State Election Commission, 30th March 2014. Accessed at: <http://www.sec.mk/index.php?lang=mk> (last visited on 31st March 2014).

constituencies on the territory of Macedonia was the largest party of the ethnic Albanians, the Democratic Union for Integration (DUI) that initiated the snap parliamentary elections. DUI, which was part of the coalition in the previous government, on the press conference³ on 21st March announced that it will file its own candidate lists in 5 out of six constituencies in the country, i.e. it will not promote its candidate list only in Electoral Unit 4, which covers southeast Macedonia. However, in the last minute the party decided to promote their candidates in that Electoral Unit as well, including the Electoral Unit 7 for Europe and Africa, 8 for North and South America, and 9 for Australia and Asia. This is the first time⁴ for DUI since the 2002 Parliamentary Elections to promote their own candidate list in the Electoral Unit 4, a region with predominantly ethnic Macedonian body of voters. DUI nominated experienced candidates from the high ranks of the party to be holders of the candidate lists, among which the leader of the party, Ali Ahmeti.

The second political power that brought forth and announced its resolution for the holders of the candidate lists was the coalition led by the largest party in opposition – Social Democratic Union of Macedonia (SDSM).⁵ The candidate lists for all 6 Electoral Units and the Election Programme were determined on SDSM's Congress that took place on 23rd March, which were later announced to the public. By the end of the legal dateline on 29th March, the coalition filed candidate lists for the three Electoral Units abroad as well, the EU 7, 8, and 9, but also amendments of the lists for the first six Electoral Units.⁶

In the last minute, the coalition decided to change 17 names from the initial candidate lists determined at the Congress, mostly due to the

³ Bedri Bexhalari, DUI determined the candidate lists for MPs, Alsat-M, 21st March 2014. Accessed at: <http://goo.gl/mlmJ75> (last visited on 28th March 2014).

⁴ Daliborka Demjanska, DUI with Candidates for MPs in All Constituencies, Telma, 29th March 2014. Accessed at: <http://telma.com.mk/index.php?task=content&cat=1&rub=15&item=36315> (last visited on 31st March 2014).

⁵ Zaev: An Honorable Parliamentary Offer, the Leadership Will Establish the Future Government, SDSM, 23rd March 2014. Accessed at: <http://sdsm.org.mk/default.aspx?mId=55&agId=5&articleId=10185> (last visit ed on 31st March 2014).

⁶ N.K., Speedy Amendments of SDSM's Lists, Utrinski Vesnik, 31st March 2014. Accessed at: <http://www.utrinski.mk/default.asp?ItemID=CE331B3F02BDA7418FF97D108DB23802> (last visited on 1st April 2014).

cancellations by the candidates themselves. Among the more prominent members who gave up on their candidacies was Nano Ruzin from LDP, a former ambassador of Macedonia in NATO and a presidential candidate for the 2009 elections, with the explanation that room should be left for the younger candidates. Unlike DUI, SDSM decided not to nominate members of the party leadership to be holders of the candidate lists, as for instance the president Zoran Zaev, and the vice-president Radmila Sekerinska. The explanation that SDSM gave was that this was a new concept, not to have the party leadership holding candidate lists, but respected candidates in their communities who will represent the citizens in the Assembly. However, the party leadership will be those to establish the new composition of the government if the party wins the majority of seats in the parliament.

The third party announcing publically the holders of the candidate lists was the coalition GROM led by the party Citizens' Alliance for Macedonia (GROM). The Council of the Central Board of GROM made a resolution on 28th March and immediately announced on a press conference the holders of the candidate lists in all the six Electoral Units in the country.⁷

The coalition "For Better Macedonia" led by the ruling party - Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (VMRO-DPMNE,) announced its holders of candidate lists on the last day before the deadline after the meeting of the Central Committee.⁸ The coalition of VMRO-DPMNE, as expected, announced candidate lists in all the 9 Electoral Units, nominating members from the highest ranks of the party leadership, including the leader Nikola Gruevski, as holders of the candidate lists, in accordance with the previously determined practice.

The largest opposition party of the Albanians – Democratic Party of the Albanians (DPA) filed candidate lists for 5 Electoral Units in Macedonia, i.e.

⁷ The Coalition GROM Completed the Candidate List for 2014 Parliamentary Elections, GROM, 28th March 2014. Accessed at: <http://grom.mk/?p=3962> (last visited on 28th March 2014).

⁸ VMRO-DPMNE with lists for absolute majority in the parliament, Kurir, 29th March 2014. Accessed at: <http://www.kurir.mk/makedonija/vesti/152782-VMRO-DPMNE-so-listi-za-apsolutno-mnozinstvo-vo-Parlamentot> (last visited on 31st March 2014).

they do not have their own candidate list only in the fourth Electoral Unit. DPA will participate in the Electoral Units 7 and 8, for the voting abroad.

The National Democratic Revival (NDP) promoted its candidate lists in the Electoral Units 1, 2, 5, 6, and 7. The coalition Dignity for Macedonia filed candidate lists for all the 6 Electoral Units in Macedonia and the Electoral Unit 8 for the voting abroad.

VMRO People's Party (VMRO-NP), the Coalition for Positive Macedonia led by the party Alliance for Positive Macedonia (APM) and the Social Democratic Party of Macedonia (SDPM) filed candidate lists for all the 6 Electoral Units in the country. The political party People's Movement for Macedonia (NDM) filed candidate lists in five Electoral Units 1,2,3,4, and 5, while the Party for European Future (PEI) in four Electoral Units in the country 1,2,5 and 6. The Party for Economic Changes 21 (PEP 21) filed candidate lists for the Electoral Units 1 and 2, and the Party for Democratic Prosperity (PDP) filed its candidate list for the sixth Electoral Unit only.

In the period before the call for the Presidential Elections⁹ there were speculations in the public for the possibility to hold early Parliamentary Elections.¹⁰ However, it was DUI that initiated the call for elections as a result of the failure of the party to obtain the support from the Macedonian political block for their idea for a "consensual presidential candidate". The party's leader Ali Ahmeti previously, in December, announced his position that he would not support the current President Gjorge Ivanov,¹¹ because he had not sufficiently represented the ethnic Albanians in Macedonia. The party then announced its position not to promote their own presidential candidate, striving for the so-called "consensual president", i.e. a president

⁹ The Republic of Macedonia's 2014 Presidential Elections Handbook, Konrad Adenauer Foundation and Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis"-Skopje, pp. 9-12. Accessed at: http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_37241-1522-2-30.pdf?140327134356 (last visited on 28th March 2014).

¹⁰ Mirjana Spasovska, The Parliamentary Elections more and more probable, Radio Free Europe, Macedonian Language program, 27th February 2014. Accessed at: <http://www.makdenes.org/content/article/25279023.html> (last visited on 24th March 2014).

¹¹ Zorana Gadzovska Spasovska, Ahmeti – No Bombarding in the Coalition, Radio Free Europe, Macedonian Language Program, 22nd December 2013. Accessed at: <http://www.makdenes.org/content/article/25208426.html> (last visited on 31st March 2014).

accepted by all ethnic communities in Macedonia, who will "represent all citizens in Macedonia". In this way, DUI refused to give its support in the pre-election period to any of the nominated presidential candidates, including the candidate of their coalition partner VMRO-DPMNE, Gjorge Ivanov. After the two coalition partners, VMRO-DPMNE and DUI, failed to reach a common solution in relation to the recommendation for a "consensual president", and after it became more probable that VMRO-DPMNE will support Ivanov for a second presidential mandate, the parliamentary group of DUI on 1st March filed a formal initiative to the Assembly for its dismissal and called for early parliamentary elections. On the same day, at the party convention for election of presidential candidate, the Prime Minister and the president of VMRO-DPMNE, Nikola Gruevski, announced to the delegates, the membership and the public that VMRO-DPMNE accepts DUI's suggestion, which meant that there will be early parliamentary elections in Macedonia. SDSM accepted the initiative for dismissing the parliament¹² explaining that this was an opportunity for the citizens to punish the governmental policies, which, according to the opposition, were a major drawback for the country.

What is characteristic for these elections is that two new parties emerged and will be promoted for the first time during the elections. The first party is GROM whose leader is Stevce Jakimovski, the current mayor of the municipality of Karpos. Before the 2013 Local Elections Jakimovski was the mayor of Karpos and a president of SDSM's city branch in Skopje. In February 2013 he was excluded¹³ from SDSM due to his lack of compliance with the party's resolution to boycott the local elections, and in the last moment he filed his candidacy for a mayor of the municipality of Karpos through the party Serbian Advanced Party of Macedonia (SNSM). Jakimovski, who was a former Minister of Economy as well as Labor and Social Policy in the government of Branko Crvenkovski after the 2002 Parliamentary Elections, without support of any large political party managed to win the

¹² "The Assembly Dismissed", Voice of America, Macedonian Language Program, 5th March 2014. <http://mk.voanews.com/content/parliament-dissolved-voted-for-early-parliamentary-elections/1864874.html>

¹³ SDSM excludes Stevco Jakimovski from party, 24 Vesti, 17th February 2013. Accessed at: <http://24vesti.mk/sdsm-go-iskluchi-stevcho-jakimovski-od-partijata> (last visited on 31st March 2014).

2013 local elections against the candidates of SDSM and VMRO-DPMNE, and thus be reelected for the position of Mayor. Soon after the elections on the local level, he entered into coalition with the advisory group of VMRO-DPMNE, and a month later, on 29th September 2013, he established the party GROM.¹⁴ The newly established party, for a period of only a day and a half, managed to collect 10,000 signatures¹⁵ for the presidential elections candidacy, and to nominate the professor Zoran Popovski as one of the four candidates running for presidency on the forthcoming elections.

The second party is APM whose leader is Vlado Buckovski, a university professor and former Prime Minister and president of SDSM, the former chief editor and owner of the weekly business magazine "Kapital" - Ljupco Zikov, as well as the businessman Minco Jordanov. APM started as a civic movement in May 2013 and even in March 2014 it registered as a political party. The president of the party is Zikov, but the main political impulse on the elections is expected by Buckovski¹⁶ due to his political experience. In 2002, as part of the government of SDSM and under the leadership of Branko Crvenkovski he was appointed Minister of Defense. After Crvenkovski took up his candidacy for president and won the 2004 early presidential elections¹⁷ the Prime Minister in the government was Hari Kostov, the former Minister of Internal Affairs. Five months later, Kostov filed his resignation, and in December 2004 on SDSM's Congress, Buckovski¹⁸ was elected Prime

¹⁴ Stevce Jakimovski: GROM was not established to be in the opposition, but to be in power. Republika, 29th May 2013. Accessed at: <http://republika.mk/?p=74417> (last visited on 31st March 2014).

¹⁵ The Republic of Macedonia's 2014 Presidential Elections Handbook, Konrad Adenauer Foundation and Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis"-Skopje, pp. 10. Accessed at: http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_37241-1522-2-30.pdf?140327134356 (last visited on 28th March 2014).

¹⁶ Vlado Buckovski the new leader of SDSM and a Prime Minister, Utrinski Vesnik, 27th November 2004. Accessed at: <http://star.utrinski.com.mk/?pBroj=1638&stID=26160&pR=2> (last visited on 31st March 2014).

¹⁷ The Republic of Macedonia's 2014 Presidential Elections Handbook, Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis" – Skopje, p. 28. Accessed at: http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_37241-1522-2-30.pdf?140327134356 (last visited on 30th March 2014).

¹⁸ Vlado Buckovski was sentenced to 3.5 years imprisonment on 9th December 2008, upon decision by the First Instance Court, under the charges of abuse of position which damaged the budget of the Ministry of Defense for € 3 million, while he was a minister in 2001 in the case "Army Tank Parts". The Court of Appeal cancelled this decision from 2009 and brought the case to a second trial. The First Instance Court sentenced Buckovski to three years imprisonment again on 1st July 2013. The case is currently going through another appeals process at the Court of Appeal.

Minister and leader of the party. He was the leader of the social-democrats on the 2006 Parliamentary Elections when VMRO-DPMNE took over the power. After the elections in October 2006, on the party convention, Buckovski was voted out,¹⁹ of his leadership position in the party. Due to the public discordance with the party policy, Buckovski was excluded from SDSM in December 2012.²⁰

PREPARATIONS FOR THE EARLY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

On 7th March, the SEC adopted the Timetable for execution of electoral activities for the implementation of the early parliamentary elections.²¹ In addition, the SEC supplements the municipal election commissions (MEC) with members to replace those whose mandate was terminated or whose dismissal was requested. The Timetable stipulates that regarding the parliamentary elections, the SEC and the Municipal Election Commissions (MECs) will conduct only those activities related to supplementing the Election Boards (EB) upon recommendations from the political parties until 26th March. In the DCMs the election boards are established by the SEC latest by 27th March.

In accordance with the Election Code, the SEC uploaded the Voters' list to the website: <http://izbirackispisok.gov.mk>, available for public viewing, 10 days after the call for elections on 16th March, in the regional departments and local offices as well as the DCMs. The reviewing of the lists was open

¹⁹ SDSM is getting ready for a new leader election, Deutsche Welle, Macedonian Language Program, 10th October 2006. Accessed at: <http://www.dw.de/%D1%81%D0%B4%D1%81%D0%BC-%D1%81%D0%B5-%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%B4%D0%B3%D0%BE%D1%82%D0%B2%D1%83%D0%B2%D0%B0-%D0%B7%D0%B0-%D0%B8%D0%B7%D0%B1%D0%BE%D1-%80-%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B2-%D0%BB%D0%B8%D0%B4%D0%B5%D1%80/a-2535543> (last visited on 31st March 2014).

²⁰ Buckovski and Buzlevski excluded from SDSM, Telma, 15th December 2012. Accessed at: <http://www.telma.com.mk/index.php?task=content&cat=1&rub=15&item=22543> (last visited on 31st March 2014).

²¹ The timetable for executing electoral activities for the implementation of the early parliamentary elections for the Republic of Macedonia's Assembly, State Election Commission, 7th March 2014. Accessed at: <http://www.sec.mk/files/izbori2014/parlamentarni/rokovnik.pdf> (last visited on 31st March 2014).

until 30th March. In a period of 5 days after the expiry date for reviewing, until 4th April, the SEC filed the Voters' list to the political parties, which in turn have a period of 5 days, until 9th April, to file requests for registering, supplementing, or removing data. The commission decides upon the requests in a period of 3 days.

The Macedonian citizens who live or work abroad temporarily, in order to be able to vote on the elections, were supposed to file, through the DCMs, a signed application for voting, or electronically apply directly to the SEC, starting from 6th March and latest by 30th March.

According to the legally determined datelines and according to the SEC's Timetable for the implementation of the early parliamentary elections 2014, the election campaign for these elections will run from 5th April until 25th April 2014. Due to the election silence and the voting in the first round of the presidential elections, the election campaign for the parliamentary elections will stop on 12th and 13th April.

According to the Timetable, the financial reports by the organizers of the election campaign to the SEC, the State Audit Office (SAO) and the State Commission for Prevention of Corruption (SCPC) should meet the following deadlines:

- On 14th April for the incomes and expenditures in the first 11 days of the campaign;
- On 26th April for the incomes and expenditures in the second half of the campaign;
- The financial reports are filed immediately, latest by 20th May, i.e. 25 days after the end of the election campaign;
- The State Audit Office (SAO) should conduct an audit of the overall financial reports from the campaigns, latest by 14th July.

4th March marked the beginning of the period stipulated in Article 8 from the Election Code, when there should not be payments of subsidies aside from regular salaries, nor organizing of public events for commencing construction works or opening of facilities or infrastructural projects financed by resources from the Budget, public funds, as well as resources from the public companies with state owned capital. In accordance with the timetable, the requests for monitoring the elections by national and international observers can be filed in the period between 6th March and 22nd April 2014, i.e. 5 days prior to the Election Day.

LATEST CHANGES IN THE ELECTORAL LEGISLATION²²

At the meeting between the Government and representatives of the political parties that took place on 15th January 2014 an agreement was achieved to amend²³ the Election Code which would adopt the remarks from the monitoring reports by the OSCE/ODIHR²⁴ and the opposition. The amendments in the Election Code were adopted in a shortened procedure on 23rd January 2014 with the support of all the political parties, except the DPA. The amendments are related to all the key remarks on the normative framework for the elections, with the exception of the electoral voting system and the distribution of mandates in the constituencies abroad. The political parties did not achieve consensus on this issue and further debate was arranged for the period before the next parliamentary elections.

The amendments and supplements to the Election Code are related to the following key aspects of the election process:

²² For more information in relation to the latest changes of the election legislation, check out: The Republic of Macedonia's 2014 Presidential Elections Handbook, Konrad Adenauer Foundation and Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis" – Skopje, pp. 15-23. Accessed at: http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_37241-1522-2-30.pdf?140327134356 (last visited on 31st March 2014).

²³ Law amending and supplementing the Election Code, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia 14/2014. Accessed at: <http://www.pravo.org.mk/document-Detail.php?id=665> (last visited on 15th February 2014).


²⁴ OSCE Office for democratic institutions and human rights. Republic of Macedonia, Local Elections 24th March and 7th April 2013, Final Report, Warsaw 9th July 2013. Accessed at: <http://www.osce.org/mk/odihr/elections/103832> (last visited on 15th February 2014).

- Separation of the state from the party, in terms of the limitations in managing the budget resources during the election process.
- In relation to the complaints, the SEC should only decide upon reviewing the election materials and other evidence.
- Amendments in the electoral administration bodies in relation to the reports deadlines, the composition of the election boards, and the deadlines for the candidate lists.
- The deadlines for the SEC's response after the complaints.
- Amendments in the Voters' List (VL) related to special voting forms in the DCMs, forwarding data to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the courts competent for insight into the VL, the period for the insight and the possibility for requesting amendments in the VL.
- Amendments in the procedure for candidacy and the deadlines for filing candidate lists.
- Media presentation, in terms of enabling equal conditions for access to all types of media presentation, avoiding privileges to a certain political entity, specifying the possibility for the participation of journalists, editors, and media presenters in the election campaigns, compulsory recording of the programs by the public radio broadcasting service, and the private marketing radiobroadcasters, conditions and prices for political advertising.
- Amendments in the part related to the financing of the election campaign, in terms of limiting the amount of the donations and introducing an electronic system for confirming the personal identity of the voters.
- Limitation to the size of the polling station

The only remark of OSCE/ODIHR which was not taken into consideration by the parties was related to the amendments for the voting abroad. The recommendations from the previous early parliamentary elections in 2011 was that the current system should be reviewed, when it comes to the distribution of mandates in the election units abroad, in order to

ensure that the necessary votes from the Diaspora for election of MPs in the Assembly would not significantly undermine the equal election rights, guaranteed by the Constitution and the Election Code. When arranging the latest amendments of the Election Code in January, the representatives of the parties²⁵ in government and in opposition decided to review this remark before the forthcoming parliamentary elections. However, after the elections were called, this issue was not discussed among the parties, which implies that the three MPs from the Election Units 7, 8 and 9 will be elected by the same model used in 2011.

²⁵ Z.A. Election Code Amendments Adopted, Deutsche Welle, Macedonian Language Program, 21st January 2014. Accessed at: <http://www.dw.de/%D0%B8%D0%B7%D0%B3%D0%BB%D0%B0%D1%81%D0%B0%D-0%BD%D0%B8-%D0%B8%D0%B7%D0%BC%D0%B5%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%82%D0%B5-%D0%B2%D0%BE-%D0%B8%D0%B7%D0%B1%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%BE%D1%82-%D0%B7%D0%B0%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%BA/a-17383099> (last visited on 31st March 2014)



HISTORY OF THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN MACEDONIA (1990-2011)

1990 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

The Macedonian voters, after introducing the political pluralism with the constitutional changes from 1989 which enabled establishing of political parties, were able to vote for the first time on the multiparty elections in 1990,²⁶ in the former Socialist Republic of Macedonia (SRM). At the same time, these were the first free multiparty elections which were held in all of the six republics within the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ). The elections were organized in an atmosphere which exposed the beginnings of the breakup of the Federation, which during the elections in most of the republics reflected in the victory of the newly established parties on national level, branching out from the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The elections in Macedonia were held in accordance with the majority election system in two voting rounds with 120 Electoral Units on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia. There were 18 political parties and 43 independent candidates that took place on the first elections. The parties in some Electoral Units were campaigning separately, but in other Electoral Units they established coalitions promoting a joint candidate. The first round that took place on 11th November brought victory and the majority of votes to the sole ruling party, the Communist Union of Macedonia – Party for Democratic Transformation (SKM-PDP). However, in the second round on 25th November the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (VMRO-DPMNE) that was established the same year, won the majority of votes.

After the second round, the parties in the Electoral Units where they participated independently won: VMRO-DMPNE 38 mandates in total, SKM-PDP - 31 mandates, Party for Democratic Prosperity (PDP) – 17, Union of Reform Forces of Macedonia (SRSM) – 11, Socialist Party of Macedonia (SPM) – 4, Yugoslavian Party – 2, People’s Democratic Party (NDP) – 1 mandate, including three independent members who joined the parliament. The parties which established coalitions with joint candidates

²⁶ State Election Commission. Parliamentary elections on 11th and 25th November 1990. Bulletin No. 20. Final results from the election of MPs for the SR of Macedonia’s Assembly. Accessed at: http://www.sec.mk/arhiva/1990_parlamentarni/konecni_rezultati_1990.pdf (last visited on 24th March 2014).

in some of the Electoral Units in addition won: PDP/NDP coalition – 5 mandates, SRSM/Young Democratic Progressive Party (MDPS) – 6 MPs, SPM/SRSM/MDPS coalition – 1, and the coalition between the Party for Complete Emancipation of the Roma PCER/SPM - 1 mandate.

In the first round, out of 1,339,021 registered voters the turnout was 84.8%, and in the second round 76.8%. The main theme of the elections was the SR of Macedonia's status in the Yugoslav Federation and the issue related to greater independence of the country. Nine parties and three independent MPs won mandates in the new unicameral assembly. The Republic's Election Commission²⁷ (REC) stated that besides the procedural discrepancies, there were no drastic excesses. Due to the determined irregularities, the elections were cancelled in 176 polling stations from 33 Electoral Units in 14 municipalities.

Due to the relatively balanced relation between the powers in the Parliament there were some difficulties in establishing the government, which resulted in forming a technical government. The mandate to establish the government was given to the member of the Macedonian Arts and Sciences Academy (MANU) Nikola Kljusev who recommended experts for ministers. This government²⁸ was comprised of university professors and intellectuals, and the MPs voted it on 20th March 1991.

During its mandate, some of the more significant acts brought forth was the Constitution, as well as the Referendum organized for the independence of the country, including the establishing of the Army of the Republic of Macedonia (ARM). Due to the discrepancies arising among the parties, this government was voted out in August 1992 in the Parliament. President Kiro Gligorov gave the mandate to Ljubco Georgievski, the leader of VMRO-DPMNE – the party with the majority of MPs in the Parliament, to establish the new government, but he refused it. Gligorov then offered the mandate

²⁷ The internet page of the State Election Commission does not have available data on 1990 elections.

²⁸ Resolution to establish the Government of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, No.12 from 22nd March 1991. Accessed at: <http://www.slvesnik.com.mk/Issues/ACD37FD3850E45519F33B7E0F3267A30.pdf> (last visited on 22nd March 2014).

to Petar Goshev from SKM-PDP, but he refused as well. The president then gave this opportunity to Branko Crvenkovski, the leader of SKM-PDP. He accepted the mandate and established the second government,²⁹ which was political in relation to the former expert government. VMRO-DPMNE claimed at the time that an injustice was done when after the refusal by Goshev from SKM-PDP, the mandate should have been offered to VMRO-DPMNE, instead of offering it twice in a row to SKM-PDP. In order to establish the government, Crvenkovski formed a coalition with the party of the ethnic Albanians, PDP, which became an unwritten rule for the future, to have a party representing the Albanians in every composition of the government in coalition with the largest Macedonian party.

Previously, on 8th September 1991, a referendum³⁰ was held for the independence of Macedonia from the SFRY, with a turnout of 75.74 % of the eligible voters. The referendum question was "Are you in favour of sovereign and independent Macedonia, with the right to enter into federation with the sovereign Yugoslavian states in the future", to which 95.26% voted "FOR". The referendum was boycotted³¹ by a majority of Albanian voters.

²⁹ Resolution to establish the Government of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, No. 53 from 7th September 1992. Accessed at: <http://www.slvesnik.com.mk/Issues/29E222F36D1D4E4A8C218FAEFF2413CE.pdf> (last visited on 22nd March 2014).

³⁰ Republic (State) Election Commission. Referendum on 8th September 1991. Report on the implementation and the results from the referendum. 20th September 1991. Accessed at: http://www.sec.mk/arhiva/1990_Referendum/Izvestaj_za_sproveden_referendum_1990.pdf (last visited on 22nd March 2014).

³¹ Andov: the Referendum saves us from war. Republic, 7th September 2012. Accessed at: <http://republika.mk/?p=9486> (last visited on 24th March 2014).

1994 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

The first parliamentary elections after Macedonia's independence took place in 1994, at the same time with the first direct presidential elections of the state. The candidates for these elections were recommended by 38 political parties and there were 283 independent candidates. The coalition Union for Macedonia which was led by Social Democratic Union of Macedonia (SDSM), the heir of SKM-PDP, won the elections. Namely, the party changed its name on the Congress in April 1991, along with the ideology which transformed from communist to social democratic.

On the elections,³² which were based on the majority electoral model, out of 1,360,729 registered voters the turnout was 77.8% in the first round that took place on 16th October, while in the second round that took place on 30th October the turnout was 57.5%. The significant reduction in the turnout during the second round was due to the fact that the opposition parties VMRO-DPMNE and the Democratic Party decided to boycott the voting.³³ Their claims were that in the first round there were serious irregularities in the election process, and that there was an electoral fraud and omissions in organizing the elections particularly in relation to the Voters' list.

According to the results of the first round, the coalition Union for Macedonia where SDSM and SPM participated was in significant advantages in relation to the main opposition parties VMRO-DPMNE, and the Democratic Party. The Union for Macedonia won 32.6% of the votes, VMRO-DPMNE – 14.3%, and DP – 11%.

The parties of the Union for Macedonia due to the boycott in the second round won many MP seats. SDSM then won 60 seats in the parliament,

³² State Election Commission. Parliamentary Elections on 16th and 30th October 1994. Report on the conducted elections for MPs in the Republic of Macedonia's Assembly in 1994. Skopje, 8th November 1994. Accessed at: http://www.sec.mk/arhiva/1994_parlamentarni/izvestaj_parlamentarni_1994.pdf (last visited on 22nd March 2014).

³³ Cane Mojanovski, PhD, Chronicle of the Macedonian Democracy, p.43. Skopje, 2000. Accessed at: <http://www.fb.uklo.edu.mk/knigi/Cane%20T.%20Mojanoski%20Letopis%20na%20makedonskata%20demokratija.pdf> (last visited on 24th March 2014).

