

Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research

Issue N.2  
September 2001

**BAROMETER**

Political Parties Development in the Republic of Macedonia

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In cooperation with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation  
Regional Office Macedonia

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### **Addendum:**

The Framework Agreement Signed in Ohrid by the Representatives of the Four Major Political Parties in the Country

### **The Political Situation in the Last Couple of Months**

Forming the wide party coalition in May this year did not significantly help in calming down the situation in the country. Military clashes continued and got more intensified. ONA (NLA) continuously attacked the positions of the Macedonian Army and in fact occupied the villages around the Kumanovo region, which communicated with the Kosovo border area. The fewer Macedonians who were living in that area fled from their homes, and the city of Kumanovo was left without water, due to ONA control over the Lipkovo damn (the artificial lake, which supplies the city with water). Paralelly the Macedonian Army was shelling the ONA positions in the occupied villages.

The most critical moment in this respect were the events linked to the village of Aracinovo, where gradually coming down from the mountain, ONA made the villagers leave their homes, settled there and organized resistance. Skopje, the airport and other vital strategic objects were under threat to be granated by ONA, according to their statements to the media. The government started a big operation to deal with the terrorists in the village, but Havier Solana who came in Macedonia and arranged for the ONA fighters who were in the village to be evacuated stopped this. This action caused a big rage among the Macedonian population, especially because it was said that in the village were professional soldiers of foreign provenience, who were thought to be directly helping (with all kinds of means) ONA. A special provocation for the Macedonians was considered the actual transfer of these persons with their weapons and in a location within the Macedonian territory, quite close to Aracinovo. Massive demonstrations by Macedonians followed in front of the Parliament raged demonstrators even broke into the building and damaged it. Damaged were also some Western countries' embassies. That evening there was a big danger of having a coup d'etat over the legitimate government and President, but fortunately it didn't occur.

Publicly presenting some ideas that have been "cooking" by some people in the Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences, appeared the President of the Academy Mr. Efremov. In the context of the existing "pool of ideas" about the way to resolve the

current crisis, was mentioned the concept of exchange of territories Albania and Macedonia. In fact what was discussed was a document prepared by the Center for Strategic Investigations affiliated to the Academy. It was said that although the document in question is not in its final phase, still it should be taken under consideration the way in which institutions (domestic or foreign) tailor the destiny of nations and territories. Territories suggested for exchange actually were: the Tetovo and Debar area to join Albania, and Mala Prespa area to join Macedonia. Simultaneously, persons belonging to the ethnicity that joins Albania and live in the territories that would remain in Macedonia are urged to voluntarily move to places where their ethnicity will live in the future, and vice versa- Macedonians from Tetovo and Debar area should move in regions where Macedonians are supposed to live. This idea met very strongly opposed reactions, especially by: the ex-President Kiro Gligorov, all political parties and even Havier Solana. Mr. Gligorov said that there is no greater danger for the Republic of Macedonia than the actual revising of its borders, and of the endangering of the citizen's right to live in the frames of their native countries and where their homes are. The Albanian Academy reacted negatively too, stating that the conflict cannot be resolved by a territory exchange. The only politicians that didn't condemn this idea, but considered that it is worthwhile thinking of it as an option, were the Prime Minister and the President of the Parliament (Mr. Stojan Andov). All the opposed reactions were the reason why the President of the Academy resigned.

At the same time, attacks over the Macedonian defense forces were continuously done in the area around the city of Tetovo, where five soldiers were killed. Unfortunately most of them were again from Bitola, and due to that fact new riots emerged in the city, where was broke and burned down everything that was considered an Albanian (Muslim) property. Similar picture was repeated after every more massive killing of reservists, in the cities where they were coming from. Riots of this sort happened in Prilep (where the old mosque was burned to the ground) when 10 young reservists were killed and in Skopje when 8 reservists from the surrounding Skopje villages were killed. These events brought personal change of the most high-ranking officer of the Macedonian Army. They also happened exactly in the time when finally the Framework Agreement was supposed

to be signed in Ohrid by the four parties. Only this time for the latest killings and actions responsibility was taken by ANA, which was said to be the "daughter" of ONA that represented the most militant Albanians who are not willing to give up their weapons, since they fight for the "greater Albania" idea.