LP – 29, PDP – 11, SPM – 9, the Party for Democratic Prosperity of the Albanians (PDPA) – 4, NDP – 2. The Democratic Party of Macedonia (DPM), the Democratic Party of the Turks (DPT), the Democratic Union of the Albanians – Liberal Party, Social-Democratic Party of Macedonia (SDPM) and PCER won one seat each.

The second round of these elections was monitored by observers from the International Republican Institute (IRI).³⁴ The observers did not register any serious problems in the election process that could jeopardize the legitimacy of the elections. Although, they underlined that besides the general conclusion that the elections were organized well, there were many polling stations where the Voters' lists were not updated, and that in various polling stations the voters were required by the election commissions to show different IDs, which created confusion. The observers registered voters who complained that due to delays by the state organs they could not obtain the documents which disabled them to use their right to vote. After these elections the government was established by Branko Crvenkovski again, which comprised of ministers from SDSM, but also from SPM, PDP and LP.

1998 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

The following parliamentary elections took place in 1998 in accordance with the altered electoral model. Instead of voting in two rounds according to the majority model, the elections were held according to the mixed/combined parliamentary electoral system³⁵ with voting in two rounds as well. With the amendments, 85 out of 120 mandates were distributed in

³⁴ According to the International Republican Institute (IRI), Monitoring Mission for the elections in Macedonia. Parliamentary Elections on 18th and 30th October 1994. Final report from the monitoring of the second round of the elections. Accessed at: <http://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/Macedonia's%201994%20Parliamentary%20Elections.pdf> (last visited on 24th March 2014)

³⁵ Law on Election of Members of Parliament in the Republic of Macedonia's Assembly, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, No. 24 from 28th May 1998. Accessed at <http://www.slvesnik.com.mk/Issues/EF6EE403BB7A4C52B969183A4F04CA8A.pdf> (last visited on 26th March 2014)

one-mandate Electoral Units, for which the voting was on 18th October, and the rest of the 35 mandates were distributed according to the proportional D'Hondt method, which made the whole state a single constituency with the voting on 1st November. An electoral threshold of 5% was introduced for the proportional lists. 72.9% out of 1,572,976 registered voters for these elections turned out on the voting for the majority lists. The turnout³⁶ for the proportional list in the second round was 69.4%. For the majority lists, there were 22 political parties that offered their own candidates, 4 coalitions and 7 independent candidates. On the proportional lists there were 12 parties competing, as well as 4 coalitions and a group of voters.

There was a change in government at these elections, which made VMRO-DPMNE the winner³⁷ with 49 seats in the Parliament, and SDSM in the second position with 27 mandates. PDP got 14 seats, Democratic Alternative (DA) 13 seats, Democratic Party of the Albanians (DPA) 11, Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) 4 seats, and SPM as well as the Roma Union of Macedonia (SRM) one seat each in the Parliament. After the elections, the leader of VMRO-DPMNE, Ljubco Georgievski, established a coalition government together with DA and DPA.

These elections were the first in Macedonia that were monitored by the OSCE/ODIHR mission whose representatives arrived on the invitation of the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The general remarks in the monitoring report³⁸ was that in this electoral cycle there were significant improvements in relation to the previous due to the changes in the electoral legislation, the correct election campaign with a small number

of isolated cases of violence. The main remarks were related to several registered cases of group and family voting and the slow functioning of the electoral organs in processing the data from the voting.

2002 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

The parliamentary elections on 15th September 2002 took place in a very tight atmosphere after the 2001 conflict between the security forces and representatives of the NLA (National Liberation Army), which was concluded with the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement.³⁹ This cycle was marked by the emergence of a new entity in the Albanian political block on the political stage, the party Democratic Union for Integration (DUI) established by the NLA leadership. The elections took place in accordance with the proportional electoral model,⁴⁰ in six Electoral Units, and there were representatives of 53 parties on the candidate lists. The turnout was 73.4% out of 1,664,296 registered voters, after which there was a change of government again. The coalition "For Macedonia Together" under the leadership of SDSM won the majority of votes. The coalition won 60 mandates, out of which 43 seats to SDSM, 12 to LDP, 2 to DPT, and one seat each to the United Party of the Roma in Macedonia (OPRM), the Democratic League of the Bosniaks (DLB) and the Democratic Party of the Serbs (DPS).

The coalition VMRO-DPMNE and LP won 33 mandates in total, out of which 27 seats to VMRO-DPMNE, and 5 to LP, as well as one for the Party of the Turks Movement in Macedonia (PDTM).

Among the political parties of the Albanians in Macedonia, the newly established DUI won most of the seats in the Parliament, i.e. 16 mandates. DPA got 7, PDP 2, and NDP and SPM one mandate each.

³⁶ Cane Mojanovski, Ph.D., Chronicle of the Macedonian Democracy, p. 67. Skopje 2000. Data on citizens' turnout in both rounds of the 1998 Parliamentary Elections. Accessed at: <http://www.fb.uklo.edu.mk/knigi/Cane%20T.%20Mojanoski%20Letopis%20na%20makedonskata%20demokratija.pdf> (last visited on 26th March 2014). The website of the State Election Commission does not have data on the 1998 turnout available in its archives.

³⁷ The Republic of Macedonia's Assembly, Results from the election of members of the Republic of Macedonia's Parliament from the 1998 Parliamentary Elections. Accessed at: <http://www.sobranie.mk/?ItemID=9402373424ED504883EE17FED5E72EB4> (last visited on 26th March 2014).

³⁸ According to the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. Republic of Macedonia, Parliamentary Elections on 18th October and 1st November 1998, Final Report. Accessed at: <http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/fyrom/15887?download=true> (last visited on 23rd March 2014).

³⁹ Ohrid Framework Agreement, the Secretariat for Implementation of the Ohrid Agreement. Accessed at: http://siofa.gov.mk/data/file/Ramkoven_dogovor_mk.pdf (last visited on 25th March 2014).

⁴⁰ Law on Election of Members of Parliament in the Republic of Macedonia's Assembly, Article 96, determining the results from the voting in the Electoral Units for the 2002 parliamentary elections. Accessed at: http://www.sec.mk/arhiva/2002_parlamentarni/zakonski%20regulativi/zakonski%20regulativi.html (last visited on 26th March 2014).

The OSCE/ODIHR⁴¹ monitoring mission expressed its concerns in relation to the campaign preceding these elections due to several cases of violence, threats and selective application of the legal procedures with regards to certain candidates. The electoral process itself was assessed positively.

The president of the new government after a 4-year break was again the leader of SDSM, Branko Crvenkovski, and it included LDP and DUI. The event that marked these elections was that DUI and their leader Ali Ahmeti entered into power for the first time, which was not warmly welcomed by the Macedonian public, which saw the representatives of this party as initiators of the military conflicts a year before.

2006 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

The turnout,⁴² on these elections that took place on 5th June 2006 was the lowest ever registered, with 56% out of 1,741,449 registered voters, but the parties changed their roles once again. The governing SDSM became an oppositional party, and the former oppositional party VMRO-DPMNE won the majority of seats in the parliament. During these elections, which like the previous took place in accordance with the proportional model, in six Electoral Units there were 33 candidate lists that applied for participation, out of which 31 from political parties and coalitions and 2 from group of voters. The coalition "For Better Macedonia" led by VMRO-DPMNE, won 45 MP seats, out of which 38 seats belonged to VMRO-DPMNE. The second coalition was "For Macedonia Together" led by SDSM with 32 mandates, out of which 23 seats belonged to SDSM. The third coalition was DUI-PDP which won 17 mandates. DUI got 14 seats. DPA won 11 mandates, New Social Democratic Party (NSDP) 7, VMRO – People's Party (VMRO-

⁴¹ The Republic of Macedonia's Assembly, 2006 Parliamentary Election Results. Final collective results from the voting. The report was prepared by the State Election Commission, 25th June 2006. Accessed at: <http://sobranie.mk/WBStorage/Files/Rezultati-2006-5.pdf> (last visited on 25th March 2014).

⁴² According to the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. The Republic of Macedonia, Parliamentary Elections 5th July 2006, final report. Warsaw, 18th September 2006. Accessed at: <http://www.osce.org/mk/odihr/elections/fyrom/20630?download=true> (last visited on 23rd March 2014)

NP) 6, Democratic Restoration of Macedonia (DOM) 1, and the Party for European Future (PEI) 1 mandate.

The OSCE/ODIHR⁴³ monitoring mission's conclusions were that the elections were in accordance with the endeavors for democratic elections, however, on the Voting Day there were certain irregularities registered, and in the first half of the election campaign there had been cases of violence and intimidation.

After these elections, the incumbent Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski received the first mandate to establish the government. It comprised of representatives from the coalition led by VMRO-DPMNE, DPA and NSDP. The government was supported by DOM and PEI, which did not receive ministry positions. VMRO-NP voted for the government, but did not enter the government coalition. The event that marked these elections was that VMRO-DPMNE took Menduh Taci's DPA as its partner in the composition of the government, although DUI won the majority of seats in the parliament. This resulted in a political crisis and several half-an-hour obstructions⁴⁴ of sections of the highways in the northwest of Macedonia by members and supporters of DUI, which considered itself the only legitimate representative of the majority of Albanians in Macedonia, and eligible to be part of the government, and everything contrary to this would be disrespect for the political will of the Albanians. In March 2008 DPA⁴⁵ filed a resolution to leave the government.

⁴³ According to the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. The Republic of Macedonia, Parliamentary Elections 5th July 2006, final report. Warsaw, 18th September 2006. Accessed at: <http://www.osce.org/mk/odihr/elections/fyrom/20630?download=true> (last visited on 23rd March 2014).

⁴⁴ DUI Protests, Deutsche Welle, Macedonian Language Service, 7th August 2006. Accessed at: <http://www.dw.de/%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%BE%D1%82%D0%B5%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B8-%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D0%B4%D1%83%D0%B8/a-2535607> (last visited on 22nd March 2014)

⁴⁵ DPA out of government, Macedonian Information Agency, 13th March 2008. Accessed at: <http://www.idividi.com.mk/vesti/makedonija/427732/index.htm> (last visited on 22nd March 2014)

2008 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

Two years after entering government, the party in power VMRO-DPMNE accepted the parliamentary initiative of DUI to dismiss the parliament and organize snap elections⁴⁶ that took place on 1st June. Ali Ahmeti's party considered it necessary to call for snap elections to correct the previous state where DPA, the party with less mandates won, represented the Albanians in the government. At the same time, the country faced new challenges in the Euro-Atlantic integration process due to the failure to receive an invitation for membership in the Alliance⁴⁷ on the Bucharest Summit,⁴⁸ due to the dispute with Greece over the constitutional name of Macedonia. These were the first snap parliamentary elections in the independent Macedonia, significant for the fact that there was no change of government, and the strengthening of VMRO-DPMNE's position. The elections took place in accordance with the proportional model, and the turnout was 57.06% out of 1,779,116 registered citizens with the right to vote. On the lists, 41 parties and two groups of voters participated with their own candidates on the elections that took place on 1st June.

The coalition "For Better Macedonia" led by VMRO-DPMNE won⁴⁹ a record number of 63 mandates out of 120 available, out of which 53 belonged to VMRO-DPMNE. From the parties in the coalition, SPM won 3, and the Democratic Union (DS), the Democratic Party of the Turks of Macedonia (DPTM), DPS, OPRM, VMRO-Macedonian and Party of Democratic Action of Macedonia (SDA) won one seat each.

⁴⁶ According to Citizens Association Most, Final Report from the National Monitoring of the Snap Elections on 1st June 2008. Skopje, September 2008. Political Context, p.3. Accessed at: <http://www.most.org.mk/images/transparency/Parliamentary%20Elections%202008/parlamentarniIzbori2008.pdf> (last visited on 26th March 2014).

⁴⁷ Dejection in Bucharest: Jilted Macedonia Walks out of NATO Summit, Spiegel. Accessed at: <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/dejection-in-bucharest-jilted-macedonia-walks-out-of-nato-summit-a-545214.html> (last visited on 22nd March 2014).

⁴⁸ NATO after Bucharest, NATO Public Diplomacy Division, http://www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/pdf_publications/20111017_nato_after_bucharest_mac.pdf (last visited on 20th March 2014).

⁴⁹ State Election Commission, Snap Parliamentary Elections on 1st June 2008. Final Results Report by D'Hondt method. Accessed at: http://www.sec.mk/arhiva/2008_predvremeni-parlamentarni/index/2008-07-17-10-15-07.htm (last visited on 20th March 2014).

The second was the oppositional coalition "Sun – Coalition for Europe" led by SDSM with 27 MPs in total. Out of these mandates 18 belonged to SDSM, which was the lowest number of seats insofar. The other seats in the parliaments were won by members of the coalition, LDP 4, NSDP 3, while LP and New Alternative (NA) one each.

DUI got 18 seats in the parliament and then joined the government with the winning coalition. DPA won 11 seats and PEI one.

The State Election Commission cancelled the voting in 197 polling stations and organized a repeated voting. The monitoring mission of OSCE/ODIHR⁵⁰ registered that the anticipated progress was not achieved due to the fact that the authorities failed in preventing the acts of violence primarily in environments with the majority of Albanians. The irregularities were removed in the repeated voting with the enhanced presence of the police which enabled the citizens to fulfill their right to vote in a rather peaceful atmosphere.

The government was established by Nikola Gruevski again, which included ministers from DUI besides the ministers from the coalition "For Better Macedonia".

2011 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

The snap parliamentary elections on 5th June 2011 had been the second snap elections for the Assembly since Macedonia's independence and a second such election in a row. It was preceded by a complex political situation and one of the most serious political crises in the country since its independence.⁵¹ The opposition boycotted the parliament with

⁵⁰ According to the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. The Republic of Macedonia, snap parliamentary elections 1st June 2008, final report. Warsaw, 20th August 2008. Accessed at: <http://www.osce.org/mk/odihr/elections/fyrom/33153?download=true> (last visited on 23rd March 2014).

⁵¹ According to the Citizens Association Most, Final Report from the Domestic Monitoring of the 5th June 2011 Snap Elections. Accessed at: http://www.most.org.mk/images/transparency/elections2011/Final_report_IZBORI_2011_MKD.pdf (last visited on 22nd March 2014).

the exception of LDP, due to the freezing of the bank accounts of the TV station and three printed media under the ownership of the businessman Velija Ramkovski. He was arrested in December 2010 and held in custody under the charges of money laundering, criminal liaisons, tax avoidance, and abuse of position, and in March 2012 he was sentenced to 13 years imprisonment. The opposition claimed that the arrest of the owner of A1 television and the newspapers the Shpic, the Vreme and the Koha happened because these media were critical in their reports towards the government and that this was an attempt to silence them. Due to the blockage of the bank accounts of the media and the claims that there was no political dialog in the country, the opposition under the leadership of Branko Crvenkovski in January 2011 left the parliament, previously asking for official dismissal and snap parliamentary elections. The Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski⁵² accepted the request in March, after which the opposition set several conditions, and threatened that in case of failing to meet them, they would boycott the elections. The conditions set by Crvenkovski were related to unblocking the bank accounts of the four media, introducing a law for equal distribution of budget resources for all media, after which the SDSM MPs would return to the Parliament. This was followed by a session covering the amendments of the Election Law with consensus and a joint parliamentary commission for confirming the voter lists. On 21st March, the largest opposition party⁵³ concluded that in general the conditions have been met and decided to return to the parliament.

The event that marked these elections was the increase of the number of constituencies from 6 to 9. With the three new Electoral Units, one for Europe and Africa, one for North and South America, and one for Australia and Asia, the voters from the Diaspora are included. This increased the seats in the Parliament from 120 to 123, i.e. one member from each of the new Electoral Units. The Macedonian citizens who live abroad voted in

⁵² S.S.Z. Parties Take Up Urgent Consultations, The Nova Makedonija, 22nd February 2011. Accessed at: <http://www.novamakedonija.com.mk/NewsDetal.asp?vest=22211818202&id=9&setIzdanie=22213> (last visited on 26th March 2014).

⁵³ Crvenkovski: SDSM returns to Parliament after 4 conditions fulfilled. SDSM, Skopje 21st March 2011. Statement of the SDSM leader, Brank Crvenkovski, on the conclusion of the political crisis which led to the 2011 elections. Accessed at: <http://sds.org.mk/default.aspx?mId=55&agId=5&articleId=5008> (last visited on 26th March 2014).


the Diplomatic-Consular Missions – DCMs.⁵⁴ The turnout on the elections reached 63.39% if the overall 1,821,122 registered voters and due to the voting enabled for the Diaspora there was a slight modification of the electoral model. While in the 6 Electoral Units on the territory of Macedonia the candidates are elected in accordance with the proportional model, for the three new Electoral Units abroad the majority model was applied. On these elections, 53 political parties recommended their candidates on the lists.

The coalition led by VMRO-DPMNE won the elections again. The coalition won 56 mandates out of which 47 belonged to VMRO-DPMNE. From the coalition partners, SPM got 5 seats, while DS, DOM, SDA, DPTM, DPS, and VMRO-Macedonian one seat each. The second coalition according to the votes was the coalition led by SDSM with 42 mandates in total, out of which 29 for SDSM, NSDP 4, PEI 3, and one seat each for LP, Movement for National Unity of the Turks in Macedonia (DNET), PCER, Serbian Advanced Party in Macedonia (SNSM) and two independent MPs. The third according to number of seats in the Parliament was DUI with 14, followed by DPA 8, NDP 2, and the Democratic League of the Bosniaks (DLB) with 1 MP.

The general assessment⁵⁵ was that the elections took place in a peaceful and fair atmosphere. After the elections, the leader of VMRO-DPMNE, Nikola Gruevski, formed the government for the third time with the coalition partner DUI under the leadership of Ali Ahmeti, as representatives of the Albanians.

⁵⁴ Election Code (filtered text), Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, No. 54 from 14th April 2011. Accessed at: [http://www.sec.mk/predvremeni2011/IZBOREN_ZAKON-IK_\(Precisten_tekst\).pdf](http://www.sec.mk/predvremeni2011/IZBOREN_ZAKON-IK_(Precisten_tekst).pdf) (last visited on 26th March 2014).

⁵⁵ According to the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. The Republic of Macedonia, 5th June 2011 snap elections, final report. Warsaw, 6th October 2011, August 2008. Accessed at: <http://www.osce.org/mk/node/84061?download=true> (last visited on 26th March 2014).



MACEDONIAN ELECTORAL SYSTEM FOR PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

MACEDONIAN ELECTORAL SYSTEM FOR PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

The Member of Parliament of Republic of Macedonia is elected in general, direct and free elections by secret ballot for a mandate of 4 years. With the changes⁵⁶ in the Election Code⁵⁷ in 2009, besides the six Election Units on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia, the voting is conducted in the newly established Election Units abroad: Election Unit (EU) 7 for Europe and Africa, EU8 for North and South America, and EU9 for Australia and Asia. With that, the number of the Members of the Parliament increased by 3 and to 123 seats in total.

Each of the six election units on the territory of Macedonia elects 20 seats by proportional representation system. The three MPs from the Diaspora are elected under a majority system. A maximum deviation allowed for the number of voters is plus or minus 5% of the average number of voters in the Election Unit. The mandates are distributed by the D'Hondt formula. The State Election Commission (SEC) determines the results for each Election Unit separately, according to the total number of votes cast for the candidate lists separately. The seats for each political party are allocated in proportion to the number of votes cast for its candidate list compared to the number of votes cast for the other candidate lists. When assigning the last seat, if two lists have the identical results, the seat is assigned by lot. When distributing the seats, the number of candidates responds to the number of seats won by the list. The mandates are allocated to candidates according to their rank on the respective candidate lists.

The parliamentary elections are held each fourth year in the final 90 days of the mandate of the previous parliamentary composition, or within 60 days

⁵⁶ The Republic of Macedonia's 2014 Presidential Elections Handbook, Konrad Adenauer Foundation and Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis"-Skopje, page. 15. Accessed at: http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_37241-1522-2-30.pdf?140327134356 (last visited on: 27 March 2014)

⁵⁷ Election Code (filtered text), Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, No. 32 of 12 February 2014. Accessed at: <http://www.sec.mk/files/IzborenzakonikzaWEB1.pdf> (last visited on: 27 March 2014)

since the day of the dismissal of the Assembly. In case of early elections the timetable for the electoral activities is shortened for five days, except for the timetable set for implementing the election campaign.

The MP's mandate could terminate before its expiration, if he/she resigns, if he/she is convicted of a criminal act for which at least five years of imprisonment is envisaged, in case of incompatibility with the function of the MP, in case of death, or when he/she is deprived from official aptitude with an enforced decision. If the MP resigns, the Assembly, on its first subsequent session, acknowledges the termination of the mandate as of the day of holding the session.

In case of termination of the mandate of an MP elected from the candidate list on any of these grounds, the subsequent candidate of the MP's party candidate list is appointed for the rest of the mandate. The exemption to the rule is applied in cases when a female MP's mandate is terminated. In such case, she is replaced by the subsequent female candidate from the same list.

The constitutive session of the Assembly of Republic of Macedonia is held on the 21st day after the day of completion of elections, at 10:00 hours. Providing the constitutive session is not called by the outgoing President, it shall be called by the most senior Member of the Assembly by years of age. If the most senior Member of the Assembly by years of age refuses to call the session, that right passes on to the next most senior Member of the Assembly elected, in line up to the elected Member of the Assembly who accepts to call the first session⁵⁸ Within ten days of the Constituent Assembly, the President of Republic of Macedonia is obligated to entrust the mandate⁵⁹ for new Government to the candidate (mandate holder) of the party or parties that hold the majority of the seats. The mandate holder within 20 days from the day of being entrusted with the mandate,

⁵⁸ Rules of Procedure of the Assembly of Republic of Macedonia (consolidated text), Official Gazette, No. 54 of 15 April 2013. Accessed on <http://www.sobranie.mk/delovnik-na-sobranieto-na-republika-makedonija-precisten-tekst.nspix> (last visited on: 3 April 2014)

⁵⁹ The Constitution of Republic of Macedonia, Assembly of Republic of Macedonia, 17 November 1991. Accessed on: <http://sobranie.mk/ustav-na-rm.nspix> (last visited on: 3 April 2014)

submits a proposal for composition of the Government and program to the Assembly. The MPs elect the Government by a majority vote of the total number of MPs.

ELECTORAL BODIES

The State Election Commission (SEC), together with the Municipal Election Commissions (MEC), the Election Boards (EB) for voting within the country and the Diplomatic-Consular Missions (DCM) of the Republic of Macedonia are the electoral organs responsible for implementing the parliamentary elections. The State Election Commission comprises of seven members elected by the Republic of Macedonia's Assembly with a 4-year mandate. The members of the SEC are elected in a period of 60 days after the constitutional session of the Assembly is held. The president of the SEC and two of its members are elected upon recommendations of the political parties in opposition, while the vice-president and three members of the SEC are elected upon recommendation of the governing political parties. The SEC holds an experts' office conducting the professional administrative, organizational and technical work.

The Municipal Election Commissions (MEC) are established within each municipality, and are responsible for implementing the elections on the territory under their auspices and monitoring the work of the election boards. They comprise of five members, one of which is the president, and each of the members has a deputy. The members and the deputies of the MEC are elected from the employees in the state, public, and municipal administration, with high qualifications, for a mandate of five years. Their selection is conducted by the SEC.

The Election Board is a body established for each polling station, comprising of five members, one of which is the president, and deputies for each of the members. The president of the Election Board and his deputy, two members and their deputies are selected from the employees in the state,

public and municipal administration, by random choice for a period of four years. One member of the EB and his/her deputy are nominated upon the recommendation of the political parties in opposition with the biggest number of votes in the previous parliamentary elections, and the others upon the recommendation of the governing political parties with the majority of votes in the previous parliamentary elections. The random selection of the members of the Election Boards (from the employees in the administration) is conducted by the MEC and the City of Skopje's Election Commission for their areas of responsibility, upon SEC's request. The number of polling stations in the country for the presidential elections is 3,480, i.e. there are 504 more polling stations than the previous elections. Each polling station is limited to 1,000 registered voters. For the voting abroad there are 47 polling stations in the DCMs, but the elections will be organized only in those DCMs where there are minimum 10 voters registered.

ELECTIVE RIGHTS

An MP candidate can be any Macedonian citizen who is 18 years of age with active legal capacity provided he/she is not sentenced up to 6 months imprisonment or over with a final court decision, whose sentence has not started yet, or who serves time for committed crimes. In July 2012, an additional condition to the elective right was introduced for the MP candidates with the Law on Additional Criteria for Public Office Performance, Access to Documents and Disclosure of Collaboration with State Security Bodies⁶⁰ (also known as the Lustration Law). It stipulates that the MP candidates are not allowed to have been secret collaborators, operation liaisons, or confidential informants in operational collection of reports and data in the period from 2 August 1944 until the day of the enforcement of the Law on Free Access to Information of Public Importance as stipulated in the Lustration Law.

⁶⁰ Law on Additional Criteria for Public Office Performance, Access to Documents and Disclosure of Collaboration with State Security Bodies, Official Gazette of Republic of Macedonia, No.86 of 9 July 2012. Accessed on: http://www.kvf.org.mk/docs/Zakon_09072012.pdf (Last visited on: 27 March, 2014)

Each MP candidate has fulfilled the additional condition when the Commission for Verification of the Facts, also known as "Lustration Commission" will verify their written statement for non-cooperation with the State Security organs.

THE RIGHT AND PROCEDURE FOR NOMINATING CANDIDACIES⁶¹

The right for nominating MP candidates is exercised by submitting a candidate list before the State Election Commission. Thereat, the candidate could be nominated on one list only, and one submitter can submit only one list of MP candidates. The lists are submitted in Macedonian in Cyrillic alphabet as the official language of Republic of Macedonia, but the submitter of the lists in the Election Units in which at least 20% of the citizens speak an official language other than Macedonian can use the language and the alphabet that the citizens of that local government unit use.

The right to submit candidate list belongs to registered political parties independently, in coalition, and as a group of voters with collected signatures. The group of voters need to collect at least 1,000 signatures from the registered voters in the Electoral Registry for the Election Unit in order to submit a candidate list. The collection of the signature before the SEC begins on the fifteenth day of the call for elections and lasts for 15 days. The same procedure is anticipated when as a submitter of the list is a group of voters of the Election Units from abroad. They have to collect at least 1,000 signatures from the registered voters for those Election Units before the officials of the DCMs, i.e. the Consular Offices on form prescribed by the State Election Commission.

When the submitter of the list of candidate i.e. candidates is a political party, it has to submit a registration certificate issued by the authorized

⁶¹ Election Code (consolidated text), Official Gazette of Republic of Macedonia, No. 32 of 12 February 2014. Accessed on: <http://www.sec.mk/files/IzborenzakonikzaWEB1.pdf> (Last visited on: 27 March 2014)

court. When the submitter of the candidate list is a coalition it has to submit a party coalition agreement. When a submitter of the list is a group of voters, the collected signatures from the registered voters shall also be submitted. The candidate files a written statement for candidacy, which is irrevocable. The candidate list is submitted before the authorized election commission within 30 days before the Election Day. The SEC, i.e. the MECs determine if the lists were duly and properly submitted. If any irregularities are determined, the SEC will summon the official representative of the candidate filing the list to eradicate them in a period of 48 hours. When the list meets all provisions or the determined irregularities are eradicated in the given timeframe, then the SEC will sustain it, but if the determined irregularities are not eradicated in the given timeframe, the SEC will reject it in a period of 24 hours. In case of rejection, the list submitter can complain against the SEC's decision at the Administrative Court. The complaint should be forwarded in a period of 24 hours, and the Administrative Court is obliged to decide on it in a period of 24 hours. Submission of a complaint or an appeal for the lists in the EU in Europe and Africa, North and South America and Australia and Asia by mail is not permitted and it should be submitted through the official representative of the candidates for the respective EUs in Republic of Macedonia. The SEC publishes the established candidate lists for the Election Units in the newspapers, one being in the language of the community spoken by at least 20% of the citizens of Republic of Macedonia, within 23 days prior to Election Day. The lists should be submitted to the DCMs for their public announcement through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs within 48 hours.

LIMITATIONS FOR THE CURRENT STATE OFFICIALS

With the changes in the Election Code in 2014, the position of the MP is incompatible with the position of the President of the Republic, Prime Minister of Republic of Macedonia, minister, judge, Public Prosecutor, Public Attorney, Ombudsman and other positions elected or appointed by the Assembly, and also with the positions of a mayor or a member of

the Local Council. This stipulates that if members of the Government or deputy- ministers, or other officials are MP candidates, from the day a decision was made to call for elections until the end of the elections they are forbidden to:

- administer the Republic of Macedonia's Budget, and the resources from the municipality budgets as well as that of the City of Skopje, public funds, public properties, public institutions, or legal persons who own state capital, unless it is otherwise determined by law which regulates the financing of election campaigns of the political parties;
- initiate construction work with budget resources, public funds, public properties and other legal persons which own state capital, of new objects in the infrastructure such as roads, water conduits, transmission lines, sewage systems, sports playgrounds, and other facilities, or facilities for social activities – schools, kindergartens, and other facilities, unless there are already budget resources allocated to that goal, i.e. the construction work is part of a program set by a law introduced in the previous year;
- provide irregular payment of salaries, retirement incomes, social welfare;
- or any other payments from the budget, or the public funds;
- sell state capital;
- sign collective agreements.

If a certain minister or deputy minister violates these regulations he/she will be fined between 500 to 1,000 EUR in MKD currency.

If any of the MP candidates is a member of the armed forces of the Republic of Macedonia, the uniformed section of the police, the authorized personnel at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Defense, or the Intelligence Agency, their professional engagement will be suspended from the day their candidacy is confirmed.

Additionally, in the period of 20 days before the start of the election campaign until its closing with the election of MPs and the Government it is not allowed to pay subsidies which are not part of regular monthly wages, nor organize public events to initiate or put into operation construction work of facilities for public use, or infrastructure such as roads, waterlines, transmission lines, sewage systems, sports playgrounds and other facilities for social activities like schools, kindergartens and other amenities financed by the Budget resources, public funds, as well as resources from the public companies with state capital. From the day of the resolution to call for the elections until the conclusion of the elections of MPs and the Government, the Ministry of Finance is obliged to publish all data of budgetary payments, other than regular incomes, pensions and communal expenditures, publically on the internet page in a special database for budgetary expenditures in the election period. The Ministry of Finance files a pre-electoral financial report two weeks prior to the call for the elections providing a comprehensive overview of all planned and realized revenues and expenditures from the Budget in sections from the start of the fiscal year to the day of filing the report, which is published on the Ministry of Finance's website.

ELECTION CAMPAIGN⁶²

The election campaign for the snap parliamentary elections has started 20 days prior to the day of the elections and in the first and second voting round 24 hours before the Election Day and on the Election Day there should not be any election campaign. Since there is an overlap with the first voting round of the presidential elections, the parliamentary election campaign has begun two days earlier on 5 April⁶³ and it will last until 25 April, except for 12 and 13 April when the campaign has stopped because of the pre-electoral silence and the first voting round for the presidential elections.

⁶² The Republic of Macedonia's 2014 Presidential Elections Handbook, Konrad Adenauer Foundation and Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis"-Skopje, page 38. Accessed on: http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_37241-1522-2-30.pdf?140327134356 (Last visited on: 27 March 2014)

⁶³ Timetable for conducting electoral activities in implementing the snap parliamentary elections for Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, 6 March -27 April 2014. State Election Commission of Republic of Macedonia 7 March 2014. Accessed on <http://www.sec.mk/files/izbori2014/parlamentarni/rokovnik.pdf> (Last visited on: 27 March 2014)

For the purposes of the election campaign within 48 hours the latest from the confirmation of the candidate list, the organizers of the election campaign open a separate bank account and the campaign can be financed only with resources from this account. The election campaign can be financed from the political party's membership fee and donations in the amount up to 5,000 EUR for natural persons, and up to 50,000 EUR for legal persons. The donation can comprise of money, goods, and services, but their value should not surpass the determined amounts. If the amount of the donation exceeds the limit, the participant in the election campaign is obliged within five days from the day of receiving the donation to transfer the difference between the limit and the donation into the Budget of Republic of Macedonia.

The election campaign cannot be financed from the Budget of Republic of Macedonia, the municipal budgets and the budget of the City of Skopje, except from the compensations for election expenditures which are in possession of the election campaign organizers. The election campaign cannot be financed with means deriving from public properties and public institutions, associations of citizens, religious communities, religious groups and foundations, foreign governments, international institutions, organs and organizations of foreign states and other foreign persons, properties with mixed capital where the foreign capital is dominant, as well as from unidentified sources. If the candidate drops the race, the organizers of the election campaign are obliged to return the saved donations to the donors within a period of 60 days.

The participant in the election campaign is obliged immediately and within 30 days from the end of the election campaign to file a financial report on the incomes and expenditures of the campaign. The elected candidates for MPs are entitled to compensation from the state budget with 15 MKD per vote if they win at least 1.5% from the voters' turnout in the Election Unit. These resources are transferred no later than three months after filing the financial report for the election campaign.

If the candidates' rights are violated during the public appearances and announcements, they have the right to press charges for protection of their rights. In such a case, the competent general court presides in urgency, and the decision is announced in the public media.

The radiobroadcasters and the printed media in Republic of Macedonia are obliged to file a report on the advertising space used by each of the election campaign participants and the amounts paid or requested in this regard.

THE ROLE OF PUBLIC MEDIA⁶⁴

During the election campaign the public radio broadcasting service and the commercial radiobroadcasters when presenting the election programs and the candidates are obliged to do it in a just, balanced, and unbiased manner. The Agency for Audio and Audiovisual Media Services,⁶⁵ transformed from the previous Broadcasting Council with the Law on Audio and Audiovisual Media Services is the organ competent for monitoring the media presentation of the political parties and the candidates in the radio broadcasting from the day of the call for the elections until the end of the voting on the Election Day. If the Agency determines any irregularities, it should press charges against the broadcaster that have violated the regulations.

With the latest amendments in the Election Code⁶⁶ the editors, journalists, program hosts and presenters who prepare the programs of

⁶⁴ The Republic of Macedonia's 2014 Presidential Elections Handbook, Konrad Adenauer Foundation and Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis"–Skopje, page 39. Accessed on: http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_37241-1522-2-30.pdf?140327134356 (Last visited on: 3 April 2014)

⁶⁵ Law on Audio and Audiovisual Media Services, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, No. 184 of 26 December 2013. Accessed on: http://www.avmu.mk/images/Zakon_za_audio_i_audiovizuelni_mediumski_uslugi_mkd_1.pdf (Last visited on: 27 March 2014)

⁶⁶ Zh.A. Amendments in the Election Code Carried, Deutsche Welle, Macedonian Service, 23 January 2014. Accessed on: <http://www.dw.de/%D0%B8%D0%B7%D0%B3%D0%BB%D0%B0%D1%81%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B8-%D0%B8%D0%B7%D0%BC%D0%B5%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%82%D0%B5-%D0%B2%D0%BE-%D0%B8%D0%B7%D0%B1%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%BE%D1%82-%D0%B7%D0%B0%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%BA/a-17383099> (Last visited on: 27 March 2014)

the radiobroadcasters are not allowed to participate in the pre-election activities of the political parties, coalitions, groups of voters and their representatives, i.e. participants in election campaigns. If these persons decide to participate in such activities, then their engagement in the programs of the radiobroadcasters should be put to rest until the closing of the elections.

The public broadcasting service is obliged to inform the citizens on the voting technicalities, as well as other electoral matters without financial compensation whatsoever. The Macedonian radio television⁶⁷ (MRTV) is obliged to provide equal access to the informative program. This implies that one third of the program should cover events from the country, one third events of the government and one third events of the opposition. The Parliamentary TV Channel should secure free three hour advertising space for the governing parties and the parties in opposition equally.

In the period from the call for the elections to the start of the election campaign, the radiobroadcasters and the printed media are not allowed to broadcast, i.e. to publish paid political advertising. From that day advertisements financed by the state or municipal budget are also not allowed. In the stated period the radiobroadcasters are compelled to record the broadcasting signal of their program from the day when the elections are called to their conclusion and should keep that material safely for a period of 30 days after the elections. The media are obliged to determine their pricelists for paid political advertising and announce it in public. The pricelists cannot be altered during the campaign. The radiobroadcasters that cover the elections can broadcast 12 minutes of additional advertising time per actual hour of broadcasting exclusively devoted to paid political advertising out of which one participant in the election campaign can be allotted 8 minutes the most. The results from public opinion polls related to the candidates should not be announced in the public services in the last 5 days before the elections.

⁶⁷ Election Code (consolidated text), Official Gazette of Republic of Macedonia, No. 32 of 12 February 2014. Accessed on: <http://www.sec.mk/files/IzborenzakonikzaWEB1.pdf> (Last visited on: 27 March 2014)

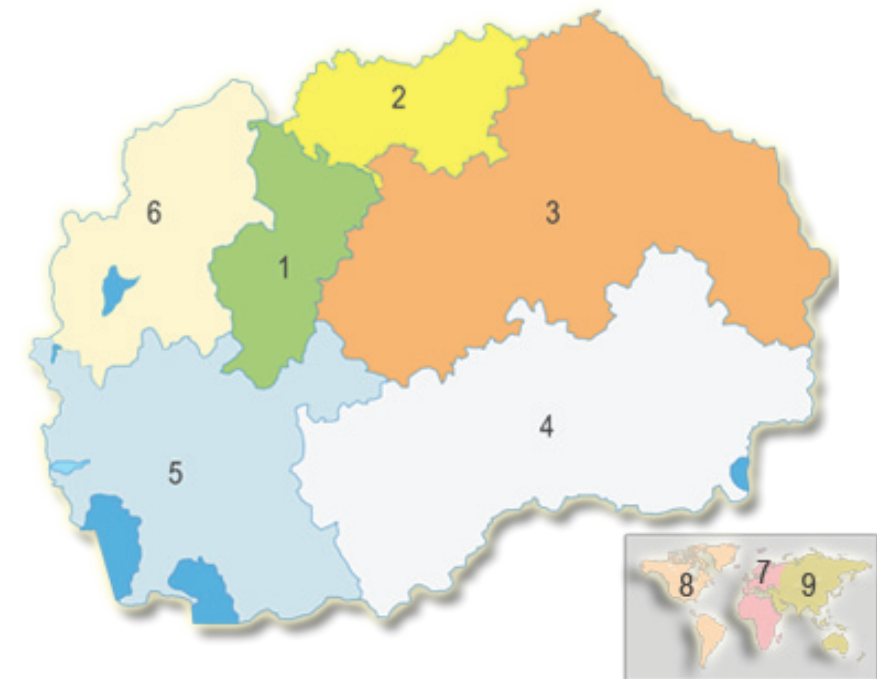
MONITORING THE ELECTIONS

The right to monitor elections belongs to accredited election observers, with accreditations granted by the SEC. The accreditation for observers can be given to national civic organizations registered at least one year prior to the elections, following the principle of human rights protection that should be integrated in their statute. International organizations and representatives of foreign countries can also monitor the elections. Official representatives of those who submit the lists have the right to assign their representative to monitor the work of the electoral organs.



ELECTION UNITS

ELECTION UNITS (EU)⁶⁸



Election Units

Source: State Election Commission

The early parliamentary elections scheduled for 27th April 2014 in the Republic of Macedonia will take place in 9 Election Units (EUs).⁶⁹ The territory of the country is divided in 6 Election Units, and the other three EUs are abroad. The six EUs in Macedonia were determined prior to the parliamentary elections in 2002 with the Law on Election Units⁷⁰ which divides the territory of the state in electoral regions with approximately

⁶⁸ In relation to the number of the obtained mandates and registered voters per Election Unit from the early parliamentary elections on 5th June 2011, we have used the official data published by the Republic of Macedonia's State Election Commission on 14th June 2011. Accessed at: <http://217.16.84.11/Default.aspx> (last visited on 4th April 2014)

⁶⁹ The images representing the election units in Macedonia and abroad are taken from the internet page of the State Election Commission of the Republic of Macedonia (SEC). Accessed at: <http://217.16.84.11/Default.aspx> (last visited on 2nd April 2014).

⁷⁰ Law on Election Units and Elections of MPs in the Republic of Macedonia's Assembly, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, No.43 from 26th June 2002. Accessed at: <http://www.slvesnik.com.mk/Issues/D8BCA0533D35554CA3F003112BB47F1B.pdf> (last visited on 2nd April 2014).

equal number of registered voters, or in average 280,000 in each region. The number of voters in the EUs can range from minus to plus 5% in relation to the average number of voters. Each of these 6 EUs elects 20 MPs in the Assembly, i.e., 120 in total out of 123 MPs according to the proportional election model. The Election Units 7 for Europe and Africa, 8 for North and South America, and 9 for Australia and Asia are added with the amendments to the Election Code⁷¹ prior to the parliamentary elections in 2011 which enabled Macedonian citizens living abroad to vote. They vote in the Diplomatic-Consular Missions (DCMs) and the consular offices of the Republic of Macedonia. Three MPs are elected in these constituencies according to the majority election model.⁷² The number of polling stations in the country for these early parliamentary elections is 3,480, i.e. 504 more polling stations than the previous elections. Each polling station is limited to 1000 registered voters.

EU 1 covers part of the capital city of Skopje and part of central Macedonia, i.e. the municipalities of Aerodrom, and Centar in Skopje, part of the municipality of Cair, Saraj, Sopiste, Makedonski Brod and Studenicani. According to the ethnic belonging of the population, the majority of the voters are ethnic Macedonians. In this EU for the last parliamentary elections in 2011 there were 302,864 registered voters. On these elections the coalition led by VMRO-DPMNE won most of the mandates – 9, while the coalition of SDSM – 8, DUI – 2, and DPA 1 mandate.



Image graphic of EU 1

⁷¹ Election Code (filtered text), Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, No. 52 from 14th April 2011. Accessed at: [http://www.sec.mk/predvremeni2011/IZBOREN_ZAKON-IK_\(Precisten_tekst\).pdf](http://www.sec.mk/predvremeni2011/IZBOREN_ZAKON-IK_(Precisten_tekst).pdf) (last visited on 2nd April 2014).

⁷² For more information on the election model see Chapter 3 – The Macedonian Electoral System for the Early Parliamentary Elections.

EU 2 also covers part of Skopje and part of northern Macedonia with a balanced composition of the population, ethnic Macedonians, Albanians, but also the Serbian and Roma communities are represented. As part of this EU there are the municipalities of Butel, Gazi Baba, Gjorce Petrov, part of the municipality of Cair, Suto Orizari, Aracinovo, part of Kumanovo, Lipkovo, part of Staro Nagoricane and Cucur Sandevo. There were 312,720 registered voters at the last parliamentary elections in 2011 in EU2. The coalition that won the largest number of mandates on the 2011 parliamentary elections in this Election Unit was the coalition led by VMRO-DPMNE – 9, the second was the coalition of SDSM with 7, followed by DUI with 3, and DPA with 1 mandate.

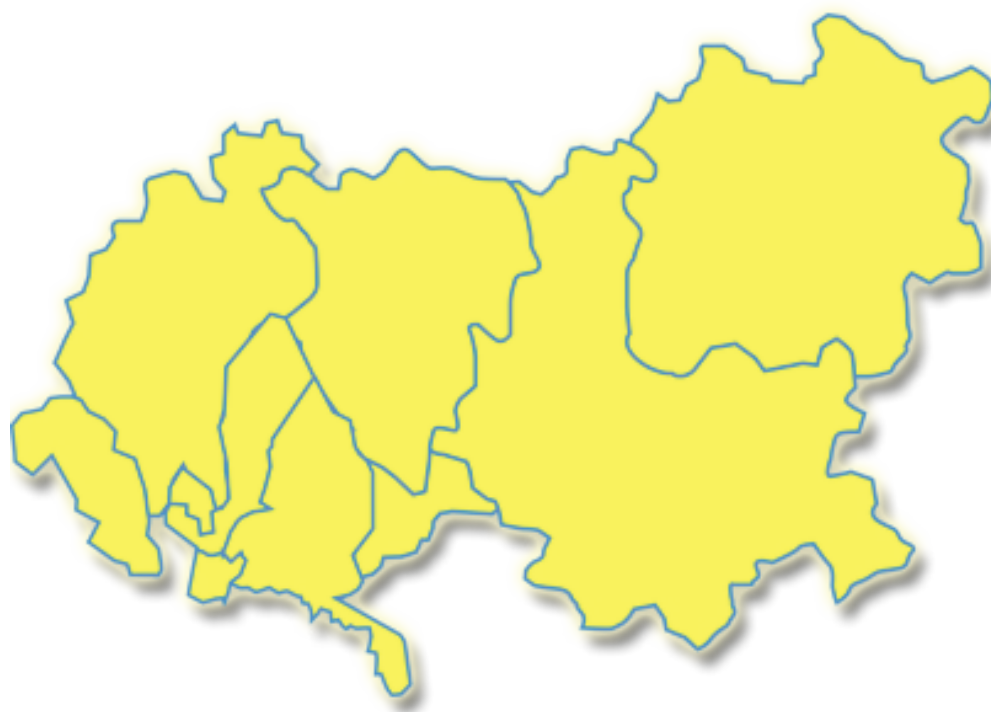


Image graphic of EU 2

EU 3 covers parts of central, east, and northeast Macedonia. This constituency, among the others, covers the larger municipalities of Berovo, Veles, Vinica, part of Staro Nagoricane, Gradsko, Delcevo, Kocani, Kratovo, Kriva Palanka, part of Kumanovo, Makedonska Kamenica, Probistip, Stip, and Sveti Nikole. The population is predominantly ethnic Macedonian. There were 291,140 registered voters for the last 2011 parliamentary elections in EU3. On the 2011 parliamentary elections the coalition led by VMRO-DPMNE won most of the mandates – 12, followed by the coalition of SDSM with 8 mandates.

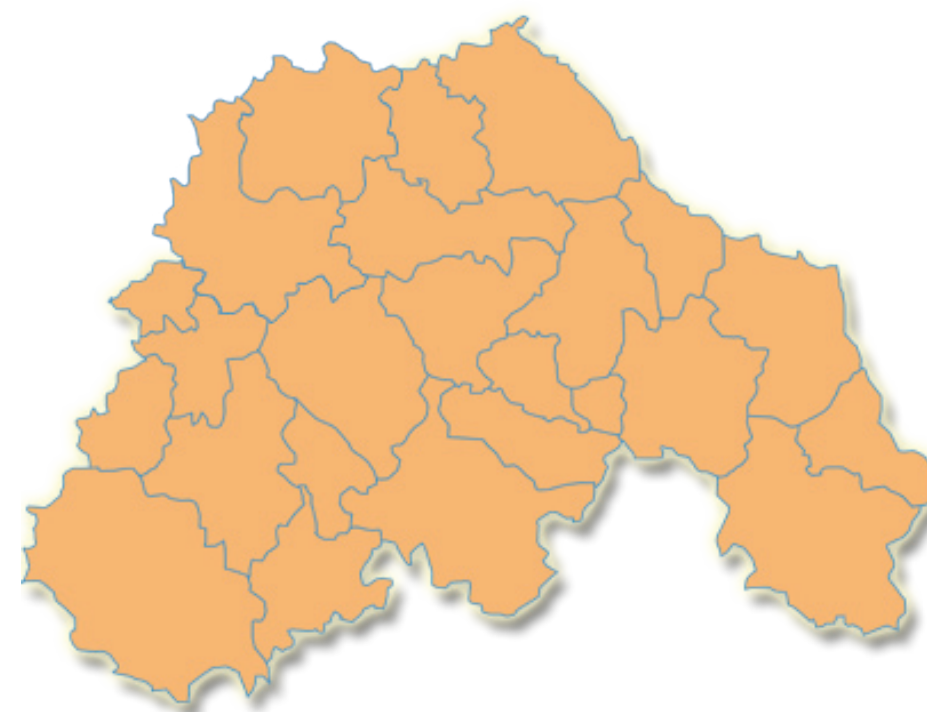


Image graphic of EU 3

EU 4 covers the territory of southeast Macedonia. This EU comprises of the larger municipalities of Bitola, Prilep, Bogdanci, Valandovo, Gevgelija, Dojran, Demir Kapija, Kavadarci, Negotino, Radovis, and Strumica. The population in this region is predominantly ethnic Macedonian. There were 292,596 registered voters for the last 2011 parliamentary elections in EU4. On the 2011 parliamentary elections the coalition led by VMRO-DPMNE won most of the mandates – 11, followed by the coalition of SDSM with 9 mandates.



Graphic image of EU 4

EU 5 covers the territory of southwest Macedonia. This region comprises of the following larger municipalities: part of the city of Bitola, part of Debar, Vevcani, Ohrid, Struga, Krusevo, Kicevo and Resen. The majority of the population is ethnic Macedonia, but there is a significant portion of voters belonging to the Albanian ethnic community. There were 303,868 registered voters for the last 2011 parliamentary elections in EU5. On the 2011 parliamentary elections the coalition led by VMRO-DPMNE won most of the mandates – 9, followed by the coalition of SDSM with 8 mandates, and then DUI with 2, and DPA with 1 mandate.



Graphic image of EU 5

EU 6 covers the territory of northwest Macedonia. This region comprises of the larger municipalities of Debar, Gostivar, Tetovo, Zajas, Mavrovo, Rostusa, and Zelino. The population in this region is predominantly ethnic Albanian. In EU6 for the last 2011 parliamentary elections there were 318,116 registered voters. On the 2011 parliamentary elections, DUI won most of the mandates in this EU – 8, followed by DPA with 5 mandates, and then the coalition of VMRO-DPMNE with 3, as well as the coalition of SDSM and NDP with 2 mandates each.



Image graphic of EU 6

EU 7 covers the Macedonian citizens are permanent or temporary residents in the countries in Europe and Africa. There were 4591 registered voters at the last 2011 parliamentary elections, who were able to vote at 28 polling stations in the DCMs or the consular offices of the Republic of Macedonia. The voting in this EU took place in Vienna, Berlin, the Hague, Bern, Brussels, Bonn, Bucharest, Ankara, Sarajevo, Munich, Moscow, Istanbul, Sophia, Athens, Belgrade, London, Zagreb, Budapest, Ljubljana, Podgorica, Copenhagen, Rome, Madrid, Prague, Paris, Venice, Stockholm, and Prishtina. The only mandate from this EU was won by the coalition led by VMRO-DMPNE, and the turnout on the elections was 2494 voters in total.



Image graphic of EU 7

EU 8 covers the Macedonian citizens with permanent or temporary residence in the countries of North and South America. There were 1824 registered voters at the last 2011 parliamentary elections, who were able to vote at 24 polling stations in the DCMs or the consular offices in the Republic of Macedonia. The voting took place in the cities of Toronto, Detroit, Chicago, New York, and Washington. The turnout on these elections was 994 voters in total, and the single mandate was won by the coalition of VMRO-DPMNE.



Image graphic of EU 8

EU 9 covers the Macedonian citizens with permanent or temporary residence in Australia and the countries from Asia. There were 798 voters registered at the last 2011 parliamentary elections, who were able to vote at 3 polling stations in the DCMs or the consular offices of the Republic of Macedonia. The voting took place in the cities of Canberra, Melbourne, and Peking. The turnout on these elections was 600 voters in total, and the mandate was won by the coalition of VMRO-DPMNE.



Image graphic of EU 9



OVERVIEW OF THE CANDIDATES FOR THE EARLY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2014

OVERVIEW OF THE CANDIDATES FOR THE EARLY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2014

There are 14 political parties participating on the elections to be held on April 27, which have, within the deadline set for March 29th at midnight, submitted their candidate lists to the State Election Commission. This handbook offers a brief overview of the parties and coalitions, as well as, of the leaders of the candidate lists for the four largest parties in Parliament, namely, VMRO-DPMNE, SDSM, DUI and DPA. At the same time, these four parties, according to the latest public opinion polls, even prior the elections, remain the political parties that most enjoy the citizens trust. The overview of the parties and the coalitions shall be presented following the order they have on the ballots.⁷³

POLITICAL PARTIES, COALITIONS AND LEADERS OF LIST OF CANDIDATES⁷⁴

1. SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC UNION OF MACEDONIA (SDSM)



The Social Democratic Union of Macedonia declares itself as center-left party, with social democratic ideology. This is the second largest party in Macedonia. It was founded at the congress of April 21st, 1991, as a legal heir of the Communist Union of Macedonia – Party for Democratic Transformation (SKM-PDP). The same year, the party changed its name into SDSM and its ideology from communist to social democratic. It has

⁷³ Determined order of the candidates lists on the ballot for the elections of MPs in the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia per electoral units, State Election Commission of the Republic of Macedonia, Available at: <http://www.sec.mk/files/izbori2014/parlamentarni/redosled.pdf> (last visit: April 9 2014).

⁷⁴ The logos of the parties and the photos of the leaders of the candidates lists have been taken from the internet pages of the respective political parties, respective institutions and from the official Facebook profiles of the candidates. The internet was used as a source for all of the logos and photos.

participated in all elections from the independence until present date. In September 1992, following the dismissal of the first expert government, SDSM, although without majority in the Parliament, received the mandate to form the first political government of the Republic of Macedonia. In the period from 1994 to 1998, the party held majority seats in the Parliament by winning, together with its coalition partners, a total of 85 MP seats. However, lost the power in 1998 when it won 27 MP seats. SDSM was the largest opposition party until 2002 when it won the election by winning 60 MP seats together with its coalition partners, and remained on power until the next parliamentary elections in 2006. On the elections in 2006, the coalition of SDSM won 32 MP seats. Since then, after losing two more elections cycles, in 2008 and 2011, SDSM remained in opposition. On the early parliamentary elections in 2008, together with its coalition, the party won 27 MP seats, and on the last early parliamentary elections in 2011 SDSM and its coalition won 42 MP seats.