Although with the mediation of the NATO representative a cease fire accord was signed on July 5th between ONA and the Macedonian authorities, this was not respected. In fact, during the "cease fire period" villages gravitating around the Tetovo area, which were inhabited by Macedonians were ethnically cleansed. The largest number of kidnapping, burning houses, and other atrocities occurred exactly here. A 14th century church was blown up, as well as other buildings belonging to Macedonians. An especially brutal event was the blowing up of the recreational center "Brioni", where the dynamite was put around the bodies of the two persons who were working there.

Desperate, homeless and partly ignored, displaced Macedonians from the Tetovo and Kumanovo area demonstrated very frequently in front of the Macedonian Parliament, demanding from the Government to take action and take them back to their homes. In all the mess that was happening, these people were often manipulated by some radical, but marginal political forces (like the Macedonian National Congress lead by Mr. Todor Petrov), in order to gain more support and potential voters. This was done especially because there are two vacant places in the Parliament (in Skopje, constituencies n.73 and 74) which are to be filled during the by-elections due to take place on September 9.

Finally, the defined text of the Framework Agreement was signed in August 13th, by the four representatives of political parties and the President of the Republic, in the presence of the EU and USA facilitators, the NATO Defense Secretary Javier Solana, the OSCE representative Mr. Mircea Joanna and the representative of the EU presidency Mr. Louis Michelle. As a next step, it was planned to proceed the document to the Parliament, where it should be voted. Simultaneously NATO took the obligation to bring 3.500 soldiers (which number in fact increased to 4.500), who were supposed to start collecting the voluntarily given weapons by ONA. This operation was agreed to proceed paralelly

with the discussions in the Parliament and the actual adoption of the document. It is necessary to stress that the Macedonian Government was arguing with NATO about the realistic estimations of the weapons present in Macedonia. Some experts have come with a figure of even 60.000 pieces of weapons, a figure that was refused by the NATO representatives. The Prime Minister stated that the number of weapons agreed is funny and humiliating for Macedonia. Macedonians were and still are very concerned about the revival of clashes due to the large amount of weapons, which in fact are not to be delivered by ONA, at least not voluntarily. NATO defended its position with the statement that after the operation will be finished, all rebels who are going to continue to use weapons and perform military activities are going to be considered as terrorists, and of course shall not fall under the Amnesty act under preparation. When the operation "Essential Harvest" started on August 27, during the first couple of days NATO troops collected around 1.400 pieces, a significant part of which were of older date of production. This was a signal to the Parliament to start the debate about the Framework Agreement.

Although with a morning delay, due to the demonstrations organized by the displaced Macedonians, the Parliamentary session which had on the agenda the commencement of the Constitutional changes as described in the Framework Agreement, started on Friday, August 31. President Trajkovski was the first speaker who pointed out the three basis principles present in the agreement: sovereignty, integrity and unitarity of the Macedonian state. He said that the alternative of non-voting for this Agreement would be a war, which will not bring good to anyone, even if there is a dominant winner. At the same time, he called upon the international community to recognize the country by its constitutional name, to give financial aid and asked the UN to reestablish an UNPREDEP mission again. He also accused the political parties that they did not at all times show a sufficient level of maturity and political unity. If after the acceptance of the Framework Agreement -says the President- the terrorist attacks continue, the international community shall recognize their goal and shall know which side to take.

Followed a discussion, where the most aggressive speakers were the ones from VMRO-DPMNE who stated that are not going to vote for the Agreement. They also said that this Agreement marginalized completely the Macedonians and the Macedonian Orthodox Church. SDSM leader Crvenkovski joined the discussion by saying that Macedonia is facing hard decision from which further depends its future. He is aware that the Agreement is not completely good, but signed it because he does not want to gamble with the state. "I know that it is not perfect, that some solutions are not logical, or they do not comply with the usual norms and standards, but let's not forget that this document is a compromise, and compromises are not principle driven to the very end". He said that SDSM as a party and a parliamentary group completely supports the Agreement and the peace process, and those who will vote are aware that are going to vote for a different Macedonia, but for one that has maintained its territorial integrity and civic society. He added that this war didn't start because of improvement of anybody's human rights, but for conquering territories. The PDP coordinator Naser Ziberi said that the party shall support the Agreement, which is a result of a compromise. He also said that everyone has the feeling that has made concessions, but there is not an ideal agreement between two opposed sides.