Since the independence of the state and the transformation from SKM-PDP into SDSM in 1991, and until 2004, Branko Crvenkovski was the president of the party. He withdrew from this position when he won the early presidential elections in 2004, thus becoming the President of the Republic of Macedonia. On an extraordinary Congress of SDSM, in November 2004, Vlado Buckovski was elected president of the party, and remained on that position until 2006 when the party lost the elections. Following the elections Buckovski was voted distrust and at an extraordinary Congress in November 2006, Radmila Sekerinska was elected president of the party and remained on this position in SDSM until June 2008 when she submitted her irrevocable resignation on the grounds of losing the early parliamentary elections. In September 2008, on the 8th Congress of this party, Zoran Zaev was elected to be the acting president of the party. In 2009, after finishing his term as President of the state, Branko Crvenkovski on the party Congress resumed the leadership over SDSM. He remained to be the party leader until 2013, when he withdrew from this position. Zoran Zaev was again elected to be the president of the party.

The party is in opposition also on the local level. On the last local elections in 2013, SDSM won the elections in 4 out of 80 municipalities in the country and the city of Skopje.

The Coalition of the Social Democratic Union of Macedonia (SDSM) with the other parties from the coalition is led by SDSM and is composed of 8 parties: New Social Democratic Party (NSDP), Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), United for Macedonia (OM), The Party for the Movement of the Turks in Macedonia (PDT), Party for Emancipation of the Roma (PCER), Serbian Party in Macedonia (SSM), Democratic Alliance of the Vlachs in Macedonia (DSVM) and Sandzak List (SL).

Social Democratic Union of Macedonia
Pavel Satev St. No.8
1000 Skopje
Tel: 02 3293 100
Fax: 02 3293 109
web@sdsd.org.mk
www.sdsd.org.mk

Leaders of the candidate lists from the Coalition of the Social Democratic Union of Macedonia (SDSM) and the other parties in the coalition



EU 1 – Renata Treneska Deskoska

is a professor in constitutional law and political systems at the Faculty of Law „Justiniana Prima“ at the University “Sts Cyril and Methodius” in Skopje and is member of the Executive Board (EB), the highest body in SDSM. She

started her academic career as a demonstrator at the faculty in 1995 and was elected professor in 2012. In 2002 she acquired her PhD degree in Law from the Faculty of Law in Ljubljana, Slovenia. She graduated from the Faculty of Law at the University “Sts Cyril and Methodius” in Skopje in 1994. She never held any positions in the executive and legislative power in the Republic of Macedonia. She is the leader of a candidate list in EU 1 for the first time.



EU 2 – Petre Silegov

is the spokesperson for SDSM, and a lawyer. In SDSM’s government in 2002 he was president of the Second Instance Commission for Public Procurement in the Government of the Republic of Macedonia (RM). Later he resumed his legal practice. He graduated from the Faculty of Law at the

University “Sts. Cyril and Methodius” in Skopje. He was born in Skopje in 1969. This is his first candidature for an Member of Parliament (MP) in the Parliament of RM, as well as his first time as a leader of the candidate list for parliamentary elections.



EU 3 – Marijanco Nikolov was an MP in the last Parliament of the RM and is a member of SDSM. Nikolov has been elected MP three times on the parliamentary elections in 2006, 2008 and 2011. He has started his political career as member of the Municipal Council of Veles Municipality, and on the

local elections in 2005 he became President of the Municipal Council. The educational background of Nikolov is economy - he graduated from the Faculty of Economy at the University “Sts Cyril and Methodius” in Skopje. He was born on October 18, 1971 in Veles. This is his first time as a leader of the candidate list for parliamentary elections.



EU 4 – Hari Lokvenec

works as a lecturer in “Introduction to Management” at the University “American College” in Skopje and is a member of the EB of SDSM. On the last local elections in 2013, Lokvenec was candidate of the opposition for mayor in Prilep.

From 1992 until 2008 he was working in the private sector. In 2008 he acquired his PhD degree in technical management at the University “St. Clement of Ohrid” in Bitola. Prior to that, he obtained his MBA from the Schiller University in Tampa, Florida, USA. He graduated from the Electrotechnical Faculty at the University “Sts Cyril and Methodius” in Skopje in 1996. Until present date he never held any functions in the executive or legislative power in RM. He was born in 1970 in Prilep. This is his first time as a leader of a candidate list for parliamentary elections.



EU 5 – Vasko Kovacevski is a member of the Municipal Council in the Bitola Municipality and a President of the municipal organization of SDSM in Bitola. He was elected in the local self-government at the local elections in 2013. Prior to that, Kovacevski was in the private sector. He graduated from the Faculty for Mechanical Sciences at the University “St. Clement of Ohrid” in Bitola. He was born in

1969 in Bitola. This is his first time as a leader of a candidate list for parliamentary elections.



EU 6 – Stojko Paunovski was an MP in the last Parliament. Since 2013 he is the President of the municipal organization of SDSM in Tetovo. Previously he has been working as an accredited auditor. Paunovski graduated from the Faculty of Economy at the University “Sts Cyril and Methodius” in Skopje. He was born in 1962 in the village Chelopek, Tetovo region. This is his first

time as a leader of a candidate list for parliamentary elections.



EU 7 – Gjeral Abdijevik⁷⁵

⁷⁵ For the candidate from SDSM running for MP in the Parliament from EU7 no biographical data can be found. The political party SDSM didn't respond to our request to submit basic info for this candidate.



EU 8 – Jani Hadzi-Elenov is a civil engineer, living and working in Toronto, Canada, and is member of SDSM. Previously he was working as a civil engineer in Macedonia. He graduated from the Faculty for Architecture and Civil Engineering at the University “Sts Cyril and Methodius” in Skopje. Until present date he never held any functions in the executive or legislative power in

RM. He was born in 1974 in Strumica. This is his first time as a leader of a candidate list for parliamentary elections.



EU 9 – Pece Smilevski is a secretary of the Bitola Club in Melbourne, Australia, where he lives for the past 10 years. He owns a private business in Melbourne. Prior to that, he worked as a physical education professor in Bitola. He graduated from the Faculty for Physical Education in Belgrade, Serbia. Until present date he never held any functions in the executive or legislative

power in RM. He was born in 1961 in Bitola. This is his first time as a leader of a candidate list for parliamentary elections.

2. DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF THE ALBANIANS (DPA)



PARTIA DEMOKRATIKE SHQIPTARE

The Democratic Party of the Albanians was established in June 1997 when the Party for Democratic Prosperity of the Albanians (PDPA) united with the National Democratic Party (NDP). PDPA was established in 1994 after the radical wing of the Party for Democratic Prosperity (PDP) Arben Xhaferi and Menduh Thaci left the mother party. DPA declares itself as center-right party and strives for greater rights of the Albanians in Macedonia as well as for redefining the constitutional frame set by the Ohrid Framework Agreement. The president of DPA is Menduh Thaci, who was elected to this position on 30th June 2007. Thaci was appointed to this position after the resignation of the previous president, Arben Xhaferi.

On the election in 1998 DPA won 11 MP seats and was part of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia under the leadership of VMRO-DPMNE. During the conflict in 2001 DPA remained in the broad coalition government that later signed the Ohrid Framework Agreement. The signee of the Framework Agreement from DPA was its president at the time, Arben Xhaferi. Following the dismissal of this government, DPA remained part of the government coalition. On the following parliamentary elections in 2002, DPA won 5.2% of the votes and 7 MP seats which placed it in opposition in the Assembly. DPA became part of the government after the elections in 2006, after it successfully concluded the negotiations with VMRO-DPMNE, which won the mandate to establish the Government. At these elections DPA won 7.5% of the votes and 11 mandates, which was less than their rival DUI. At the early elections in 2008 DPA won 11 mandates, and in the early elections in 2011, 8 MP seats. After the early parliamentary elections in 2008 the largest parliamentary party VMRO-DPMNE interrupted the traditional partnership with DPA and formed a

coalition with the greatest Albanian party in the parliament, DUI. In the last composition of the Parliament DPA had 8 MP seats.

On local level this party has two mayors out of a total of 80 plus the City of Skopje.

Democratic Party of the Albanians
Gradski Centar 15/1
1200 Tetovo
phone: 044 333 581
fax: 044 333 581
info@gurra-pdsh.org
www.pdsh.info

Leaders of Candidates list from DPA



EU 1 – Bekim Fazliu was MP in the last Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia and is a member of the presidency of DPA. He graduated from the Faculty of Law at the University “Sts Cyril and Methodius” in Skopje. He was born in 1979 in Skopje. This is his second time as leader of the candidate list in EU 1.



EU 2 – Orhan Ibraimi was a Member of Parliament in the last Parliament of Republic of Macedonia and is a member of the Presidency of DPA. He graduated from the Faculty of Pedagogy at the University “Sts Cyril and Methodius” in Skopje. He was born in 1964 in the village of Opae, Lipkovo region. This is his second time as leader of the candidate list in EU 2.

EU 3 – Habib Maksudov⁷⁶



At the last elections in 2011 he was candidate for MP in the EU 5.

EU 5 – Zija Jonuzi is a lawyer and member of the Central Assembly of DPA. In the past he held executive positions in public enterprises, namely, he was the director of the post office in Ohrid from 2006 until 2009, and a director of the public communal enterprise in Struga from 2003 until 2005. He graduated from the Faculty of Law at the University in Pristina, Kosovo. He was born in Struga. This is his first time as a leader of a candidate list.



EU 6 – Menduh Thaci was an MP in the last Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia. Thaci has been MP of the Parliament since 2002. From 1997 until 2006 he was the vice-president of the party, and following the withdrawal of the party leader Arben Xhaferi, he became president of DPA. He graduated dentistry from the Medical Faculty at the University in Pristina, Kosovo. Thaci was leader of the candidate list for the party in EU 6 in the past several election cycles for MPs in the Parliament.



EU 7 – Shpend Saiti lives in Switzerland and is currently furthering his education at the American MBA College in Switzerland. He is from Kumanovo. Until present date he never held any functions in the executive or legislative power in RM. This is his first time as a leader of a candidate list for parliamentary elections.



EU 8 – Ferki Bektashi lives in Milwaukee in the US federal state of Wisconsin, and is member of DPA. His educational background is in economy. He graduated from the Faculty of Economy at the University in Pristina, Kosovo. Until present date he never held any functions in the executive or legislative power in RM. This is his first time as a leader of a candidate list for parliamentary elections.

⁷⁶ For the candidate from DPA for MP in the Parliament from EU3 no biographical data can be found. The political party DPA didn't respond to our request to submit basic info for this candidate.

3. COALITION DIGNITY FOR MACEDONIA



Dignity (Dostoinstvo) is a political party founded on March 20, 2011. The party grew from the association, bearing the same name, of Defenders, Members of the Armed Forces that took part in the 2001 conflict. Its first president is Stojance Angelov, former general in the

police forces. Dignity declares itself as a right wing, patriotic party. From 2011 until 2013 the party was part of the joint opposition coalition „Union for the Future“ led by SDSM. Prior to these elections Dignity joined the coalition with the party „United for Macedonia“. The coalition will offer its candidate lists in all six electoral units in the Republic of Macedonia, as well as in EU 8.

Coalition Dignity for Macedonia
Orce Nikolov St. No. 166
1000 Skopje
Tel: 078 368 813
koalicija_m2@yahoo.com

Leaders of the candidate lists from the Coalition Dignity for Macedonia

- EU 1 – Blagoja Markovski**
- EU 2 – Goran Zafirovski**
- EU 3 – Goranco Angelov**
- EU 4 – Nadica Mircovska**
- EU 5 – Stojance Angelov**
- EU 6 – Goce Delcev Todev**
- EU 8 – Stojadin Naumovski**

4. DEMOCRATIC UNION FOR INTEGRATION (DUI)



The Democratic Union for Integration emerged from the members of the former People's Liberation Army (ONA) that started the military conflict in 2001. Ideologically, DUI declares itself a center-left party which strives for greater rights of the Albanians as well as for the implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement. The party was

founded in 2002 and was introduced for the first time at the parliamentary elections in the same year, winning a total of 16 MP seats, thus becoming part of the government led by SDSM. Ali Ahmeti has been its president since its foundation. DUI was part of the Government from 2002 until 2006, represented by the greatest number of ministers that any Albanian party had in the Government of the Republic of Macedonia. On the parliamentary elections in 2006, DUI once again won the majority of votes among the Albanian electorate (12.2%), but after the unsuccessful negotiations with VMRO-DPMNE, was excluded from the government coalition of the time. As a result of this, DUI boycotted the work of the Assembly throughout most of the time between 2006 and 2008 when the early parliamentary elections were called for. On the parliamentary elections in 2008 DUI won 12.8% of the votes and 18 MP seats and as the largest political party that represents the ethnic Albanians formed the Government under the leadership of Nikola Gruevski. On the following parliamentary elections in 2011 DUI was the third largest party by the number of votes and mandates won in Macedonia. In the last composition of the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia, DUI had 14 MP, seats and as a party in the coalition in the Government of the Republic of Macedonia had two vice-prime ministers and 5 ministers.

On a local level, DUI won on the last local elections in 2013 a total of 14 mayoral seats out of a total of 80 and the city of Skopje.

Democratic Union for Integration

Mala Recica St.

1200 Tetovo

Tel: 044 334 398

press@bdi.mk

www.bdi.mk

Leaders of the candidate lists of DUI



EU 1 – Ermira Mehmeti was MP in the last Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia and is a member of the General Assembly of DUI. She has been an MP in the Parliament since 2008. Mehmeti holds her PhD from the University in Tirana, Albania. She has acquired her MA degree in comparative politics at the London School of Economics and Political Sciences. She was born in 1979 in Skopje. At the last parliamentary elections in 2011, Mehmeti was leader of the candidate list in EU 2. On these elections, she will be leader of the candidate list in EU1 for the first time.



EU 2 – Rexhail Ismaili was an MP in the last Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia and is a member of the General Assembly of DUI. He is an MP since the parliamentary elections in 2011. Ismaili graduated agricultural engineering. In the past he held offices in public enterprises. He graduated from the Faculty for Agriculture in Pristina, Kosovo.

He was born in 1966 in the village of Slupcane, Lipokovo region. Ismaili is leader of a candidate list in EU 2 for the first time.



EU 3 – Behixhudin Shehapi was an MP in the last Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia, and is a member of DUI. From 2008 until 2011 he was the director of the National Conservation Center. Prior to this, he held offices in the Islamic Religious Community in Macedonia and was teaching in the secondary theological school in Skopje. He graduated Art History from the Faculty of Philosophy at the University “Sts Cyril and

Methodius” in Skopje. He was born in 1961 in Tetovo. This is his first time as leader of the candidate list in EU 3; at the last elections he was a candidate for MP in EU 6.



EU 4 – Nexhati Jakupi was an MP in the last Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia and is a member of DUI. From 2008 until 2011 he was minister for environment and physical planning in the Government of the Republic of Macedonia. Prior to this he was practicing as general surgeon at the State Clinical Center in Skopje as well as held other positions in the healthcare sector. He specialized in general surgery at the Medical

Faculty in Sofia, Bulgaria. He was born in 1973 in Gostivar. Jakupi is leader of the candidate list for parliamentary elections for the first time. At the last elections he was candidate for MP in EU 6.



EU 5 – Musa Xhaferi is Vice Prime Minister in the Government of the Republic of Macedonia responsible for the implementation of the Framework Agreement. He is one of the founders of DUI, member of the General Assembly of the party and Secretary of the Secretariat for Local Self-government and Decentralization, from DUI. From 2009 until 2011 he was minister for local self-government. Prior to that, he was Vice Prime

Minister in the Government for implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement from 2002 to 2006. Since 1995 he holds academic title Master in Economy from the University in Zurich, Switzerland. In 2000 he finalized his specialist studies in pedagogy at the Academy for Adult Education in Luzerne. He graduated from the Faculty of Economy at the University in Pristina in 1984. He was born in 1959 in the village of Zajas, Kicevo region. Xhaferi is leader of the candidate list for parliamentary elections for the first time.



EU 6 – Ali Ahmeti was MP in the last Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia and he is leader of DUI. He has been leader of DUI since its foundation in 2002. In the 2001 conflict he was the Commander in Chief and political leader of the People’s Liberation Army (ONA). He graduated philosophy from the University in Pristina, Kosovo, in 1983. He was born in 1959

in the village of Zajas, Kicevo region. Ahmeti is leader of the candidate list in EU6 for the fifth time.



EU 7 – Ismail Beluli is a businessman who lives in Switzerland. In 2011 he was DUI’s candidate for MP in EU 7. He was working in the catering industry. Until present date, he never held any function in the executive or legislative power in the Republic of Macedonia. He graduated law from the University in Pristina, Kosovo. He was born in 1961 in Gostivar. This is his second time as candidate for MO in the EU 7.



EU 8 – Tefik Abdullahi works on the education of the Albanian communities in the United States of America and Canada. Since 1991 he has been active in the education and in the cultural organizations in Canada. Until present date, he never held any functions in the executive and legislative powers in the Republic of Macedonia. He graduated law from the University of Pristina in 1987. He was born in 1947 in Prespa. This is his second time as candidate for MP in EU 8.



EU 9 – Driton Maliku is a businessman and a director of a radio station that broadcasts in Albanian language in Australia. Until present date, he never held any position in the executive or legislative power in the Republic of Macedonia. He lives in Melbourne since 1987. He was born in 1973 in Bitola region. This is his first time as candidate for MP in the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia.

5. VMRO – DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR MACEDONIAN NATIONAL UNITY (VMRO-DPMNE)



VMRO-DPMNE is a party which declares itself as people's center-right party, with Christian-democratic ideology. Since the independence and until present date, VMRO-DPMNE is one of the biggest parties in Macedonia. It has participated on almost all parliamentary and local elections, with the exception of the parliamentary elections in 1994 when they boycotted the second cycle. The party won the third parliamentary elections held in 1998

with 49 MP seats in a coalition with the Democratic Alternative, who won 13 MP seats, and PDPA-NDP (later DPA) who won 11 MP seats, as well as several smaller parties, thus establishing the Government for the first time. VMRO-DPMNE remained in power until 2002. However, during the conflict from May to November 2001, a broad coalition government was established, which included ministers from SDSM and LDP. In 2002, VMRO-DPMNE won 33 MP seats, lost the elections and operated as opposition until 2006. In 2006 together with the coalition „ For Better Macedonia“ it won the parliamentary elections again, winning a total of 45 MP seats and formed the government. For the first time on these elections the party introduced a specific program with deadlines, which was a novelty in the electoral competition. Since then, and until present date, VMRO-DPMNE won two more election cycles on the parliamentary elections in 2008 and 2011. On the early parliamentary elections in 2008 VMRO-DPMNE won a record number of MP seats – 63. VMRO-DPMNE in the last composition of the Parliament had 47 MP seats, and together with the coalition partners from the coalition “For Better Macedonia” had 56 MP seats out of a total of 123 MP seats in the Parliament.

President of VMRO-DPMNE since its foundation and until 2003 is Ljubco Georgievski. At the party Congress in May 2003 Georgievski submitted his

resignation, and Nikola Gruevski was elected president of the party and has remained on this position until present date. Since 2006 and until the announcement of the early parliamentary elections in 2014, Gruevski acts as the President of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia.

The Coalition led by VMRO-DPMNE holds the powers at local level as well. On the last local elections in 2013⁷⁷ its candidates won 57 out of 80 municipalities and the city of Skopje.

The Coalition „For Better Macedonia“ led by VMRO-DPMNE is consisted of 22 parties: Socialist Party of Macedonia (SPM), Democratic Union (DS), Democratic Renewal of Macedonia (DOM), Democratic Party of the Turks in Macedonia (DPTM), Democratic Party of the Serbs in Macedonia (DPSM), Union of the Roma from Macedonia (SRM), United Party for Emancipation (OPE), Party of Justice (PP), Party of the Democratic Action of Macedonia (SDAM), Party of the Vlachs from Macedonia (PVM), Party for Integration of the Roma (PIR), Bosniak Democratic Party (BDP), Democratic Forces of the Roma (DSR), Permanent Macedonian Radical Unification (TMRO), New Liberal Party (NLP), People's Movement for Macedonia (NDM), VMRO – Democratic Party, VMRO-United, Fatherland's Macedonian Organization for Radical Renewal – Vardar – Aegean – Pirin TMORO – VEP, Macedonian Alliance and VMRO-Macedonian, Macedonian Alliance (MA) and VMRO – Macedonian.

VMRO-DPMNE

Macedonia St. No. 17a

1000 Skopje

Tel: 02 3215 550

Fax: 02 3215 551

contact@vmro-dpmne.org.mk

www.vmro-dpmne.org.mk

⁷⁷ Final results from the local elections in 2013, State Election Commission, May 1, 2013. Available at <http://217.16.84.17/Results.aspx?RaceID=1&UnitID=1&IsPS=0&Turnout=0&LangID=1> (last visit : April 3 2014)

Leaders of the candidate lists of VMRO - DPMNE and the coalition „For Better Macedonia“



EU 1 – Nikola Gruevski is the President of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia (RM) and President of VMRO-DPMNE. He holds the office of the President of the Government since the parliamentary elections in 2006. Gruevski was active in the political life from 1998 until 1999 as a minister without portfolio and minister of trade. From 1999 until 2002 he was the Governor of RM in the World Bank and European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, later to become the minister of finance. He was elected MP in the Parliament from 2002 until 2006 and has been the leader of VMRO-DPMNE since 2003. Since 2006 Gruevski holds his master degree in economy from the Faculty of Economy at the University “Sts. Cyril and Methodius” in Skopje, and graduated from the Faculty of Economy in Prilep at the University “St. Clement of Ohrid” in Bitola. He was born in 1970 in Skopje. Gruevski is leader of the candidates list in EU 1 for fourth time.



EU 2 – Gordana Jankulovska is minister of internal affairs in the Government of the Republic of Macedonia and is a member of the Executive Committee (EC), the highest body in VMRO-DPMNE. She is minister since 2006. From 2000 until 2002 she was employed as a state adviser in the Ministry of Finance, where she was entrusted with the position of the Chief of the Cabinet of the Minister. In 2004 she was named the Secretary General of VMRO-DPMNE and she remained on this position until her nomination for minister of internal affairs. From 2005 until 2006 she was member of the Municipal Council of the City of Skopje. Since 2004 Jankulovska holds the degree Master of Commercial Law from the Faculty of Law at

the University in Kent, Great Britain. She graduated from the Faculty of Law at the University “Sts. Cyril and Methodius” in Skopje. She was born in 1975 in Ohrid. Jankulovska is the leader of the candidate list in EU2 in the three subsequent parliamentary election cycles.



EU 3 – Nikola Todorov is minister of health in the Government of the Republic of Macedonia and member of the EC of VMRO-DPMNE. From 2006 he held various positions in the public enterprises and from 2009 until 2011 he was minister of education and science in the Government of the Republic of Macedonia. In 2011 he was appointed minister of health. He graduated from the Faculty of Law at the University “Sts Cyril and Methodius” in Skopje. He was born in 1979 in Skopje. On the 2011 Parliamentary elections Todorov was leader of the candidate list in EU6.



EU 4 – Zoran Stavreski is Vice President of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia and Minister of finance as well as member of the EC of VMRO-DPMNE. From 1997 until 2000 he worked on many positions in the National Bank of the Republic of Macedonia. From 2000 until 2001 he was the Undersecretary in the Ministry of Finance. From 2001 he worked at the World Bank when he was appointed Chief Economist for Development Policies. Following VMRO-DPMNE’s victory on the election in 2006, he was appointed Vice Prime Minister for Economic Affairs in the Government of the Republic of Macedonia. Since 2009 he is Vice Prime Minister and minister of finance. Stavreski holds his master degree in economy from the Faculty of Economy at the University “Sts Cyril and Methodius” in Skopje. He graduated at the same faculty in 1987. He was born in 1964 in Ohrid. At the last parliamentary elections in 2011 he was the leader of the candidate list in the same EU.



EU 5 – Antonio Milososki was an MP in the last Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia and member of the EC of VMRO-DPMNE. From 1999 until 2001 he was Chief of the Cabinet of the Vice Prime Minister of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia, Dosta Dimovska, and from 2000 until 2001 he was the spokesperson for the Government of the

Republic of Macedonia. Immediately after he was appointed minister of external affairs, a function he held until 2011, when he resigned after the parliamentary elections in 2011 and returned to the Parliament. Since 2002, Milososki holds a master degree from the University Friedrich Wilhelm in Bonn, Germany. He graduated from the Faculty of Law at the University “Sts Cyril and Methodius” in Skopje. He was born in 1976 in Tetovo. He was leader of the candidate list in EU5 on the Parliamentary elections in 2006, 2008 and 2011.



EU 6 – Nikola Poposki is the minister of external affairs in the Government of the Republic of Macedonia. In the past he worked for various European institutions and organizations, and from 2010 until 2011 he was appointed Ambassador, Head of the Mission of the Republic of Macedonia in the European Union. Since 2004 he holds his master degree in foreign languages and international trade from the University in Rennes, France, and from the

University “Sts Cyril and Methodius” in Skopje. In 2005 he obtained his second master degree in economy from the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium. He was born in 1977 in Skopje. Poposki is leader of a candidate list for the first time.

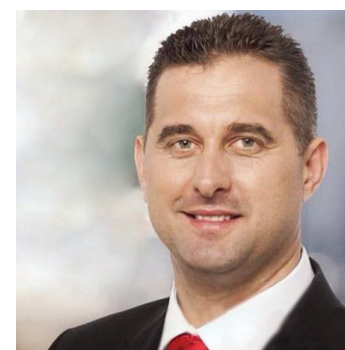


EU 7– Risto Mancev was an MP in the last Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia and is member of VMRO-DPMNE. He graduated from the Faculty for Civic Engineering at the University of “Sts Cyril and Methodius” in Skopje. Mancev is a civic engineer by vocation. He lives in Piacenza, Italy, and was born in 1969 in Strumica. On the parliamentary elections in 2011 Mancev was elected MP in the Parliament in the EU 7.



EU 8 – Pavle Sazdov was MP in the last Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia and is member of VMRO-DPMNE. Since 2002 he worked as IT in several companies in Canada and the United States of America. In 2010 he was appointed State Secretary at the Ministry of Information Society. Since 2013 he holds master degree in ICT from the Faculty of Social Sciences FON in Skopje. He graduated information sciences – network and

internet security from the Mississauga College in Canada. He was born in 1983 in Skopje. On the parliamentary elections in 2011 Sazadov was elected MP in EU 8.



EU 9 – Vasko Naumovski is a Macedonian businessman living in Melbourne, Australia. He works on relation Melbourne-Bitola. Until present date he never held any function in the executive or legislative powers in the Republic of Macedonia. He was born in Williams-town, Melbourne, Australia. He is candidate for MP in the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia for the first time in EU 9.

6. NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL (NDP)



National Democratic Renewal was founded in March 2011 as the youngest political party in the Albanian block. NDP is positioned right from the center, as party with democratic and national ideology, and strives for improvement of the personal and national rights and freedoms of the ethnic Albanians in

Macedonia. Rufi Osmani is the president and founder of the party. Osmani is former mayor of Gostivar Municipality. On the parliamentary elections in 2011 NDP won 2.67% of the total votes and two MP seats. The Party offered its candidate lists in EU 1,2,5 and 6 in Macedonia and EU 7 abroad.

National Democratic Renewal
Bitpazarska St. 60
Skopje
Tel: 02 5511 371
info@rdk.org.mk
www.rdk.org.mk

Leaders of the candidate lists of NDP

EU 1 – Gikten Haziri
EU 2 – Xhezair Shakiri
EU 5 – Ardian Demiri
EU 6 – Rufi Osmani
EU 7 – Enver Osmani

7. PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR MACEDONIA (NDM)



People's Movement for Macedonia was founded on May 18, 2002 as a party with national orientation grounded on the tradition of the Macedonian people. The party strives for a social state and taxation of the wealthy. Janko Bacev is president of NDM. NDM has submitted candidate

lists in 5 electoral units, that is, in EU 1,2,3,4 and 5.

People's Movement for Macedonia
Dame Gruev St. 10
1000 Skopje
Tel: 02 3101 999, 075 335 013
ndm@ndm.org.mk
www.ndm.org.mk

Leaders of the candidate lists for NDM

EU 1 – Janko Bacev
EU 2 – Zoran Jovanovikj
EU 3 – Sase Ivanovski
EU 4 – Goce Jankov
EU 5 – Robert Spasenovski

8. COALITION GROM



The Civic Option for Macedonia (GROM) is a new political party founded in September 2013. Stevco Jakimovski was elected president of the newly founded party, which strives to achieve higher participation of the citizens in the government, through their proposals, initiatives and suggestions, as well as projects.

The coalition GROM is led by the party GROM and is composed of the following parties: Liberal party, Serbian Advanced Party in Macedonia, Alliance of Tito's Left Forces, and the Party of Free Democrats. These parties will run on the election under one coalition name, that is, coalition GROM. The cooperation between the parties is based on a long term plan, with mutual respect, on the basis of democratic principles, and with clear set goals where the citizens of the Macedonia are in the forefront, regardless of their ethnic, religious, or other affiliations. Coalition GROM will have its own candidate lists in all 6 EU in Macedonia.

Civic Option for Macedonia
Rusveltova St. N.N. Entrance 1, local No.9
1000 Skopje
info@grom.mk
www.grom.mk

Leaders of the candidate lists for the Coalition GROM

EU 1 – Cedomir Sazdovski
EU 2 – Viktor Cvetkovski
EU 3 – Sterjo Nikolov
EU 4 – Panco Minov
EU 5 – Ljupco Nastoski
EU 6 – Goran Anceski

9. COALITION FOR POSITIVE MACEDONIA



The Alliance for Positive Macedonia (APM) is newly founded political party in the Republic of Macedonia. It was founded in March 2014. Ljupco Zikov is president of the party. This political party places its focus on the citizen, his/her rights and responsibilities. The

Coalition for Positive Macedonia is composed of the political parties APM and the Party of Pensioners and Citizens of the Republic of Macedonia. This coalition will strive to eradicate the discrimination generated with the Preamble in the Constitution and will seek changes in the legislation in order to secure equitable participation of all communities in the public life. The Coalition for Positive Macedonia submitted candidate lists for MPs in all 6 EU in Macedonia.

Alliance for Positive Macedonia
Vasil Gjorgov St. No. 37
1000 Skopje
Tel: 02 3256 546
kontakt@pozitivnamakedonija.mk
www.pozitivnamakedonija.mk

Leaders of the candidate lists for the Coalition for Positive Macedonia

EU 1 – Ljupco Zikov
EU 2 – Vlado Buckovski
EU 3 – Ilija Nikolovski
EU 4 – Dane Jovanov
EU 5 – Igor Kambovski
EU 6 – Xhevdet Hallimi

10. VMRO – PEOPLE’S PARTY (VMRO-NP)



VMRO-NP has declared itself a conservative political party. It was founded on July 4, 2004 in Skopje by the followers of Ljubco Georgievski, first president of VMRO-DPMNE and former Prime Minister of the Republic of Macedonia, who left VMRO-DPMNE. VMRO-NP is a party with experience when it comes to the participation on parliamentary elections. On the parliamentary elections in 2006 the party chose to run alone and won 3 MP seats. VMRO-NP, according to its statute, strives for, among the other things, freedom, solidarity and justice, for the creation of unity in freedom and responsibility, equality and partnership between men and women, for the family as the main pillar of the society, respect for the culture as expression of the national identity and openness. Development of the principles of the free market economy, approval of the competitiveness of Macedonia as agricultural and industrial potential, assurance of the social justice and restructuring of the social state. Consolidation of democracy, protection of the social state and the rule of law, fight against corruption and cohabitation with the people from different nationalities. VMRO-NP submitted its candidate lists in all 6 EU in Macedonia.

VMRO – People’s Party
Nikola Vapcarov St. 2
1000 Skopje
Tel: 02 6145 374
Fax: 02 6145 374
contact@vmro-np.org.mk
www.vmro-np.org.mk

Leaders of the candidate lists for VMRO-NP

EU 1 – Slobodan Bliznakovski
EU 2 – Ljupco Balkoski
EU 3 – Ljubco Georgievski
EU 4 – Risto Pecev
EU 5 – Vanco Kostoski
EU 6 – Goran Loteski

11. SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF MACEDONIA (SDPM)



The Social Democratic Party of Macedonia (SDPM) was founded in 1990. Slavko Milosavljevski was its first president. SDPM is a party oriented left from the center and declaratively embraces the social-democratic ideology as the foundation for its actions. Branko Janveski is the party’s current president, holding his third term as president of the party. This party took part in all election cycles in pluralistic Macedonia, however, without any significant success. On the parliamentary elections in 2011, SDPM won 1807 votes (0.16%) on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia.

Social Democratic Party of Macedonia
Blvd JNA No. 54, building No.1, entrance No.1, ground floor
1000 Skopje

Leaders of the candidate lists for SDPM

EU 1 – Ljiljana Ivanovska
EU 2 – Petre Petrov
EU 3 – Marjanco Nakov
EU 4 – Natasa Trenkoska
EU 5 – Igor Ivanovski
EU 6 – Maja Ivanovska

12. PARTY FOR ECONOMIC CHANGES 21 (PEP 21)



The Party for Economic Changes 21 is a relatively new political party that never participated on any elections. It was founded in June 2013 and declares itself as a civic party that strives for economic progress, security

and well being of all citizens in the Republic of Macedonia. President of PEP 21 is Biljana Jovanovska, former member of VMRO-DPMNE, VMRO-NP and OM. The party declares itself to be open for cooperation with all political parties, primarily for the purpose of protecting the interests of the Republic of Macedonia and its citizens. PEP 21 seeks fair and market oriented modern economy that strives toward full eradication of poverty. The party submitted its candidate lists in two EU, that is in EU 1 and 2.

Party for Economic Changes 21
Hristo Tatarcev St. No. 47 I/3-30
1000 Skopje
tel/fax: 02 6144 540
infocentar@pep21.org.mk
www.pep21.org.mk

Leaders of the candidate lists for PEP 21

EU 1 – Seadin Xhaferi

EU 2 – Goce Petrusevski

13. PARTY FOR DEMOCRATIC PROSPERITY (PDP)



The Party for Democratic Prosperity (PDP) is the oldest party of the Albanians in Macedonia, founded in 1990 and was functioning until the parliamentary elections in 2011 when it merged with DPA. The party was reactivated in January 2014, and is led by Abduladi Vejseli, MP in the three former compositions of the Parliament.

In the nineties, PDP was the largest parliamentary party that represented the Albanians in Macedonia and several times was a coalition partner in the governments led by SDSM. After its radical wing left the party and founded DPA, PDP is considered a moderate political party. PDP strives for full equality of the Albanians on political, economic, social and cultural plane in Macedonia, for their national language, for harmonious inter-ethnic relations grounded on democratic principles of equality and true justice. The party submitted candidate list only for EU 6.

Party for Democratic Prosperity
Blvd Ilinden N.N
1200 Tetovo

Leader of the candidate list for PDP

EU 6 – Muhamed Halili

14. PARTY FOR EUROPEAN FUTURE (PEI)



The Party for European Future (PEI) is a party in the political center, founded in Skopje on April 16, 2006. On the parliamentary elections in 2006 it won one MP seat, and in the last composition of the

Parliament it had three MP seats. From its foundation and until present date, Fijat Canoski is the leader of PEI. PEI strives for the integration of Macedonia in the Euro-Atlantic structures, for equal development of all parts of the state through creation of favorable conditions for domestic and foreign investments, as well as for gradual return of the people from the diaspora in their fatherland. The party considers that Macedonian citizens from the diaspora may support the development of Macedonia through their investments, but also through their experiences with private initiatives and entrepreneurship. PEI has submitted candidate lists for 4 EU, that is EU 1,2,5 and 6.

Party for European Future
Blvd Maja Tereza No. 23
1000 – Skopje
Tel: 02 3177 323
Fax: 02 3177 323
kontakt@pei.org.mk
www.pei.org.mk

Leaders of the candidate lists for PEI

EU 1 – Seadin Xhaferi

EU 2 – Erkan Alili

EU 5 – Fijat Canoski

EU 6 – Abdija Mersovski



EARLY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA 2014 - RESULTS, CAMPAIGN, FINDINGS

EARLY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA 2014 - RESULTS, CAMPAIGN, FINDINGS

ABBREVIATIONS

Agency for Audio and Audio-Visual Media Services - AAAMU
Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Democratic Party for
Macedonian National Unity – VMRO-DPMNE
Civil Alliance for Macedonia - GROM
Democratic Party of the Albanians - DPA
Democratic Union for Integration - DUI
State Audit Office - DZR
State Election Commission - DIK
State Commission for Prevention of Corruption – DKSK
European Union – EU
Election Unit – IE
Macedonian Radio Television – MRT
Macedonian Radio - MR
Municipal Election Commission - OIK
Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe/ Office for Democratic
Institutions and Human Rights – OSCE/ODIHR
Socialdemocratic Union of Macedonia – SDSM
Administrative Court - US

INTRODUCTION

The eighth general elections for members of the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia took place on 27 April 2014. These elections were also the third early parliamentary elections held back-to-back. The parliamentary elections took place in parallel with the second round of the presidential elections. A landslide victory was achieved by the "For Better Macedonia" coalition lead by the party Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (VMRO-DPMNE) with its President Nikola Gruevski who enjoyed uninterrupted power since the parliamentary elections in 2006. Also running in the elections were the coalition lead by the Socialdemocratic Union of Macedonia (SDSM), the Democratic Union for Integration (DUI), Democratic Party of the Albanians (DPA), the "GROM Coalition" lead by the Civil Option for Macedonia (GROM), the National Democratic Rebirth (NDP), the "Dignity for Macedonia" Coalition lead by the Dostoinstvo party, the "Coalition for Positive Macedonia" (KPM) lead by the party Alliance for Positive Macedonia (APM), VMRO-People's Party (VMRO-NP), Party for Democratic Prosperity (PDP0, Party for European Future (PEI), Party for Economic Changes 21 (PEP 21), Socialdemocratic Party of Macedonia (SDPM), People's Movement for Macedonia (NDM). The Single Voters List included a total of 1,780,128 citizens eligible to vote and the turnout on 27 April was 1,120,744 voters (62,96%).

The elections were called on 6 March. On the 5th of the March the MPs voted unanimously for dissolution of the Parliament and the election campaign started on 5 April and lasted till 25 April. During the pre-election period for the presidential elections, due to the disagreement between the coalition partners VMRO-DPMNE and DUI for nomination of a joint consensual candidate for President of the Republic of Macedonia, DUI raised the initiative for self-dissolution of the Parliament and calling of early parliamentary elections which was accepted by all members of the Parliament.

The parliamentary elections were observed by 10,013 local and 610 foreign observers and monitors. The general assessment of the observers was that the elections were implemented efficiently, the candidates were able to freely present their programs and standpoints and the rhetoric of the campaign became harsher in the second part as the actual elections day was getting closer. The key comments of the observers were caused by the behaviors of the political parties during the campaign. After the elections the number of MPs of the current parties in the ruling coalition (VMRO-DPMNE and DUI) increased. In the following mandate the VMRO-DPMNE coalition will have 61 MPs (compared to the 56 MPs in the previous composition of the Parliament) and DUI shall have 19 MPs (compared to the 14 in the previous composition of the Parliament). The opposition parties, on the other hand, will have less seats in the Parliament in comparison to the previous composition. The SDSM Coalition now has 34 seats which less by 6 seats compared to the previous composition of the Parliament when it had 42 seats. DPA will now have 7 MPs which is one MP less in comparison to the previous composition of the Parliament. The NDP party used to have two seats, now in the new composition of the Parliament it will have only one seat while the GROM party will enter the Parliament for the first time with one seat.

This Handbook provides detailed overview of the election campaign, the revenues and expenditures related to the election campaigns, the media reporting, election results, respect of the election rights and evaluation of the elections by the political party observers as well as summary conclusions about the overall election cycle.

ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND FINANCING

The formal start of the campaign for the early parliamentary elections was on 5 April until 25 April 2014. Due to the election silence and the voting in the first round of the presidential elections the parties had to stop their campaigns on 12 and 13 April. In general, the process features positive promotion of the candidates and election programs of the parties but in the second half of the campaign it was mainly about negative attacks and accusations of corruption scandals. The parties used the common methods for promotion: rallies and face-to-face meetings with the citizens, door-to-door campaigns, TV advertisements and spots and typical for these elections was the significant emphasis on campaigning through the social networks. The campaigns were relatively peaceful, with minor incidents. During the campaign all the political entities organized 74 election rallies and seven face-to-face meetings with the citizens. There were no disturbances of the public peace and order. The Ministry of Interior (MVR)⁷⁸ ascertained that, in comparison to previous election cycles, least incidents and disturbances of the public peace and order were registered during these elections. During the two weeks of the campaign the police registered nine incidents that included minor and insignificant material damage. There were no incidents whatsoever during the actual voting day (27 April).

The OSCE/ODIHR⁷⁹ monitoring mission identified that the key issues and priorities of the presidential candidates and the candidates for MPs in the Parliament reflected in the coalition and political party programs included economic development, foreign investments, poverty reduction, youth employment, overcoming of the ethnic division, resolving of the name issues and accession to the European Union and NATO. During the campaign

⁷⁸ Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Macedonia, 25.4.2014 Operational Headquarters of the Ministry of Interior for the Elections, Least number of incidents and disturbances of the public peace and order compared against previous election cycles <http://www.mvr.gov.mk/ShowAnnouncements.aspx?ItemID=13451&mid=1367&tabId=358&tabindex=0> Accessed on 29 April 2014

⁷⁹ International mission for monitoring of the elections in the Republic of Macedonia, Presidential and early parliamentary elections, Statement on the Initial Findings and Conclusions, Skopje 27 April 2014. Available at <http://www.osce.org/mk/odihr/elections/fyrom/118079?download=true> (last accessed on 4 May 2014)

SDSM submitted proofs to the prosecutor,⁸⁰ for alleged corruption of the Prime Minister for privatization of the Makedonska Banka. In response to these accusations the Prime Minister said he will press charges for defamation against the leader of SDSM.

The "For Better Macedonia" Coalition, lead by VMRO-DPMNE, carried out its campaign under the "There is a Difference. You can Recognize it" slogan. Before the start of the election campaign, on 16 March the party issued and presented to the public the "Accountability Report of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia lead by VMRO-DPMNE and the Coalition Partners 2011-2014"⁸¹ consisted of 258 pages with details about the work of the Government during the mandate. The party entered the election campaign by publishing its election program titled "Confirmed, Projects that are Definitely Implemented"⁸² consisted of 384 pages with 2,046 projects with a plan for opening of 64,000 new jobs. In 11 Chapters this Program included measures in all areas of work of the Government. The party leader, Nikola Gruevski and the candidates for MPs emphasized during the rallies and events that the focus of the Program is the economy and creation of jobs, construction of infrastructural and other large-scale projects, measures and activities for the business sector, for the public sector employees, for the young people, pensioners, farmers.

The online campaign of VMRO-DPMNE was implemented through the party's website (www.vmro-dpmne.org.mk), the official profiles on the social networks Facebook and Twitter and through the profiles of the candidates for the elections. The videos from the rallies and face-to-face meetings with the citizens, including the election videos and other promotions were published on the YouTube channel of the party.

⁸⁰ Zaev: Here's how Gruevski steals from Macedonia. SDSM, press-conference, 17 April 2014, Skopje. Available at <http://sds.org.mk/default.aspx?mId=55&agId=6&articleId=10484> (last accessed on 6 May 2014)

⁸¹ Accountability Report of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia lead by VMRO-DPMNE and the coalition partners 2011-2014, VMRO-DPMNE. Available at http://vmro-dpmne.org.mk/wp-content/uploads/documents/ParlOtcet-2014_online.pdf (last accessed on 10 May 2014)

⁸² Confirmed, projects that are reality implemented, VMRO-DPMNE. Available at: <http://vmro-dpmne.org.mk/wp-content/uploads/documents/VMRO%20programa%202014-2018%20v2a.pdf> (last accessed on 10 May 2014)

The coalition led by the biggest opposition party SDSM carried out its campaign under the “Changes for New Beginning” slogan. The party also published election program consisted of 100 pages⁸³ with the same title as the election slogan. The election candidates of this coalition emphasized the three pillars on which their election program is based. The first pillar (“Lets Revive the Middle Class”) was about economic and tax measures, reallocation policies and policies for social protection and fairness. The second pillar of the program was “We Want Freedom” which included measures for improvement of the democracy, rule of law and fight against corruption. The third pillar was “We Invest in the Future” and included measures for development of the society, provision of equal opportunities for progress, education, culture, environment, stop for the emigration among the young people, etc.

The online campaign of SDSM was implemented through the website of the party (www.sdsm.org.mk), the official profiles of the party on the social networks Facebook and Twitter and through the personal profiles of the election candidates. Peculiar fact in the campaign was that the party hired the front page of Facebook at which the users change their passwords for access to the profiles at which the party was publishing its content. The videos from the face-to-face meetings with the citizens and the rallies were also published on the YouTube channel of the party.

DUI was carrying out its election campaign under the “Together We Are Better, Together We Are Stronger, Together in Europe”. Before the start of the election party the party also published Accountability Report about the activities and work of its Ministers in the coalition Government⁸⁴ with VMRO-DPMNE. At the beginning of the campaign DUI published an election program consisted of 376 pages⁸⁵ with the same title as the election campaign slogan. This Program, inter alia, focused on the promise for full implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement and equitable

⁸³ Changes for New Beginning – election program, SDSM. Available at <http://www.sdsm.org.mk/Default.aspx?mId=47&lId=1> (last accessed on 11 May 2013)

⁸⁴ Accountability Report by DIU, DUI, Available at <http://bdi.mk/docs/RaportojmeBDI2014.pdf> (last accessed on 5 May 2014)

⁸⁵ Together We Are Better, Together We Are Stronger, Together in Europe, DUI. Available at: <http://bdi.mk/docs/RaportojmeBDI2014.pdf> (last accessed on 5 May 2014)

representation of the Albanians in the state institutions, use of the Albanian language on the entire territory of the country as second language in the state, request for appointment of Albanians on the high managerial positions and introduction of the political consensus concept in the election of the President of the state. In the economic part of the Program, DUI included measures for reduction of the unemployment through creation of new jobs, improvement of the education, fair allocation of the Budget nationwide and improvement of the environment.

The Internet election campaign of DUI was carried out through its website (www.bdi.mk), the official party profiles on Facebook and the profiles of the candidates. For these elections DUI did not have a Twitter profile. The elections-related videos were published on the party’s YouTube channel.

The election campaign slogan of the DPA political party was “DPA For Freedom”. They did not offer election program to the voters but a platform for the following mandate of the Government titled “DPA’s Platform for the 2014-2018 period”,⁸⁶ consisted of 105 pages. This Platform, inter alia, includes the need for new social agreement that will replace the Ohrid Framework Agreement as well as federal state. Among other measures it speaks about elimination of the economic discrimination towards the Albanians, measures in the tax, fiscal and monetary policy, promotion of foreign and local investments, development of the farming and food industry, including environmental protection.

DPA was also campaigning through the Internet and the social networks. In the first case the campaign was carried out mainly through the official website of the party (www.gurra-pdsh.org), through the official party profiles on Facebook and Twitter, including the profiles of the candidates. The event videos were disseminated through the party’s YouTube channel.

The Coalition led by the GROM party used the “Brave People, Proud State” election slogan. During the election campaign GROM promoted a

⁸⁶ Platform of DPA for the period 2014-2018, DPA. Available at <http://gurra-pdsh.org/images/PDF/Platforma%20e%20PDSH-se%202014-2018.pdf> (last accessed on 10 May 2014)

program⁸⁷ which, as claimed by the party leader Stevche Jakimovski, includes the requests of the citizens, not of the experts. Most of the Program is focused on projects for functional economy, incentives for entrepreneurship, incentives for the small and medium sized companies, better access to quality funds, support for the farmers and tax relieves they should enjoy in order to reduce the production costs and achieve more competitive agriculture. The Program also includes proposals on how to support the socially vulnerable groups.

Similar as other parties, GROM also dedicated attention to its online promotion during the campaign. The main focus was on the party's website (www.grom.mk), party profiles on Facebook and Twitter and the profiles of the candidates.

During the elections the NDP party campaigned under the "It Is Time" slogan. In the beginning of the campaign the party did not introduce a typical election program to the voters but an election platform consisted of 33 pages⁸⁸ with the same title as the slogan. In this platform NDP included reform of the government institutions, employment, development of businesses, infrastructure, energy, tourism, technological-industrial zones, agricultural and cooperation with the economic chambers.

Furthermore, NDP allocated some of its resources for Internet campaign where the main focus on the party's website (www.rdk.org.mk) and the campaigning was also done through the Facebook and Twitter profiles.

The smaller parties that participated in the elections organized similar campaigns but on a smaller scale. In general they focused more on direct face-to-face meetings with the citizens, significantly smaller advertisement campaigns in the traditional media and presence on the social networks on the Internet which provided free of charge promotion or promotion at less costs.

⁸⁷ Election Program of GROM 2014-2018, GROM. Available at: http://issuu.com/gragjanskaop-cijazamakedonijagrom/docs/programa_grom_a4_8_a_priprema?e=9598897/7512073 (last accessed on 10 May 2014)

⁸⁸ Election Platform, It Is Time for NDP, NDP. Available at <http://www.rdk.org.mk/images/stories/PDF/platforma.pdf> (last accessed on 11 May 2014)

Submission of financial reports

The parties are obliged to submit three financial reports about the costs they had in the election campaign. The first financial report which is about the first 10 days of the campaign the candidates were obliged to submit on the 11th day of the campaign (on 14 April). The second report which is about the second half of the campaign the candidates obliged to submit one day after the end of the campaign (on 26 April). All parties timely submitted their financial reports except the SDPM party which submitted the second report with three days delay (on 29 April) and did not use the standardized template for this purpose but only written statement by the party's President. The official websites of the State Election Commission (DIK) and the State Commission for Prevention of Corruption (DKSK) are also missing the second financial report of the PDP party. It is possible to obtain only the report on the first part of the campaign which exists as bank account statement - the standardized template was not used. If the parties do not submit the required reports using the standardized format and within the foreseen deadlines the penalty is from 4,000 to 5,000 euros for the legal entity and from 500 to 1,500 euros for the responsible person in the party.

The parties were supposed to submit the third financial report, which is about the overall financial reports of the funds raised and spent, by 25th of May i.e. 25 days after the end of the campaigns and the State Audit Office (DZR) must audit these reports by 14 July.

All the financial reports are submitted to the State Election Commission (DIK), State Commission for Prevention of Corruption (DKSK) and the State Audit Office (DZR) while the overall financial report is also submitted to the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia. The candidates are eligible to spend 180 denars per registered voter i.e. a total of 320,423,040 denars (5,210,130 euros).⁸⁹

⁸⁹ The conversions in euros were done using the middle exchange rate of 61,5 denars for 1 euro

According to the financial reports⁹⁰ submitted by the parties that won seats in the Parliament, the biggest spender in the election campaign was VMRO-DPMNE. According to both reports submitted to the institutions, in both parts of the campaign the party spent 89,528,960 denars (1,455,755 euros). By 26 April the party raised 16,652,976 denars which is 72,875,984 denars less compared to the total money spent. In order to compensate for these differences the parties can raise the donations no later than 20 May when they will be filing the final financial report.

The second place when it comes to money spent is held by DUI. During the election campaign this party spent a total of 30,885,783 denars i.e., 18,957,018 denars in the first part and 11,928,765 denars in the second part. Furthermore, DUI raised less money by the time the second report was filed, compared to the money spent. The party raised 6,499,500 denars (105,682 euros) and it needs to raise the balance by 20 May.

The third place when it comes to money spent is held by SDSM. In both campaigns the party raised 8,402,077 denars (136,619 euros). There is a significant discrepancy with this party when it comes to spending in the two parts of the campaign. In the first part SDSM spent 8,028,077 denars and in the second part only 374,000 denars. By 25 April the party raised a total of 8,418,067 i.e. 15,990 denars more compared to the money spent. According to the Law, the party must donate this surplus of funds to charity.

Next on the list is the GROM party who spent 990,009 denars (16,097 euros) i.e. 938,310 denars in the first and 51,699 denars in the second part of the campaign. By 25th of April this party raised 992,412 denars which is 2,403 denars more compared to the money spent. GROM must also donate this surplus of funds to charity.

During the election campaign the NDP party spent 448,120 denars (7,286 euros) i.e. 139,650 denars in the first part and 308,470 denars in the second part of the campaign. By 26th of April, when the second financial

⁹⁰ Financial reports of the political parties regarding the early parliamentary elections 2014, State Election Commission. Available at http://www.sec.mk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=322:fin-izv-pretvremeni&catid=48&Itemid=1305&lang=mk (last accessed on 7 May 2014)

report was submitted, NDP raised 202,350 denars which is 245,770 denars less compared to the expenditures. Same as other parties, NDP is supposed to raise the balance by 20 May.

During the election campaign the DPA party spent 382,626 denars (6,221 euros) i.e. 130,626 denars in the first part and 252,000 denars in the second part. By 26th of April the party raised a total of 90,000 denars. The difference of 292,626 denars between the money raised and money spent is supposed to be balanced by raising donations no later than 20 May i.e. by the submission of the final financial report.

Regarding other parties that participated in the elections but failed to win seats in the parliament, the Coalition for Positive Macedonia (KPM) and the VMRO-NP party had the biggest costs. In both parts of the campaign KPM spent a total of 6,798,930 denars (110,551 euros) and raised 6,224,706 denars. VMRO-NP spent 3,616,080 denars (58,798 euros) and raised 3,787,900 denars. The total costs of all other parties (PEI, PEP 21, NDM, DM and SDPM altogether) are 585,813 denars (9,525 euros) and altogether they raised 132,100 denars (2,147 euros). The difference between the revenues and expenditures should be compensated by the parties through donations no later than 20th of May. The PEI and SDPM parties mentioned in their respective reports they did not raise nor spend any funds or other assets during the campaigns, while DM raised 3,000 denars (48 euros) but did not spend any of it.

	VMRO-DPMNE		SDSM		DUI		DPA		GROM		NDP	
	Revenues	Expenditures	Revenues	Expenditures	Revenues	Expenditures	Revenues	Expenditures	Revenues	Expenditures	Revenues	Expenditures
Date for the first Report - 14 April	8,326,488	44,764,480	8,054,000	8,028,077	2,699,500	18,957,018	60,000	130,626	942,695	938,310	150,000	139,650
Date for the second Report - 26 April	8,326,488	44,764,480	364,067	374,000	3,800,000	11,928,765	30,000	252,000	49,717	51,699	52,350	308,470
Total	16,652,976	89,528,960	8,418,067	8,402,077	6,499,500	30,885,783	90,000	382,626	992,412	990,009	202,350	448,120

MEDIA

The monitoring of the media during the parliamentary elections campaign carried out by OSCE/ODIHR⁹¹ identified “absence of analysis and independent reporting” when reporting about the activities of the political parties. In general, the OSCE/ODIHR mission in its report noted that most the media that were monitored showed significant partiality towards the ruling VMRO-DPMNE party and their candidate Gjorge Ivanov, having also negative attitude towards SDSM and their candidate. The Albanian language media were more in favor of DUI in comparison to other ethnic Albanian runners in the election race. The monitoring showed that the media during the campaign focused predominantly on VMRO-DPMNE and SDSM.

When reporting about the election events, the public services of the Macedonian Radio Television (MRT) reported about the ruling parties in more positive manner and in more neutral manner when it comes to all other runners in the election race. For example, the VMRO-DPMNE party had advantage since it received positive media coverage by emphasizing its achievements and future projects. Similar was approach on the second channel of the Macedonia Radio Television (MRT2), which broadcasts in the languages of the minorities, towards the political party DUI. The monitoring of OSCE/ODIHR covered the following electronic media: MRT1, MRT2, TV sitel, TV Kanal 5, TV Alfa, TV Telma and TV Alsat-M, including newspapers Dnevnik, Nova Makedonija, Sloboden Pечат and Koha.

When it comes to the private broadcasters, the OSCE/ODIHR monitoring shows that Sitel, Kanal 5 and Alfa televisions dedicated more attention to the activities of VMRO-DPMNE in mostly positive or neutral media coverage. On the other hand, when it comes to SDSM, the same media dedicated less time to cover any major issue. The mission’s Report stipulates that, during the campaign, these three televisions provided significant media coverage of the activities of the Ministers that were in the same time

⁹¹ Refer to the statements by OSCE/ODIHR in the initial findings and conclusions about the elections: OSCE/ODIHR, international monitoring mission about the elections in the Republic of Macedonia, Presidential and early parliamentary elections 27 April 2014. Statement on the Initial Findings and Conclusions. Skopje, April, available at <http://www.osce.org/mk/odihr/elections/fyrom/118079?download=true> (accessed on 13 May 2014).

candidates for MPs and the reporting had positive attitude. They noticed the media usually did not differentiate between reporting about these people as Ministers and as election candidates.

According to the Election Code, the media are obliged to report about the presidential candidates in fair, balanced and impartial manner. Furthermore, new rules for media reporting in the news of the public broadcasting service – Macedonian Radio Television (MRT) were introduced with the most recent changes in the Electoral Code in February 2014. According to these changes, the public broadcasting service is obliged to allocate the reporting time as follows: one third to report about the daily events in Macedonia and abroad; one third to report about the campaign of the political party candidates and one third to report about the opposition political party candidates. The time allocated for each candidate depends on the results and seats won during the last parliamentary elections. As it is mentioned in the OSCE/ODIHR Statement of Preliminary Findings and Conclusions for the presidential and early parliamentary elections, this allocation of the time is not compliant to Paragraph 7.8 of the OSCE Copenhagen Document because it creates obstacles for allocation of time for media reporting about the non-parliamentary party candidates. Nevertheless, the MRT also allocated time, beyond the above mentioned ‘thirds’, for the representatives of the non-parliamentary parties on the basis of the AAAMU recommendation.

Monitoring of the public service of MRT

As a body in charge of monitoring of the media reporting during the election period, the AAAMU published a final report⁹² which says that the public broadcasting service adhered to the legal obligations when it comes to media coverage of the parliamentary elections. The report further says that there was proper allocation of the time into thirds between the news

⁹² Agency for Audio and Audio-Visual Media Services (2014) Report from the Monitoring of the Media Coverage for the Presidential and Early Parliamentary Elections. Skopje, May, available at: http://www.avmu.mk/images/Finalen_Izvestaj_Izbori_2014_-_nacionalni_mediumi.pdf (accessed on 13 May 2014).

from the country and abroad, news about the candidates of the ruling party and the news about the candidates of the opposition, including the additional time for the non-parliamentary parties. This service had a small difference in the terms of total time allocated for coverage. On the first channel of the public service (MTV 1) the ruling parties received 6 insignificant minutes more compared to the opposition. The ruling parties got a total of 2:16 hours, the opposition 2:10 hours, the time dedicated to local and international news was 2:29 and the additional time for the non-parliamentary parties was 18 minutes.

Table 1: Portraying in the news of the program services of MRT and MR Source: AAAMU

	MTV 1	MTV 2	MTV 2	Mac. Radio	Mac.Radio (Albanian language)	Mac.Radio (Turkish language)
SDSM and others	50,31%	13,03%	29,90%	48,30%	13,65%	24,51%
VMRO-DPMNE and others	68,15%	13,75%	35,33%	37,83%	9,34%	37,28%
DPA	13,25%	50,96%	19,58%	11,05%	50,64%	11,25%
DUI	19,24%	78,41%	23,73%	19,72%	77,65%	8,58%
NDP	1,32%	15,98%		2,24%	16,44%	2,08%
PDP	2,04%	58,61%			57,59%	
VMRO-NP	19,22%	8,61%	6,34%	22,49%		11,71%
GROM Coalition	23,38%	12,64%	65,15%	24,03%	10,68%	54,66%
KPM	29,23%		7,79%	24,73%		16,70%
Dignity	20,55%			12,60%		3,25%
GROM	1,59%					

On the basis the monitoring carried out by the Agency, which considered mainly the quantitative presence of the political entities on the public broadcasting service MTV, but not their qualitative presence, it is said that the MRT 1 channel divided in the following manner the 'third' of the

time allocated for the campaign of the ruling parties: The VMRO-DPMNE coalition got 68,15% of the total time allocated, DURI 19,24%, SDU 0,39 and the remainder of the time was allocated to the Presidential candidate of VMRO-DPMNE, Gjorge Ivanov. The time allocated for media coverage of the opposition and their events was as follows: the SDSM Coalition got 50,31%, DPA 13,25%, NDP 1,32%, the presidential candidate of SDSM Stevo Pendarovski 31,74% and the presidential candidate of DPA Iljaz Halimi 3,38%.

In the total time allocated to the non-parliamentary parties KPM got 29,23%, the GROM Coalition got 23,38%, DM 20,55%, VMRO-NP 19,22%, PDP 2,04% and the presidential candidate of GROM Zoran Popovski got 3,99% of the media coverage time.

The time allocated on the second channel of the public broadcasting service (MRT2) which broadcasts in Albanian language, was also divided into 'thirds', with slight difference in the time allocated for media coverage of the party activities. In general, the ruling parties got 3:29 hours, the opposition 3:17, the news got 2:44 and the additional time for the non-parliamentary parties was 24 minutes.

The time allocated for media coverage by the MRT 2 of the ruling party was mainly went in favor of DUI (78,41%), the Coalition of VMRO-DPMNE (13,75%), the presidential candidate Gjorge Ivanov (7,70%) and 0,13% of the time for media coverage was for other political entities. In the 'third' of the coverage time intended for the opposition most of it went in favor of DPA (50,96%), followed by NDP (15,98%), the SDSM Coalition (13,03%), the presidential candidate of DPA Iljaz Halimi got 13,42% and the SDSM candidate Stevo Pendarovski got 6,61%. Most present in the additional time was PDP (58,61%), followed by GROM (12,64%), VMRO-NM (8,61) and the presidential candidate of GROM Zoran Popovski (20,14%).

The monitoring showed similar situation on the Macedonian Radio. The first radio channel complied to the obligation for proper percentage of presence of the political entities. The third radio channel of the Macedonian Radio –

program in Albanian language ensured equal access for the parties in the election campaign but allocated less time for the daily events. The third radio channel of the Macedonian Radio – program in Turkish language allocated the same time for the parties campaign but failed to comply to the principle of allocation of the air time into ‘thirds’ and allocated much more time to the daily news featuring local and international events and less to the campaigns.

According to the methodology for monitoring of the media reporting during the election campaign, AAAMU also measures the direct addresses of the political representatives in the media. This is considered to be qualitative parameter for coverage of the campaigns although no qualitative remarks were emphasized on the basis of this parameter in the coverage by the public services, but only the frequency and the total duration of the direct addresses were identified.

	MTV 1		MTV 2 (Albanian language)		Mac.Radio		Mac.Radio (Albanian language)	
	Addresses	Duration	Addresses	Duration	Addresses	Duration	Addresses	Duration
SDSM and others	32	0:21:56	16	0:07:59	15	0:12:10	15	0:08:20
VMRO-DPMNE and others	38	0:31:05	16	0:07:45	17	0:12:08	14	0:07:17
DPA	19	0:05:28	30	0:37:21	16	0:03:10	21	0:32:15
DUI	23	0:07:54	51	1:34:57	16	0:05:28	26	0:47:38
NDP	6	0:01:05	17	0:09:32	8	0:01:02	15	0:07:56
PDP	1	0:00:16					1	0:00:18
VMRO-NP	7	0:02:45			9	0:03:18		
GROM Coalition	8	0:03:14			13	0:03:51	1	0:00:25
KPM	10	0:04:04			10	0:03:42		
Dignity	8	0:02:54			5	0:01:48		

Monitoring of the commercial media

When it comes to commercial media, the AAAMU Report ascertains different attitude when reporting about the election campaign. The 24 Vesti television generally reported in balanced and professional manner and in compliance to the principal of proportional presence of the ruling parties, the opposition and the non-parliamentary parties. It used neutral tone of reporting in all the reports. This television had professional analytical approach towards the issues that were opened in the campaign and did a number of comparative analyses.

According to AAAMU, the Alsat-M TV failed to properly comply to the proportionality principle. It dedicated more time to the Albanian parties in Macedonia, most of which was about DUI. This TV station did not air any information for some of the runners in the election campaign. In the reports this television in general complied to the professional standards although it was DUI representatives who had most of the chances to address the public.

	TV 24 VESTI	TV	TV ALFA	TV KANAL 5	SITEL	TV TELMA
SDSM and others	1:16:18	1:15:58	0:45:59	1:02:03	0:32:44	1:36:24
VMRO-DPMNE and others	1:18:35	1:11:42	3:44:42	5:11:45	5:36:12	1:19:44
DPA	0:21:30	1:25:04	0:13:09	0:19:14	0:19:27	0:23:44
DUI	0:29:24	1:58:13	0:19:08	0:25:42	0:22:49	0:43:18
NDP	0:01:31	0:17:17		0:02:30		0:23:44
PDP	0:00:48		0:00:48		0:00:33	
VMRO-NP	0:15:45	0:15:11	0:02:42		0:02:09	0:29:40
GROM Coalition	0:18:38		0:08:24	0:19:32	0:19:08	0:13:49
KPM	0:11:18		0:02:35		0:11:16	0:13:15

Dignity	0:09:05					0:10:25
PEP 21	0:01:31					
SDPM	0:01:31					

The Alfa television failed to comply to the proportionality principle when reporting about the political party campaigns. Most of the reporting time on this television was allocated to the activities of the VMRO-DPMNE Coalition. The AAAMU Report also notes that the prognoses and the expert opinions about the public surveys, including the comments of the television, focused on comparison between the election platforms of the opposed coalitions – the coalition of VMRO-DPMNE and the one of SDSM. The explicit negative editorial attitude towards the opposition was very obvious in the reports.

TV Kanal 5 allocated most of the time to cover the VMRO-DPMNE Coalition campaign. The monitoring shows that the editorial attention of this television was focused on drawing strong comparison contrast between the election programs of VMRO-DPMNE and SDSM. The editorial comments were mainly negative towards the policies of SDSM.

Table 4: Direct addresses in the programs of the commercial broadcasters Source: AAAMU												
	TV 24 VESTI		TV - ALSAT-M		TV ALFA		TV KANAL 5		SITEL		TV TELMA	
	Addresses	Duration	Addresses	Duration	Addresses	Duration	Addresses	Duration	Addresses	Duration	Addresses	Duration
SDSM and others	52	0:33:11	54	0:33:14	118	2:09:16	116	3:19:25	28	0:12:31	47	0:52:17
VMRO-DPMNE and others	48	0:29:19	43	0:24:35	37	0:19:48	41	0:27:15	131	3:42:28	38	0:43:20
DPA	18	0:08:16	60	0:38:04	11	0:05:52	22	0:11:02	18	0:08:43	20	0:17:17
DUI	24	0:12:09	75	0:55:00	14	0:07:47	25	0:14:19	19	0:09:26	25	0:28:45
NDP	1	0:00:27	12	0:08:39							1	0:01:07
PDP	1	0:00:36					2	0:00:56				
VMRO-NP	11	0:08:23	8	0:07:01	2	0:01:11			2	0:00:54	15	0:14:07
GROM Coalition	19	0:09:44			8	0:04:09	15	0:13:30	14	0:07:11	10	0:10:26
KPM	10	0:07:16			3	0:01:39			17	0:08:01	8	0:10:03

Dignity	10	0:04:59									7	0:06:47
PEP 21	1	0:00:13										
SDPM	2	0:00:14										

The AAAMU Report, when it comes to monitoring of TV Sitel, shows that this TV did not report in balanced manner but dedicated significantly more time to the VMRO-DPMNE campaign in comparison to SDSM. As an example, the total media coverage of the ruling party events was 5 hours and 36 minutes and the coverage of the opposition SDSM was only 32 minutes. According to AAAMU this is due to the manner in which Sitel was reporting about the VMRO-DPMNE campaign – in addition to live reports from the rallies the political points of this Coalition were also presented through discussions and interviews with the leaders of VMRO-DPMNE or with Mayors from this party, followed by back-to-back statements of the candidates for the Parliament and reports from press conferences. The television analyzed and compared the election programs of VMRO-DPMNE and SDSM and on the assumptions on what would be the social consequences if the opposition leader decides to boycott the election process. AAAMU concludes that the attitude of the information desk of TV Sitel during the entire election process was in favor of the program concept of the ruling party and explicitly against the election campaign of the opposition coalition.

According to the AAAMU Report, TV Telma had balanced approach in the campaign, with several minutes more in favor of SDSM when comparing the media time allocated to the election campaigns of the ruling party and the opposition. This television dedicated significant time on the work of the State Election Commission, on the standpoints of the local and foreign observers and on the alleged corruption affair regarding the sale of Makedonska Banka. This topic was covered by TV Telma through basic information from the opposing press conferences between SDSM and VMRO-DPMNE. It is assessed that this television in general dedicated attention to comparatively present the different political options offered by the runners in the election campaign.

RESULTS FROM THE EARLY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2014⁹³

The early parliamentary elections took place on 27 April 2014 in parallel with the second round of the presidential elections. The voting right was exercised by 1,120,640 voters, from the total of 1,780,128 voters registered in the Voters List. The turnout was 62,95% which is almost the same in comparison to the last early parliamentary elections that took place on 5 June 2011 when the turnout was 63,48%. However, a total of 1.156.049 voters voted in the elections in 2011 which is by 35.409 people more but the Voters List was also more extensive – there were 1.821.122 people eligible to vote. In the time period before the local elections in 2013 the Voters List was cleansed from deceased persons and persons who emigrated so the number of voters nationwide was reduced by more than 80 thousand people. Second cleansing of the Voters list followed before the presidential and parliamentary elections in 2014 and such updated list was made publically available for insight to the citizens and political parties but the State Election Commission did not publish the results of this process.⁹⁴

A total of 14 political entities submitted candidate lists for seats in the Parliament. From this number, 5 were coalitions and 9 were political parties that run independently. Candidate lists were submitted by “the Coalition of SDSM and other parties” lead by SDSM; DPA; the “For Dignified Macedonia” coalition made of Dostoinstvo and Obedineti za Makedonija (OM) political parties; DUI; the “For Better Macedonia” coalition lead by VMRO-DPMNE, NDP, NDM; the “GROM Coalition” lead by the GROM party; the “Coalition for Positive Macedonia” lead by the Alliance for Positive Macedonia (APM), VMRO-NP, SDPM, PEP 21, PDP and PEI.

⁹³ All the information and statistics regarding the early parliamentary election results were obtained from the website of the State Election Committee: <http://rezultati.sec.mk/Parliamentary/Results?cs=mk-MK&r=2&rd=r#> (last accessed on 6 May 2014)

⁹⁴ Presidential and early parliamentary elections 2014, preliminary statement. Civic Association Most, 28 April 2014, Skopje. Available at: http://www.most.org.mk/images/MOST/Preliminarna%20izjava_vtor%20krug_28%2004%202014_MKD.pdf (last accessed on 13 May 2014)

According to the final and official data from the State Election Commission most of the votes at the early parliamentary elections that took place on 27 April 2014 were won by the “For Better Macedonia” coalition lead by the ruling political party VMRO-DPMNE – 481,615 votes which is 42,97% of the total number of votes thus the coalition won 61 seats in the Parliament. Second is the coalition lead by the party in opposition SDSM who won around 200,000 votes less – 283,955 votes which is 25,34% of the total number of votes and this coalition won 34 seats in the Parliament. Third is DUI which was member of the ruling coalition who was trusted by 153,646 voters which is 13,71% of the total number of votes and they won 19 seats in the Parliament. The main rival of DUI in the Albanian political campus in Macedonia, DPA, won 66,393 votes which is 5,92% of the total number of votes. In the new Parliament DPA will have 7 seats. Fifth is GROM with 31,610 votes which is 2,82% of the total number of votes and this party won 1 seat in the Parliament. Sixth is NDP party who won 17,783 votes which is 1,59% of the total number of votes which translates into 1 seat in the Parliament. When it comes to other coalitions and political parties, only VMRO-NP managed to win more than 1% of the total votes but failed to win seats in the Parliament. A total of 16,772 voters voted for VMRO-NP which is 1,50%; 10.566 voters (0,94%) voted for the “Coalition for Positive Macedonia”; 9.265 voters (0,83%) voted for the “Dignity for Macedonia”; 4,700 voters (0,42%) voted for SDPM; 3,194 voters (0,28%) voted for PEI; 1,925 voters (0,17%) voted for NDM; 1,281 voters (0,11%) voted for PEP 21 and 385 voters (0,03%) voted for PDP. Results achieved by the political parties per election unit:

Election Unit	Voters registered in the Voters List	Political party	Total votes	Total votes %	Seats won
EU1	297,686	VMRO-DPMNE and others	73,554	37.88%	8
		SDSM and others	58,091	29.92%	7
		DUI	26,657	13.73%	3
		DPA	11,631	0.64%	1
		GROM	8,725	4.49%	1
Turnout			194,164	65.22%	

EU2	306,067	VMRO-DPMNE and others	74,649	40.53%	10
		SDSM and others	40,603	22.05%	5
		DUI	32,061	17.41%	4
		DPA	13,764	7.47%	1
Turnout			184,176	60.18%	
EU3	280,890	VMRO-DPMNE and others	112,176	56.41%	13
		SDSM and others	57,088	28.71%	7
Turnout			198,863	70.80%	
EU4	280,810	VMRO-DPMNE and others	109,809	53.46%	12
		SDSM and others	70,004	34.08%	8
Turnout			205,398	73.14%	
EU5	286,435	VMRO-DPMNE and others	78,953	45.01%	11
		SDSM and others	43,370	25.87%	6
		DUI	23,876	13.61%	3
Turnout			175,402	61.24%	
EU6	304,458	DUI	62,848	41.54%	9
		DPA	34,600	22.87%	5
		VMRO-DPMNE and others	25,911	17.13%	4
		SDSM and others	12,142	8.03%	1
		NDP	9,745	6.44%	1
Turnout			151,300	49.69%	
EU7	18,911	VMRO-DPMNE and others	4,512	52.38%	1
Turnout			8,614	45.55%	
EU8	3,337	VMRO-DPMNE and others	1,170	63.41%	1
Turnout			1,845	65.29%	
EU9	1,534	VMRO-DPMNE and others	881	89.71%	1
Turnout			982	64.02%	

VOTERS` RIGHTS PROTECTION

The Electoral Code⁹⁵ guarantees the protection of the voting rights for the candidates on the lists and for the voters. If the authorized representatives of the candidates on the lists have some objections regarding the work of

⁹⁵ Electoral Code (clean text), Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia No. 32 from 12 February 2014. Available at <http://www.sec.mk/files/IzborenzakonikzaWEB1.pdf> (last accessed on 4 May 2014)

the election boards during the voting process they are entitled to point out those deficiencies so they can be remedied.

These objections have to be entered in the minutes and on the basis of that the candidates will initiate procedure for protection of the voting right. If these objections are not included in the minutes, the representatives of the candidates must submit them to the Municipal Election Commission (OIK) within 5 hours from signing of the minutes. On the other side, the accredited observers must not influence the work of the election bodies, however if they have comments they need to be registered in the log of the constituency. The candidates and the voters are entitled to submit objections and appeals if they deem their right has been violated. The objections by the candidates can be about the actual voting procedure, counting and ascertainment of the results, while the voters can submit objection if their voting right has been violated during the voting process. The procedure that leads towards protection of the voting right is considered urgent so the submission of objection and appeal cannot be done using post.

The objections submitted by the candidates (those who submit the lists) to DIK must be submitted within 48 hours after the voting ends i.e. announcement of the initial results and DIK is obliged to decide within 48 hours after receiving the objection. DIK will inform the candidate about the decision with regards to the objection via email and the decision is considered served within five hours after the email was sent. The one who objects and who had his objection overturned by DIK is entitled to file a complaint to the Administrative Court (US) within 48 hours from receiving the decision of DIK. The Court must decide within 48 hours after receiving the complaint. The Administrative Court can again confirm or replace the decision of DIK. The Court's decisions are effective immediately i.e. no appeal or other legal remedy is possible against the decision of the Court.

In a case of violation of the voting right of the voter, he/ she can submit objection to DIK within 24 hours and DIK is obliged to make decision within

4 hours from the reception of the same. The decision made by DIK can be appealed – within 24 hours after receiving the decision the voter will file a complaint to the Administrative Court. If the deadlines are running and are met during the voting process, and the decision made is in favor of the voter, he/ she will be allowed to exercise his/ her voting right.

The State Election Commission received a total of 12 objections within the legally prescribed timeframe from the political parties requesting cancellation of the voting and repetition of the elections in 72 constituencies (IM) due to alleged violation of the voting secrecy and family voting. The objections were submitted by three political parties: DUI, DPA and GROM. In this regard, DUI submitted two objections for the voting in 25 constituencies abroad i.e. in the election unit 7 that includes Europe and Africa. DPA submitted six objections regarding the voting process in 43 constituencies on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia. The GROM party submitted 4 objections regarding the voting in 4 constituencies in Macedonia. After reviewing the objections DIK decided for all of them to reject them as ill-founded.⁹⁶ Following the decisions made by DIK, the GROM and DPA parties each filed four complaints to the Administrative Court. The Court decided to reject them as ill-founded,⁹⁷ since no proof was provided that will corroborate the alleged irregularities, or the objections were submitted after the deadline. The biggest opposition party SDSM which, immediately after the end of the voting, came out with assessment that the elections are not regular, did not submit a single objection to DIK. The explanation provided by SDSM⁹⁸ for non-submission of objections was that they do not recognize the election

⁹⁶ Objections for the early parliamentary elections 2014, State Election Commission of the Republic of Macedonia. Available at http://www.sec.mk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=342:%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B8%D0%B3%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%B8-%D0%B7%D0%B0-%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B5%D0%B4%D0%B2%D1%80%D0%B5%D0%BC%D0%B5%D0%BD%D0%B8-%D0%BF%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%BC%D0%B5%D0%BD%D1%82%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%BD%D0%B8-%D0%B8%D0%B7%D0%B1%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%B8-2014&catid=48&Itemid=1305&lang=mk (last accessed on 15 May 2014)

⁹⁷ Decisions of the Administrative Court Skopje. Administrative Court Skopje, 2 May 2014. Available at <http://www.uskopje.mk/Odluki.aspx?odluka=17135> (last accessed on 6 May 2014)

⁹⁸ The Central Board of SDSM unanimously accepted the decision not to accept the mandates of its elected MPs. SDSM, press release, 1 May 2014. Available at <http://sds.org.mk/default.aspx?mId=55&agId=5&articleId=10588> (last accessed on 15 May 2014)

process in its entirety and during the campaign and after the first round of the presidential elections they submitted 170 objections but these, in their words, were either ignored or rejected by the relevant institutions.

ELECTIONS ASSESSMENT BY THE OBSERVERS

A total of 10,013 local and 610 foreign observers were accredited to monitor the early parliamentary elections that took place in parallel with the second round of the presidential elections.⁹⁹ The Association for Humanitarian Activities 'Sinergija' was the organization with the largest number of observers – 5,090. The Citizen Association MOST had the second largest number of observers – 2,413 and the number was also significant for the Civil Association for Democratization and Raising of the Public Awareness "The VEPRO Movement" from Struga with 2,321 observers. The CIVIL Organization – Center for Freedom had 113 observers, the PLOSHTAD SLOBODA Association had 33, the Institute for Economic Strategies and International Relations Ohrid – 28, the Citizen Association Center for Media Development from Skopje had 9 observers and the Macedonian Center for Culture and Development 6 observers.

When it comes to foreign observers, the largest was the mission of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe/ Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE/ODIHR) with 252 observers. The OSCE Mission also had additional 103 observers. The United States Embassy had 37, the Danish Organization SILBA and the Association for Progress, Education and Lobbying NEL had 31, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe had 27, the Central Election Commission of the Republic of Kosovo had 17, the Italian Embassy 12, the Turkish Embassy 11, the French Embassy 8, the Central Election Commission of the Republic of Albania 8, the Commission for Election-related Appeals and Objections (ESAR) of the Republic of Kosovo 6, the Slovak Embassy 3, the German Embassy 3, the Austrian Embassy 3, the Spanish Embassy 3, the Albanian

⁹⁹ Refer to State Election Commission, Early parliamentary elections 2014, Accredited observers. Available at http://217.16.84.23/files/izbori2014/21Tabela_na_akreditirani_nabljuduvaci.pdf (last accessed on 30 April 2014)

Embassy 3 and the NATO Office 3. The Embassy of the People's Republic of China had 2 observers, the Russian Federation Embassy had 2 and the Central Election Commission of Georgia also had 2 observers.

The election process was also monitored by 42 accredited foreign journalists.¹⁰⁰ The largest was the Al Jazeera Balkans Team with 18 journalists, the Serbian Radio Television with 4 journalists, the Agency and Radio Station Fokus with 3, the German ARD radio with 3 as well as 2 journalists from each of the following: Turkish Radio Television Turk, TV Reuters – Serbia, Top Channel – Tirana, the Turkish Radio Television, the France Press Agency, the Associated Press and the Koha Vizion Prishtina Television.

The OSCE/ODIHR¹⁰¹ mission in its preliminary observation Report concluded that the early parliamentary elections that took place on 27 April were efficiently implemented, including the day of the elections. It was implemented in smooth and professional manner with some technical irregularities noticed on the day of voting, and the election boards (IO) demonstrated good knowledge of the voting procedures. Positive assessment also goes to the summarizing of the election results during the night on the State Election Commission (DIK) website which is seen as positive measure towards further improvement of the transparency. The observer mission of OSCE/ODIHR organized a press conference after the second round of the presidential elections and the early parliamentary elections pointing out that the boycott announced by the opposition immediately after the elections is not a democratic instrument and the political parties should take the best advantage of the political means.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Refer to State Election Commission, Early parliamentary elections 2014, Accredited foreign media. Available at http://www.sec.mk/files/izbori2014/21Tabela_na_akreditirani_nabljuduvaci.pdf (last accessed on 13 May 2014)

¹⁰¹ OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. Republic of Macedonia, Presidential and Early Parliamentary Elections, 27 April 2014, Statement on the Initial Findings and Conclusions. Skopje, 28 April 2014. Available at <http://www.osce.org/mk/odihr/elections/fyrom/118079?download=true> (last accessed on 13 May 2014)

¹⁰² Radio Free Europe, OSCE – Efficiently implemented elections by the problems remain, Wednesday 30 April 2014 <http://www.makdenes.org/content/article/25365682.html> (last accessed on 28 April 2014)

The preliminary Report also refers to a series of deficiencies in the election process. For example, public resources were used in the campaign of the ruling party through inappropriate distinction between the party and the state activities, which is contrary to Paragraph 5.4 of the Copenhagen Document of OSCE from 1990 and the Council of Europe standards. In this context the mission referred to the Minister of Interior who was also candidate on the election list in the election unit 2. According to the Electoral Code, the Minister had to put her Ministerial position on hold if he/she is candidate on the elections but she did not do that and continued to work as a Minister. Same as for the previous parliamentary elections the mission identified disproportion in the allocation of voters in the election units (IE) 7, 8 and 9 abroad and the difference between the election units within Macedonia and abroad which does not ensure proper equality of the vote. The OSCE/ODIHR mission received credible information for pressure being put on the voters, especially on the employees in the public administration. The information on pressures were mainly about pressures to attend election campaign rallies, pressure not to participate on events organized by the opposition, promises or threats against the job in the state administration. Information was also received on threats to potentially withhold the social protection benefits and bribing for voting among the economically disadvantaged groups.

OSCE/ODIHR expressed concern with regards to the accuracy of the voters list, especially towards the large number of voters living on the same address. The mission ascertained that the legal provisions enabling the political parties to dispute the data on the voters in the voters lists are unclear and they insufficiently clearly identify which agency is responsible to do investigation, which undermined the efficient implementation.

The Citizens Association Most¹⁰³ provided preliminary assessment that the voting that took place on 27 April was organized efficiently and without incidents. The observers concluded there was an increased intensity of

¹⁰³ Citizens Association MOST, Presidential and early parliamentary elections 2014, Preliminary statement 28.04.2014, Skopje http://most.org.mk/images/MOST/Preliminary%20izjava_vtor%20krug_28%2004%202014_MKD.pdf Accessed on 3 May 2014

voters mobilization on the day of voting which in some cases grew into pressure, and some constituencies had lobbying and registration (off-the-record) of the voters. According to Most, in comparison to the first round of the presidential elections two weeks before, there was a significant increase of cases of group and family voting.

The actual voting day was evaluated by OSCE/ODIHR as positive and organized in a good, smooth and professional manner, in 96% of the total observation. The most common irregularity was the group voting. It was noticed that the election boards did not adhere to the instructions provided by the State Election Commission – to inform the voters they can vote on one or on both elections. In the Albanian majority areas the members of the election boards were urging the voters not to take the ballot for the presidential elections. Regarding the day before the voting (intended for the sick and decrepit people and the prisoners, who voted on 26 April), the mission ascertained that in general it was transparent but the secrecy of voting was not ensured in 16 cases, out of 95. OSCE/ODIHR also noted cases when some prisoners, although having valid ID documents, were not in the voters list so they were unable to vote. Positive assessment goes to the actual counting of the votes where procedural irregularities were identified only in 17 cases.

The assessment of OSCE/ODIHR was that during the campaigns for the early parliamentary elections the candidates were free to smoothly implement their campaigns and the freedom of association and gathering was respected. On the press conference organized by the mission after the voting for the parliamentary elections and the second round of the presidential elections it was emphasized that the problems of the pre-election period casted a shadow on the actual elections day. The key remarks refer to separation of the state from the party, the media neutrality, the accuracy of the voters list and the opportunity for effective procedures when it comes to appeals.

It was noticed that, except for the two largest political parties VMRO-DPMNE and SDSM that organized joint rallies for their presidential candidates and

candidates for the Parliament, in general all parties and coalitions focused on smaller-scale events and meetings and door-to-door campaigns as key tactics in communicating with the voters. No disturbances were identified on the rallies that were observed and the attendance level was good.

OSCE/ODIHR point out that the language used on the DPA party rallies featured bitter elements aimed towards DUI, especially against the leader of DUI Ali Ahmeti. During the campaigns the accusations for corruption among the parties in the frames of the ethnic blocks reduced the level of the discussions and refocused the attention from the specific issues and the party platforms. It was also noticed that both parties of the ruling coalition, VMRO-DPMNE and DUI, appealed to their ethnic communities to provide them with the necessary mandate so they can have stronger positions and avoid making concessions in the future negotiations for the new Government.

The Most Association assesses that in the period from the beginning of the campaign for the parliamentary elections and during the second round of the presidential elections, the campaign rhetoric became harsher and the activities intensified – there were some minor incidents in a number of municipalities, mainly demolition of party election headquarters in those municipalities. In the same time period there were alleged pressures on the employees in the public administration and there was an increased intensity of negative campaign among the political parties. The observers of MOST also identified the use of official vehicles in the campaigns and presence of minors on most of the rallies organized by all political parties. There were also calls for mobilization of the voters along ethnic lines – for example the call by the VMRO-DPMNE party leader for winning of absolute majority in the Parliament and the call by the leader of DUI part for winning 25 seats in the Parliament – which are considered contrary to the efforts of building a sustainable multiethnic and multicultural society.

The OSCE/ODIHR assessed the work of the State Election Commission (DIK) as efficient and open but in several cases there were sessions

held by DIK where the media and observers were not invited to attend. The main remark was about the clear division among the DIK members delegated by the different political parties and voting along the party line for all the issues that had political merit. This was identified by Most and Most further identified that in this election cycle DIK was less transparent in comparison to the previous one. The OSCE/ODIHR Report criticizes the weak communication between DIK and the municipal election commission during both election rounds which caused some confusion regarding the procedures. MOST paid special attention on the fact that DIK did not publish the information about public insight into the voters list for the two election cycles.

The monitoring of the media by OSCE/ODIHR showed there is a difference between the quantitative and qualitative informing by the media about the runners in the elections, lack of analysis, lack of independent informing. The mission assessed that the television channel of the public broadcasting service Macedonian Radio Television 1 (MRT) reported about the activities of the ruling VMRO-DPMNE and their candidate in a more positive manner. The private TV stations Sitel, Kanal 5 and Alfa mainly had negative tone towards SDSM and their candidate and the channel of the public service MRT2 (broadcasting in Albanian language) had more positive and neutral reporting towards DUI. The Report also notices that the private televisions Sitel, Kanal 5 and Alfa were more positive or neutral when reporting about VMRO-DPMNE and negative when reporting about SDSM. They also provided significant media coverage of the activities of the Ministers-candidates in the election race. The Telma, 24 Vesti and Alsat-M televisions were assessed to report in a more balanced manner, neutrally and with similar attitude towards the main candidates. The reporting tone of 24 Vesti television was assessed as neutral and the reporting by TV Telma was critical when reporting about the Government and the ruling VMRO-DPMNE. The tone of the media reporting by TV Alsat was mainly neutral and DUI received more positive media coverage in comparison to other parties.

The European Union Delegation and the United States Embassy in the Republic of Macedonia came out with joint statement¹⁰⁴ evaluating and commenting the elections. They commended the citizens that exercised their right to vote on the presidential and parliamentary elections on 27 April, shared the assessment of OSCE/ODIHR regarding the efficient implementation of the elections, the media partiality, the non-distinction between state and party activities. The EU and United States representatives expressed expectations that the future government will address these comments and expects from all political leaders in the country to have constructive approach when it comes to the reforms for Euroatlantic integration of the country.

ELECTIONS ASSESSMENT BY THE POLITICAL PARTIES

On 27 April 2014 the political parties that participated in the early parliamentary elections came out with different assessments of the election process. The largest political parties, VMRO-DPMNE (leading the coalition "For Better Macedonia) and SDSM (leading the opposition coalition) that won most of the votes and mandates in the new Parliament, came out with opposing assessments of the election process. Only few minutes after the closure of the polls at 19:00 hours on 27 April, VMRO-DPMNE held press conference where the candidate for member in the Parliament and first on the voting list in its respective election unit, Antonio Miloshoski, qualified the election process as peaceful, fair and democratic. In his words "the citizens showed they have democratic awareness and confirmed they know how to decide when it comes to their and national interest". He also pointed out the fact that the election process and the voting had no single incident of serious nature or problems that could influence the election result which translates into large victory and win-win situation for everyone. His remarks about the elections are that these were the most peaceful elections in the history of independent Republic of Macedonia. Miloshoski accused SDSM and the

¹⁰⁴ Joint statement of the European Union Delegation and the United States Mission. Embassy of the United States of America, 29 April 2014. Available at <http://macedonia.usembassy.gov/news-events2/press-releases2014/pr04292014.html> (last accessed on 13 May 2014)

opposition leader Zoran Zaev for staging election irregularities scenario which was 'read out' by the citizens.¹⁰⁵ He said that SDSM tried to stage an environment of illegitimacy of the election process through violation of the election silence by some media close to the opposition party which aired unconfirmed information about alleged non-democratic behavior of the participants in the election process, without any legitimate and valid proofs whatsoever, with speculations and manipulations. Miloshoski further accused the opposition party for making pressure on the people working in the administration in the municipalities controlled by this party. The leader of VMRO-DPMNE, Nikola Gruevski¹⁰⁶ that same night when the unofficial voting results were published, said that VMRO-DPMNE won significant and powerful double victory on the elections, citing the fact that the citizens trusted his party in a total of nine elections. He also said that the concept of hard work won, including sincere and honest approach to the citizens and delivery of specific promises.

Simultaneously with the first press conference of VMRO-DPMNE and few minutes after the voting ended, the leader of SDSM Zoran Zaev,¹⁰⁷ also organized press conference saying, even before the votes were counted, that his party will not recognize the elections due to the election fraud perpetrated by the government which, in his words, violated all the articles of the Election Code. Zaev accused the government for abuse of the state system in favor of the party system of ruling party, usurpation of the citizens right to freely express their will, bribing of the voters, pressure on the public administration employees, social assistance beneficiaries and the companies, voting by so called "phantom voters", lobbying by religious leaders, abuse of the public broadcasting service and misinforming of the public by the pro-governmental private media. Regarding the actual election process Zaev accused of duplicate/ double

¹⁰⁵ VMRO-DPMNE: A victory for the citizens, we had peaceful and fair elections. Dnevnik daily, 27 April 2014, available at: <http://www.dnevnik.mk/default.asp?ItemID=FCA9C798EE508648B7BAE3B60B977D83> (accessed on 5 May 2014).

¹⁰⁶ Gruevski: This is significant, powerful victory and un-doubtful trust. Deutsche Welle, Macedonian language program, 27 April 2014. Available at: <http://goo.gl/TBFzII> (last accessed on 5 May 2014)

¹⁰⁷ Zaev: We do not recognize the election process, technical government for fair elections. SDSM, 27 April 2014, Available at <http://sds.org.mk/default.aspx?articleId=10576&mid=55&agId=6> . (last accessed on 5 May 2014)

ballots, photographing of the ballots, erasing of the visible ink, group voting and other irregularities. The leader of SDSM said that the presidential and parliamentary elections will not be recognized by SDSM and the united opposition and requested the establishment of technical government that will implement the election process. Due to this standpoint about the election process SDSM did not have consecutive press conference on which the unofficial voting results would be announced.

The night after the end of the vote and while the counting of the votes was taking place, DUI emphasized that the elections took place in peaceful, fair and democratic atmosphere. Before midnight the leader of DUI, Ali Ahmeti, organized a press conference¹⁰⁸ saying that the party achieved historic victory over its greatest rival in the Albanian political campus – DPA. He thanked the Albanian voters for the support that was provided. Ahmeti did not comment the opposition decision not to recognize the election process.

The leader of DPA, Menduh Tachi,¹⁰⁹ said on a press conference that the election process featured a number of irregularities which include threats, bribing of voters and pressures by DUI. He said that he is satisfied by the election results of DPA but he will not recognize the results in around 30 election units, blaming DUI they obtained around 57,000 votes through theft, violence and threats.

In the evening after the voting the president of NDP, Rufe Osmani,¹¹⁰ said he will not recognize the elections – a standpoint very similar to the standpoint of SDSM. He said the elections featured significant pressures and irregularities and called them "election massacre". In order to find

¹⁰⁸ Ali Ahmeti: Historical victory for DUI. Telegraf, 27 April 2014. Available at <http://www.telegraf.mk/aktuelno/makedonija/142223-ali-ahmeti-istoriska-pobeda-na-dui> (last accessed on 5 May 2014)

¹⁰⁹ Tachi: DPA has sufficient number of MPs to become part of the Government. Nova TV, 27 April 2014. Available at <http://novatv.mk/index.php?navig=8&cat=23&vest=13668> (last accessed on 5 May 2014)

¹¹⁰ Rufe Osmani: We do not accept the election results. Plusinfo, 27 April 2014. Available at <http://www.plusinfo.mk/vest/134856/Rufe-Osmani-Ne-gi-prifakjame-izbornite-rezultati> (last accessed on 13 May 2014)

a solution to that situation Osmani requested to establish a temporary government and urged the international community not to recognize the elections in Macedonia.

Stevche Jakimovski,¹¹¹ president of GROM political party that lead the GROM Coalition that same evening had a press conference stating that the parliamentary elections were fair, democratic and with dignity. He said that their members did not have a single comment or complaint about the election process, both inside and outside the constituencies. Jakimovski congratulated VMRO-DPMNE on their victory. On the other side, the Liberal Party (LP)¹¹² which participated in the elections as member of the GROM Coalition published an announcement soon after the voting ended saying they share the attitude of the opposition parties (lead by SDSM) in non-recognizing the election process and non-accepting the results of the vote. The party explained that the overall environment to have proper elections does not depend only on the actual day of voting but also on the overall climate in the pre-election period, use of the state institutions and bodies and on the freedom to express own political belief. LP said the state has entered into a new political situation and solution is possible when the alleged corruption deals the information of which was launched in the public between the two election rounds will be clarified.

The smaller political parties that participated in the elections and did not win seats in the Parliament stated various reasons for their failure: election irregularities, the negative campaign of the large parties and the actual election model that goes in favor of the larger parties.

One day after the elections (on 28 April) the VMRO-NP¹¹³ political party of the former Prime Minister Ljupcho Georgievski published an announcement

¹¹¹ Jakimovski, GROM: The elections were fair, congratulations to VMRO-DPMNE. Vest daily, 27 April 2014. Available at <http://www.vest.mk/default.asp?ItemID=8C2E9E7FEDD EFA469210015F49E35751> (last accessed on 5 May 2014)

¹¹² Extraordinary session of the Executive Committee: LP expresses its solidarity with SDSM in non-accepting the election results. LP, 27 April 2014. Available at <http://www.lp.org.mk/?p=3540> (last accessed on 7 May 2014)

¹¹³ The elections were totally unfair and non-democratic, taking place in "Latin American" environment. VMRO-NP, announcement, 28 April 2014. Available at <http://vmro-np.org.mk/?p=3555> (last accessed on 6 May 2014)

saying the elections were totally unfair and undemocratic, taking place in "Latin American environment of unfair political struggle". The party accused the ruling party of promoting a system of pressure, threats, blackmail and bribery thus preventing the people to freely express their will on the elections. VMRO-NP, inter alia, said there is a total blockade for the opposition in the media, there are pressures and threats put against the employees in the administration including phantom voters that own several ID documents and 'imported' voters that are transported to the constituencies in organized manner.

One day following the elections, Ljupcho Zikov, president of the Alliance for Positive Macedonia political part that lead the "Coalition for Positive Macedonia"¹¹⁴ said they've become victims of their own naïve thinking in doing positive campaign. In his words "we point out the things the coalition should do for the benefit of the citizens instead of accusing and blaming the political opponents". Stojanche Angelov, leader of the "Dignified Macedonia" Coalition,¹¹⁵ said that the election system is to be blamed for their failure. "If the country were to be a single election unit we would have met the census for entry in the Parliament" said Angelov.

¹¹⁴ Zikov: KPM is victim of its own naïve approach. Libertas, 28 April 2014. Available at <http://libertas.mk/%D0%B7%D0%B8%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%B2-%D0%BA%D0%BF%D0%BC-%D0%B5-%D0%B6%D1%80%D1%82%D0%B2%D0%B0-%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D1%81%D0%B2%D0%BE%D1%98%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B0-%D0%BD%D0%B0%D0%B8%D0%B2%D0%BD%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%82/> (last accessed on 13 May 2014)

¹¹⁵ The small political parties explain their failure with election irregularities. Dnevnik, 28 April 2014. Available at <http://dnevnik.mk/?ItemID=04EA85B8335C9E49985944915BC99F06> (last accessed on 13 May 2014)

CONCLUSIONS

The seventh parliamentary elections in the Republic of Macedonia, that also were third early parliamentary elections that took place back-to-back, were held in peaceful atmosphere and without incidents. The same goes for the election campaign before the voting on 27 April – in peaceful atmosphere with minor incidents that did not influence the election process. The candidates for members of the Parliament nominated by the political parties and coalitions, the runners in the elections, were able to freely present their programs and meet the voters. Nevertheless, as the election day was approaching, the tone in the campaigns became significantly more harsh, which included negative campaign dominated by mutual accusation of the parties for alleged corruption scandals.

The political parties also focused in their campaigns on the development of the economy and reduction of the unemployment, especially among the youth, overcoming of the ethnic divisions, the name issue and the EU and NATO accession. The candidates for members of the Parliament coming from the coalition partners in the Government (VMRO-DPMNE and DUI) were calling their voters during the rallies for as much seats in the Parliament as possible in order protect from mutual pressures in the new parliamentary composition. The leader of VMRO-DPMNE appealed for 62 seats in the Parliament thus having a majority that will prevent blackmail or influence from DUI. DUI on the other hand appealed for as much seats as possible that will enable them better negotiating position in relation to VMRO-DPMNE.

The election campaign costs for all the parties were significantly smaller than the legally allowed maximum amount of 5,210,130 euros. According to the financial reports submitted by the parties the most expensive was the campaign of VMRO-DPMNE which spent a total of 1,455,755 euros. DUI spent 502,207 euros for promotion of their candidates and program, SDSM 136,619 euros, KPM 110,551 euros, VMRO-NP 58,798 euros , GROM 16,097 euros, NDP 7,286 euros, DPA 6,221 euros. When it comes

to other parties, PEP 21 and NDM altogether spent a total of 9,525 euros and PEI, DM and SDPM had not expenses whatsoever.

Same as in the previous election cycles the mass media were important stakeholder in shaping of the public opinion. The reports on the media monitoring during the election cycle showed misbalance in the media reporting which is contrary to the legal requirements. Although most of the media met the legal criteria when it comes to quantitative reporting about the candidates, there are serious flaws when it comes to the qualitative aspect of the reporting. The media under the umbrella of the public broadcasting services reported especially positively about the election campaign implemented by the ruling parties VMRO-DPMNE and DUI and in neutral manner about the rest of the participants in the election cycle. The commercial media, in general, reported positively or neutrally about the activities of the ruling VMRO-DPMNE and mainly negatively about the opposition party SDSM. Nevertheless, some media still managed to remain neutral in the reporting and presenting of the candidates – the media were extensively covering the activities of the Ministers. According to the observes, the media largely failed to differentiate between these individuals as Ministers and as candidates for the Parliament, and one of the televisions was assessed to have critical attitude when reporting about the Government and the ruling VMRO-DPMNE.

The elections turnout was 62,96% which is almost identical to the most recent parliamentary elections that took place in 2011. Most of the votes were won by the Coalition lead by VMRO-DPMNE - 42,97% of the total votes which resulted in 61 seats in the Parliament (from the total of 123 seats). This is 17% more in comparison to the second ranked party SDSM that won 25,34 % of the votes and 34 seats in the Parliament. Third was DUI with 13,71% of the votes and 19 seats in the Parliament and fourth was the DUI's rival in the Albanian political campus DPA with 5,92% of the votes and 7 seats in the Parliament. The NDP party won 1,59% of the votes and one seat in the parliament and the GROM party entered the Parliament for the first time with 2,82% of the votes. A total of 2,1%

of the ballots were invalid. Typical for these elections is the fact that VMRO-DPMNE won in all three election units abroad (three in total) so it'll have 5 seats more in the new Parliament in comparison to the previous composition of the Parliament when it had 56.

The State Election Commission (DIK) received a total of 12 objections within the foreseen deadlines by three parties (DPA, DUI and GROM), mainly about violation of the voting right. DIK reviewed the objections within the legal deadline and rejected them as ill-founded after which DPA and GROM filed complaints to the Administrative Court who again decided, within the legal deadline, that the complaints are ill-founded.

The parliamentary elections were monitored by 10,013 local and 610 foreign observers. The general evaluation of the monitoring missions is that the elections, especially the voting day, were peaceful and efficiently implemented. About the campaigns the observers said that the parties and the candidates were able to freely present themselves and the freedoms of gathering and association were respected. Nevertheless, the observers also noticed some gaps in the election process such as the lack of clear distinction between the party and the state. The observers noted they received a certain number of reliable claims of pressure on the voters. The OSCE/ODIHR mission again expressed its concern about the accuracy of the voters list and the unbalanced allocation of the voters in the election units abroad where the candidates for the parliamentary seats can win the seat with much less voters in comparison to the election units in Macedonia.

The work of the State Election Commission (DIK) was evaluated by the observers as efficient and open, with some remarks about the transparency. The observers noticed political division among the members of DIK when decisions were made i.e. they were voting along their party lines. The OSCE/ODIHR Report also noted the weak communication between DIK and the Municipal Election Commissions in both rounds which resulted in confusions with regards to the procedures.

The EU Delegation and the United States Embassy in the Republic of Macedonia issued a joint statement on assessment and comments of the elections. The statement commends the citizens who expressed their voting right and repeated the assessment of OSCE/ODIHR about the efficiency of the elections, partiality of the media and the non-distinction between the state and party activities. According to them these were the biggest deficiencies of the election process.

The political parties expressed different views about the implementation of the election process. The ruling VMRO-DPMNE, DUI and GROM evaluated the elections as peaceful, fair and democratic. The opposition party SDSM accused of "systematic stealing of votes" and said they do not recognize the election process in its entirety and called for establishment of technical government that will organize new elections. DPA said the election process had a series of irregularities including threats, bribing of votes and pressures but they recognized the results and accepted the parliamentary mandates. NDP said the elections featured significant pressures and irregularities and they will not recognize the election results.

The first constitutional session of the eight composition of the Parliament took place on 10 May. Absent were the MPs from the coalition lead by the opposition party SDSM and the MP from NDP. SDSM decided initially not to accept the mandates they won at the elections since they do not recognize the election process. The party said that all their candidates from the voting lists signed statements in which they reject the mandate. SDSM organized the party congress on 11 May at which vote of confidence was casted for the current president Zoran Zaev and the non-recognition of the elections and the boycott of the Parliament were confirmed. This means that additional elections would have to be organized in order to man the vacant seats in the Parliament. With these events the country is entering a potential political crisis due to the non-participation of the political entities in the institutions of the political system. The international observers from OSCE/ODIHR and the Delegation of the Parliamentary Assembly of OSCE

and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe¹¹⁶ immediately after the elections expressed their regret but also a criticism of the decision of the opposition, lead by SDSM, not to recognize the election results. They warned that the boycott is a bad solution for the democracy and appealed for political maturity in the decision making in the upcoming period. They called on the parties to work on the joint interests. The spokesperson of the European Commission also appealed for resolution of the solution,¹¹⁷ and emphasized they prefer engagement, not withdrawal.

¹¹⁶ OSCE: The elections were efficient, the campaign was below the standards. Deutsche Welle, Macedonian language program, 28 April 2014. Available at http://www.dw.de/%D0%BE%D0%B1%D1%81%D0%B5-%D0%B8%D0%B7%D0%B1%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%B8%D1%82%D0%B5-%D0%B5%D1%84%D0%B8%D0%BA%D0%B0%D1%81%D0%BD%D0%B8-%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%BC%D0%BF%D0%B0%D1%9A%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B0-%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%B4-%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B4%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%B4%D0%B8%D1%82%D0%B5/a-17598540?maca=maz-rss-maz-pol_makedonija_timemk-4727-xml-mrss (last accessed on 15 May 2014)

¹¹⁷ Interview with Peter Stano: Dialogue is required between the government and the opposition in order to exit the crisis! Faktor, 7 May 2014. Available at <http://faktor.mk/archives/104446#> (last accessed on 15 May 2014)



REFERENCES

REFERENCES

The graphic illustration of the electoral units in Macedonia and abroad, has been downloaded from the web page of the State Election Commission of the Republic of Macedonia (SEC). Available at:

<http://217.16.84.11/Default.aspx>

(last visited: April 2, 2014)

Rules of Procedure of the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia (revised text) , Official Gazette No. 54 from April 15 2013. Available at:

[http://www.sobranie.mk/delovnik-na-sobranieto-na-republika-](http://www.sobranie.mk/delovnik-na-sobranieto-na-republika-makedonija-precisten-tekst.nspk)

[makedonija-precisten-tekst.nspk](http://www.sobranie.mk/delovnik-na-sobranieto-na-republika-makedonija-precisten-tekst.nspk)

(last visited: April 3, 2014)

State election Commission, Parliamentary Elections October 16 and 30, 1994. Report on the implementation of the elections of MPs in the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia in 1994. Skopje, November 8, 1994, Available at:

[http://www.sec.mk/arhiva/1994_parlamentarni/izvestaj_](http://www.sec.mk/arhiva/1994_parlamentarni/izvestaj_parlamentarni_1994.pdf)
[parlamentarni_1994.pdf](http://www.sec.mk/arhiva/1994_parlamentarni/izvestaj_parlamentarni_1994.pdf)

(last visited: March 22, 2014)

State Election Commission, early parliamentary elections on June 1, 2008. Report on the final results, use of D>Hondt method. Available at:

[http://www.sec.mk/arhiva/2008_predvremeniparlamentarni/](http://www.sec.mk/arhiva/2008_predvremeniparlamentarni/index/2008-07-17-10-15-07.htm)
[index/2008-07-17-10-15-07.htm](http://www.sec.mk/arhiva/2008_predvremeniparlamentarni/index/2008-07-17-10-15-07.htm)

(last visited: March 20, 2014)

Dr. Cane Mojanovski, „Chronicle Annals of Macedonian democracy”, page 43. Skopje, 2000. Available at:

[http://www.fb.uklo.edu.mk/knigi/Cane%20T.%20Mojanoski%20](http://www.fb.uklo.edu.mk/knigi/Cane%20T.%20Mojanoski%20Letopis%20na%20makedonskata%20demokratija.pdf)
[Letopis%20na%20makedonskata%20demokratija.pdf](http://www.fb.uklo.edu.mk/knigi/Cane%20T.%20Mojanoski%20Letopis%20na%20makedonskata%20demokratija.pdf)

(last visited: March 24, 2014)

Dr. Cane Mojanovski , „Chronicle Annals of Macedonian democracy“, page 67. Skopje, 2000. Data on the Turnout of Voters in both election cycles of the parliamentary elections in 1998. Available at:
<http://www.fb.uklo.edu.mk/knigi/Cane%20T.%20Mojanoski%20Letopis%20na%20makedonskata%20demokratija.pdf>.
(last visited: March 26, 2014).
There are no available data on the voters turnout in 1998 in the archives on the State Election Commission web page.

Law on Changes and Amendments to the Electoral Code, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia 14/2014. Available at:
<http://www.pravo.org.mk/document-Detail.php?id=665>
(last visited: February 15, 2014).

For additional data on the last changes on the electoral legislation see: The Republic of Macedonia's 2014 Presidential Elections Handbook, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis"– Skopje, pgs. 15 - 23. Available at:
http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_37241-1522-2-30.pdf?140327134356
(last visited: March 31, 2014).

Law on Election of Members of Parliament in the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia No. 24 from May 28, 1998. Available at:
<http://www.slvesnik.com.mk/Issues/EF6EE403BB7A4C52B969183A4F04CA8A.pdf>
(last visited: March 26, 2014)
http://www.sec.mk/arhiva/1998_parlamentarni/html/zakon_za_izbor_na_pratenici_vo_sobranieto_na_rm.htm#6.

Law on Election of Members of Parliament in the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, Article 96, Determination of the Results from the Voting in the Electoral Units for the 2002 Parliamentary Elections. Available at:
http://www.sec.mk/arhiva/2002_parlamentarni/zakonski%20regulativi/

[zakonski%20regulativi.html](#)
(last visited: March 26, 2014)

Law on Determining a Criterion for Limiting the Exercise of Public Office, Access to Documents and Publishing , the Co-operation with the Bodies of the State Security, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, No.86 from July 9, 2012. Available at:
http://www.kvf.org.mk/docs/Zakon_09072012.pdf
(last visited: March 27, 2014)

Law on the Electoral Units for the Election of Members of Parliament in the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia No. 43 from June 26, 2002. Available at:
<http://www.slvesnik.com.mk/Issues/D8BCA0533D35554CA3F003112BB47F1B.pdf>
(last visited: April 2, 2014)

Law on Audio and Audiovisual media services, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia No. 184 from December 26, 2013. Available at:
http://www.avmu.mk/images/Zakon_za_audio_i_audiovizuelni_mediumski_uslugi_mkd_1.pdf
(last visited: March 27, 2014)

For the number of MP seats won as well as for the number of registered voters per EU on the Parliamentary Elections on June 5, 2011, the official data were used from the State Election Commission of the Republic of Macedonia, published on June 14, 2011. Available at:
<http://217.16.84.11/Default.aspx>
(last visited: April 4, 2014)

Electoral Code (revised text), Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia. No. 32 from February 12, 2014. Available at:
<http://www.sec.mk/files/IzborenzakonikzaWEB1.pdf>
(last visited: March 27, 2014)

Electoral Code (revised text), Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia No. 54 from April 14, 2011. Available at:

[http://www.sec.mk/predvremeni2011/IZBOREN_ZAKONIK_\(Precisten_tekst\).pdf](http://www.sec.mk/predvremeni2011/IZBOREN_ZAKONIK_(Precisten_tekst).pdf)

(last visited: April 2, 2014)

2013 Local Elections final results, State Election Commission, May 1, 2013. Available at:

<http://217.16.84.17/Results.aspx?RaceID=1&UnitID=1&IsPS=0&Turnout=0&LangID=1>

(last visited: April 3, 2014)

NATO after Bucharest, NATO Public Diplomacy Division,

http://www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/pdf_publications/20111017_nato_after_bucharest_mac.pdf

(last visited: March 20, 2014)

OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. Republic of Macedonia, Local Elections March 24 and April 7, 2013, Final Report, Warsaw, July 9, 2013. Available at:

<http://www.osce.org/mk/odihr/elections/103832>

(last visited: February 15, 2014).

Decision for the Election of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia No. 12 from March 22, 1991. Available at:

<http://www.slvesnik.com.mk/Issues/ACD37FD3850E45519F33B7E0F3267A30.pdf>.

(last visited: March 22, 2014)

Decision for the Election of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia No. 53 from September 7, 1992. Available at:

<http://www.slvesnik.com.mk/Issues/29E222F36D1D4E4A8C218FAEFF2413CE.pdf>

(last visited: March 22, 2014)

Ohrid Framework Agreement, Secretariat for the Implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement. Available at:

http://siofa.gov.mk/data/file/Ramkoven_dogovor_mk.pdf

(last visited: March 25, 2014)

The Republic of Macedonia's 2014 Presidential Elections Handbook, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and the Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis"- Skopje, pg. 9/10/11/12. Available at:

http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_37241-1522-2-30.pdf?140327134356

(last visited: March 28, 2014)

The Republic of Macedonia's 2014 Presidential Elections Handbook, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and the Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis"- Skopje, pg. 12. Available at:

http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_37241-1522-2-30.pdf?140327134356

(last visited: March 28, 2014).

The Republic of Macedonia's 2014 Presidential Elections Handbook, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and the Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis"- Skopje, pg. 15. Available at:

http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_37241-1522-2-30.pdf?140327134356

(last visited: March 27, 2014)

The Republic of Macedonia's 2014 Presidential Elections Handbook, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and the Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis"- Skopje, pg. 28. Available at:

http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_37241-1522-2-30.pdf?140327134356

(last visited: March 30, 2014).

The Republic of Macedonia's 2014 Presidential Elections Handbook, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and the Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis"- Skopje, pg.38. Available at:

http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_37241-1522-2-30.pdf?140327134356

(last visited: March 27, 2014)

The Republic of Macedonia's 2014 Presidential Elections Handbook, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and the Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis"– Skopje, pg.39. Available at:
http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_37241-1522-2-30.pdf?140327134356
(last visited: April 3, 2014)

Republic (State) Election Commission, Parliamentary Elections on November 11 and 25, 1990. Bulletin No. 20. Final results from the parliamentary elections for the Assembly of SR. Macedonia. Available at:
http://www.sec.mk/arhiva/1990_parlamentarni/konecni_rezultati_1990.pdf
(last visited: March 24, 2014)

Republic (State) Election Commission, Referendum on September 8, 1991. Report on the implementation and the result from the Referendum, September 20, 1991. Available at:
http://www.sec.mk/arhiva/1990_Referendum/Izvestaj_za_sproveden_referendum_1990.pdf
(last visited: March 22, 2014)

Decision to call on early parliamentary elections for the members of parliament in the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia No. 46 from March 6, 2014 Available at:
<http://www.sec.mk/index.php?limitstart=20&lang=mk>
(last visited: March 28, 2014)

Time-frame for the implementation of the election activities for the implementation of the early parliamentary elections for the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, March 6 – April 27, 2014. State Election Commission of the Republic of Macedonia, March 7, 2014. Available at:
<http://www.sec.mk/files/izbori2014/parlamentarni/rokovnik.pdf>
(last visited: March 31, 2014)

Parliament of RM, Results from the Election of Members of Parliament in the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia on the 1998 Parliamentary Elections. Available at:
<http://www.sobranie.mk/?ItemID=9402373424ED504883EE17FED5E72EB4>
(last visited: March 26, 2014)

Parliament of RM, Election Results from the 2008 Parliamentary Elections. Final aggregate results from the voting. The report has been prepared by the State Election Commission, June 25, 2006. Available at:
<http://sobranie.mk/WBStorage/Files/Rezultati-2006-5.pdf>
(last visited: March 25, 2014)

Information on the submitted candidate lists for Members of Parliament in the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, State Election Commission, March 30, 2014. Available at:
<http://www.sec.mk/index.php?lang=mk>
(last visited: March 31, 2014)

Source: International Republican Institute (IRI) Election Observation Mission in Macedonia, Parliamentary Elections on October 18 and 30, 1994. Final report from the observation mission in the second cycle of the elections Available at:
<http://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/Macedonia%201994%20Parliamentary%20Elections.pdf>
(last visited: March 24, 2014)

Source: OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Republic of Macedonia, Parliamentary Elections on October 18 and November 1, 1998, Final report. Available at:
<http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/fyrom/15887?download=true>
(last visited: March 23, 2014)

Source: OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Republic of Macedonia, Parliamentary Elections on September 15, 2002, Final report. Warsaw, November 20, 2002. Available at:
<http://www.osce.org/mk/odihr/elections/fyrom/15961?download=true>
(last visited: March 24, 2014)

Source: OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Republic of Macedonia, Parliamentary Elections on July 5, 2006, Final report, Warsaw, September 18, 2006. Available at:
<http://www.osce.org/mk/odihr/elections/fyrom/20630?download=true>
(last visited: March 23, 2014)

Source: Civic Organization MOST, Final report from the domestic observation of the early parliamentary elections June 1, 2008. Skopje, September, 2008. Political context, page 3. Available at:
<http://www.most.org.mk/images/transparency/Parliamentary%20Elections%202008/parlamentarniIzbori2008.pdf>
(last visited: March 26, 2014)

Source: Civic Organization MOST, Final report from the domestic observation of the early parliamentary elections June 5, 2011. Available at:
http://www.most.org.mk/images/transparency/elections2011/Final_report_IZBORI_2011_MKD.pdf
(last visited: March 22, 2014)

Source: OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Republic of Macedonia, Early Parliamentary Elections June 5, 2011, Final report. Warsaw, October 6, 2011, August, 2008. Available at:
<http://www.osce.org/mk/node/84061?download=true>
(last visited: March 26, 2014)

Source: OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Republic of Macedonia, Early Parliamentary Elections June 1, 2008, Final report. Warsaw, August 20, 2008. Available at:

<http://www.osce.org/mk/odihr/elections/fyrom/33153?download=true>
(last visited: March 23, 2014)

Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia, Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, November 17, 1991. Available at:
<http://sobranie.mk/ustav-na-rm.nspk>
(last visited: April 3, 2014)

Determined Order of the Candidate Lists on the Ballot on the Election of Members of Parliament for the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, per electoral units. State Election Commission of the Republic of Macedonia. Available at:
<http://www.sec.mk/files/izbori2014/parlamentarni/redosled.pdf>
(last visited: April 9, 2014)

Agency for Audio and Audio-Visual Media Services (2014) Report from the Monitoring of the Media Coverage During the Presidential and Early Parliamentary Elections. Skopje, May, available at
http://www.avmu.mk/images/Finalen_Izvestaj_Izbori_2014_-_nacionalni_mediumi.pdf
(last accessed on 13 May 2014)

United States Embassy in Skopje, Macedonia, Press Release 2014, Joint Statement of the EU Delegation and the United States Embassy, 29 April 2014: Available at
<http://macedonia.usembassy.gov/news-events2/press-releases2014/pr04292014.html>
(last accessed on 13 May 2014)

VMRO-NP, press release: The elections were utterly unfair and non-democratic, taking place in an "Latin American" environment. 28 April 2014. Available at
<http://vmro-np.org.mk/?p=3555>
(last accessed on 6 May 2014)

VMRO-DPMNE: Victory for the citizens, we had peaceful and fair elections. Dnevnik daily, 27 April 2014, available at <http://www.dnevnik.mk/default.asp?ItemID=FCA9C798EE508648B7BAE3B60B977D83> (accessed on 5 May 2014).

Extraordinary session of the Executive Committee: LP shows solidarity in the non-acceptance of the election results. LP, 27 April 2014. Available at <http://www.lp.org.mk/?p=3540> (last accessed on 7 May 2014)

Citizens Association MOST, Presidential and early parliamentary elections 2014, Preliminary statement 28.04.2014, Skopje http://most.org.mk/images/MOST/Preliminarna%20izjava_vtor%20krug_28%2004%202014_MKD.pdf Accessed on 3 May 2014.

State Election Commission of the Republic of Macedonia, website, statistics about the early parliamentary election results. Available at: <http://rezultati.sec.mk/Parliamentary/Results?cs=mk-MK&r=2&rd=r#> (last accessed on 6 May 2014)

State Election Commission of the Republic of Macedonia, Early parliamentary elections 2014, Accredited observers and foreign media. Available at http://217.16.84.23/files/izbori2014/21Tabela_na_akreditirani_nabljuduvaci.pdf (last accessed on 30 April 2014)

State Election Commission of the Republic of Macedonia, Financial reports of the political parties regarding the early parliamentary elections 2014. Available at http://www.sec.mk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=322:fin-izv-pretvremeni&catid=48&Itemid=1305&lang=mk (last accessed on 7 May 2014)

Election program, VMRO-DPMNE: Confirmed, projects that are really implemented. Available at <http://vmro-dpmne.org.mk/wp-content/uploads/documents/VMRO%20programa%202014-2018%20v2a.pdf> (last accessed on 10 May 2014)

Election program, SDSM: Changes for New Beginning – election program. Available at <http://www.sdsm.org.mk/Default.aspx?mId=47&lId=1> (last accessed on 11 May 2013)

Election program, DUI: Together We Are Better, Together We Are Stronger, Together in Europe. Available at <http://bdi.mk/docs/RaportojmeBDI2014.pdf> (last accessed on 5 May 2014)

Election program, DPA: Platform of DPA for the period 2014-2018. Available at <http://gurra-pdsh.org/images/PDF/Platforma%20e%20PDSH-se%202014-2018.pdf> (last accessed on 10 May 2014)

Election program, GROM: Election Program of GROM 2014-2018, GROM. Available at http://issuu.com/gragjanskaopcijamazakedonijagrom/docs/programa_grom_a4_8_a_priprema?e=9598897/7512073 (last accessed on 10 May 2014)

Election program, NDP: Election platform, It Is Time For NDP. Available at <http://www.rdk.org.mk/images/stories/PDF/platforma.pdf> (last accessed on 11 May 2014)

Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Macedonia, 25.04.2014 Operational Headquarters of the Ministry of Interior for the Elections, the number of incidents and disturbances of the public peace and order

<http://www.mvr.gov.mk/ShowAnnouncements.aspx?ItemID=13451&mid=1367&tabId=358&tabindex=0> Accessed on 29 April 2014.
(last accessed on 5 May 2014)

OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. Republic of Macedonia, Presidential and early Parliamentary elections, 27 April 2014, Statement on the Initial Findings and Conclusions. Skopje, 28 April 2014. Available at
<http://www.osce.org/mk/odihr/elections/fyrom/118079?download=true>
(last accessed on 13 May 2014)

Accountability Report, DUI: Accountability Report of DUI. Available at
<http://bdi.mk/docs/RaportojmeBDI2014.pdf>
(last accessed on 5 May 2014)

Accountability Report, VMRO-DPMNE: Accountability Work of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia lead by VRMO-DPMNE and the coalition partners 2011-2014. Available at
http://vmro-dpmne.org.mk/wp-content/uploads/documents/ParlOtcet-2014_online.pdf
(last accessed on 10 May 2014)

Zaev: Here's how Gruevski is stealing from Macedonia. SDSM, press conference, 17 April 2014, Skopje. Available at
<http://sds.org.mk/default.aspx?mId=55&agId=6&articleId=10484>
(last accessed on 6 May 2014)

Zaev: We do not recognize the election process, technical government is needed for fair elections. SDSM, 27 April 2014, Available at
<http://sds.org.mk/default.aspx?articleId=10576&mId=55&agId=6>.
(last accessed on 5 May 2014)

MEDIA SOURCES

Andov: The Referendum Saved us from War, Republika, September 7, 2012. Available at:
<http://republika.mk/?p=9486>
(last visited: March 24, 2014)

Buckovski and Buzlevski Flunk Out from SDSM, Telma, December 15, 2012. Available at:
<http://www.telma.com.mk/index.php?task=content&cat=1&rub=15&item=22543>
(last visited: March 31, 2014).

Vlado Buckovski New Leader of SDSM and Prime Minister, Utrinski Vesnik, November 27, 2004. Available at:
<http://star.utrinski.com.mk/?pBroj=1638&stID=26160&pR=2>
(last visited: March 31, 2014).

VMRO-DPMNE with Candidate Lists for Majority in Parliament, Kurir, March 29, 2014. Available at:
<http://www.kurir.mk/makedonija/vesti/152782-VMRO-DPMNE-so-listi-za-apsolutno-mnozinstvo-vo-Parlamentot>
(last visited: March 31, 2014)

Daliborka Damjanska, DUI with Candidates for MPs in all Electoral Units, Telma, March 29, 2014. Available at:
<http://telma.com.mk/index.php?task=content&cat=1&rub=15&item=36315>
(last visited: March 31, 2014)

DPA Left the Government, Macedonian Information Agency, March 13, 2008. Available at:
<http://www.idividi.com.mk/vesti/makedonija/427732/index.htm>
(last visited: March 22, 2014)

Dejection in Bucharest: Jilted Macedonia Walks out of NATO Summit, Spiegel. Available at:
<http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/dejection-in-bucharest-jilted-macedonia-walks-out-of-nato-summit-a-545214.html>
(last visited: March 22, 2014)

Z.A. Changes to the Electoral Code Adopted, Deutsche Welle, Program on Macedonian Language, January 23, 2014. Available at:
<http://www.dw.de/%D0%B8%D0%B7%D0%B3%D0%BB%D0%B0%D1%81%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B8-%D0%B8%D0%B7%D0%BC%D0%B5%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%82%D0%B5-%D0%B2%D0%BE-%D0%B8%D0%B7%D0%B1%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%BE%D1%82-%D0%B7%D0%B0%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%BA/a-17383099>
(last visited: March 27, 2014)

Zaev: Honest Parliamentary Offer, the Leadership shall Form the Future Government, SDSM, March 23, 2014. Available at:
<http://sds.org.mk/default.aspx?mId=55&agId=5&articleId=10185>
(last visited: March 31, 2014)

Zorana Gadzovska Spasovska, Ahmeti – There will be No Bombarding in the Coalition, Radio Free Europe, Program on Macedonian Language, December 22, 2013. Available at:
<http://www.makdenes.org/content/article/25208426.html>
(last visited: March 31, 2014)

Zorana Gadzovska Spasovska, Member of Parliament from the Diaspora with Seven Votes ? Radio Free Europe, Program on Macedonian Language, May 5, 2011. Available at:
<http://www.makdenes.org/content/article/24092153.html>
(last visited: April 1, 2014)

GROM Coalition Completed the Candidate List for the 2014 Parliamentary Elections, GROM, March 28, 2014. Available at:
<http://grom.mk/?p=3962>
(last visited: March 28, 2014)

Mirjana Spasovska, The Parliamentary Elections are more the Certain, Radio Free Europe, Program on Macedonian Language, February 27, 2014. Available at:
<http://www.makdenes.org/content/article/25279023.html>
(last visited: March 24, 2014)

N.K. , Sweep Changes on the SDSM's Lists, Utrinski Vesnik, March 31, 2014. Available at:
<http://www.utrinski.mk/default.asp?ItemID=CE331B3F02BDA7418FF97D108DB23802>
(last visited: April 1, 2014)

DUI Protests, Deutsche Welle, Service on Macedonian Language, August 7, 2006. Available at: <http://www.dw.de/%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%BE%D1%82%D0%B5%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B8-%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D0%B4%D1%83%D0%B8/a-2535607>
(last visited: March 22, 2014)

SDSM Flunked Out Stevco Jakimovski from the Party, 24 Vesti, February 17, 2013. Available at:
<http://24vesti.mk/sdsm-go-iskluchi-stevcho-jakimovski-od-partijata>
(last visited: March 31, 2014).

SDSM is Preparing for Electing New Leader, Deutsche Welle, Program on Macedonian Language, October 10, 2006. Available at:
<http://www.dw.de/%D1%81%D0%B4%D1%81%D0%BC-%D1%81%D0%B5-%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%B4%D0%B3%D0%BE%D1%82%D0%B2%D1%83%D0%B2%D0%B0-%D0%B7%D0%B0-%D0%B8%D0%B7%D0%B1%D0%BE%D1%80-%D0%BD%D0%B0>

%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B2-%D0%BB%D0%B8%D0%B4%D0%B5%D1%80/a-2535543
(last visited: March 31, 2014).

The Parliament is Dissolved, Voice of America, Program on Macedonian Language, March 5, 2014.
<http://mk.voanews.com/content/parliament-dissolved-voted-for-early-parliamentary-elections/1864874.html>

S.S.Z. The Parties Make Swift Consultations, Nova Makedonija, February 22, 2011. Available at:
<http://www.novamakedonija.com.mk/NewsDetal.asp?vest=22211818202&id=9&setIzdanie=22213>
(last visited: March 26, 2014)

Stevce Jakimovski: GROM was not founded so it can be an opposition, but rather in government, Republika, May 29, 2013. Available at:
<http://republika.mk/?p=74417>
(last visited: March 31, 2014).

Crvenkovski: After Meeting the 4 Conditions, SDSM Returns in the Parliament. SDSM, Skopje, March 21, 2011. Statement of the Leader of SDSM, Branko Crvenkovski, on the conclusion of the political crisis that led to the 2011 elections. Available at:
<http://sds.org.mk/default.aspx?mId=55&agId=5&articleId=5008>
<http://sds.org.mk/default.aspx?mId=55&agId=5&articleId=5008>
(last visited: March 26, 2014)

Ali Ahmeti: Historical victory of DUI. Telegraf, 27 April 2014. Available at:
<http://www.telegraf.mk/aktuelno/makedonija/142223-ali-ahmeti-istoriska-pobeda-na-dui>
(last accessed on 5 May 2014)

Gruevski: This is huge, powerful victory and un-doubtful trust. Deutsche

Welle, Macedonian language program, 27 April 2014. Available at
<http://goo.gl/TBFzII>
(last accessed on 5 May 2014)

OSCE – Efficiently implemented elections but the problems remain. Radio Free Europe, Macedonian language program, 30 April 2014. Available at
<http://www.makdenes.org/content/article/25365682.html>
(last accessed on 14 May 2014)

OSCE: The elections were efficient, the campaign was below the standards. Deutsche Welle, Macedonian language program, 28 April 2014. Available at
http://www.dw.de/%D0%BE%D0%B1%D1%81%D0%B5-%D0%B8%D0%B7%D0%B1%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%B8%D1%82%D0%B5-%D0%B5%D1%84%D0%B8%D0%BA%D0%B0%D1%81%D0%BD%D0%B8-%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%BC%D0%BF%D0%B0%D1%9A%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B0-%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%B4-%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B4%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%B4%D0%B8%D1%82%D0%B5/a-17598540?maca=maz-rss-maz-pol_makedonija_timemk-4727-xml-mrss
(last accessed on 15 May 2014)

Rufi Osmani: We do not accept the election results. Plusinfo, 27 April 2014. Available at
<http://www.plusinfo.mk/vest/134856/Rufi-Osmani-Ne-gi-prifakjame-izbornite-rezultati>
(last accessed on 13 May 2014)

Tachi: DPA has sufficient seats in the Parliament to be part of the Government. Nova TV, 27 April 2014. Available at
<http://novatv.mk/index.php?navig=8&cat=23&vest=13668>
(last accessed on 5 May 2014)

Interview with Peter Stano: A dialogue is needed between the government and the opposition in order to exit the crisis! Faktor, 7 May 2014. Available

at <http://faktor.mk/archives/104446#>
(last accessed on 15 May 2014)

Jakimovski, GROM: We had fair elections, congratulations to VMRO-DPMNE. Vest daily, 27 April 2014. Available at <http://www.vest.mk/default.asp?ItemID=8C2E9E7FEDDEFA469210015F49E35751>
(last accessed on 5 May 2014)

The small parties blame the bad results on election irregularities. Dnevnik daily, 28 April 2014. Available at <http://dnevnik.mk/?ItemID=04EA85B8335C9E49985944915BC99F06>
(last accessed on 13 May 2014)

Zikov: KPM is a victim of its own naïve approach. Либертас, 28 April 2014. Available at <http://libertas.mk/%D0%B7%D0%B8%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%B2-%D0%BA%D0%BF%D0%BC-%D0%B5-%D0%B6%D1%80%D1%82%D0%B2%D0%B0-%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D1%81%D0%B2%D0%BE%D1%98%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B0-%D0%BD%D0%B0%D0%B8%D0%B2%D0%BD%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%82/>
(last accessed on 13 May 2014)



Konrad Adenauer Stiftung

Office in Macedonia

Maksim Gorki 16, kat 3
MK-1000 Skopje

tel: +389-2-3231-122
fax: +389-2-3135-290
E-mail: Skopje@kas.de

www.kas.de/macedonia
www.idscs.org.mk