The Prime Minister was pretty controversial and ambiguous about his attitude towards the Agreement. On one side he says that it is necessary to be accepted, but on the other he states that he does not believe in it. Perhaps this is the strategy that VMRO-DPMNE has chosen to perform in order to keep the most radical supporters and voters for the next elections. This attitude produced negative predisposition and obstructions to the process. An example would be the immediate interruption of the parliamentary session the second day of the discussions, taken by the President of the Parliament. Allegedly for principal reasons, Mr. Andov in consultation with the Prime Minister conditioned the continuation of the parliamentary session with the return of all refugees to their homes and liberation of the kidnapped. The SDSM Minister of Defense accused Andov of obstructing the peace process, while PDP initiated an interpellation of the President of the Parliament for this. After a big pressure by representatives of the international community and the facilitators, the session continued on Monday September 3rd. A couple of days later the

PDP interpellation was withdrawn. Opinion is that this shall be a "trade off" with the interpellation of the Minister of Justice (PDP), who was called on responsibility by the Prime Minister, due to the fact that this minister did not ask on time for extradition of an Albanian terrorist captured in Germany.

One of the experts who took part in the political negotiations in Ohrid and who was the former Minister of Justice and Defense, Mr. Vlado Popovski gave his personal estimation about the elements of the Agreement. Namely, he thinks that the Agreement does not question the sovereignty of Macedonia and its unitary character. Possibilities for territorial secessionism and federalization of the state are not existent. It is anticipated through the system to be secured higher level of protection of the basic ethnic interests in the Republic of Macedonia as a civic state. With this Agreement in a particular sense is modified the model of majoritarian democracy, because are built-in mechanisms which are going to express the multi-ethnic character of society.

The second day of the parliamentary discussions, took part the Prime Minister. He said that the Constitution is not the reason for the crisis, since he thinks that Macedonia is a collateral damage of the intervention of NATO in Kosovo. Constitutional change initiative is directly lead under pressure of violence and terror, with which we publicly and worldwide gave a message to all the terrorists that terrorism pays off. One should not believe that constitutional changes shall bring peace in the country, but still the Agreement must be supported, because Macedonia is now not under military embargo, but also under informal economic blockade. "Macedonia is under big pressure by the foreign experts that whoever votes for the constitutional changes is for peace, but those who vote against are for war". Still, one could say that the Prime Minister called upon his MPs to give their vote for the Agreement. After his speech, discussion took more calm tones. Although critiques were still sent towards the Agreement, impression is that it will be voted.

DPA leader Arben Djaferi gave a statement for the media, where he said that he has confidence in the Agreement in the sense that it solves some important problems in the



country. This confidence for the future of Macedonia is an important precondition a donor's conference to be organized soon. His opinion is that ONA shall withdraw, because it shows high discipline, and that new military formations like ANA shall not appear.

Abdurahman Aliti (PDP) spoke at the last day of the parliamentary discussions, pointing out openly that up to this day he was always complaining to foreign diplomats that Albanians in Macedonia are citizens of second grade. But then he said that after the adoption and implementation of this Agreement, he could not complain anymore. "Very often dicutants here are asking: if we change the Constitution, what will happen further, will there be an end to the Albanian demands? Well, gentlemen, there is an end. End is approximately here. If we achieve this, we shall create conditions for further system building and climate for common life. This is not only possible, but it is the only way to survive".

Finally, after five days of wearing out, long, vigorous, and often very unpleasant discussions, the Parliament of Republic of Macedonia has reached a decision about the Framework Agreement on September 6th. The initiative of President Trajkovski about the start of the process of introducing constitutional changes was accepted in a form of a parliamentary Decision by 91 (out of the total 120 seats) MPs. Against voted 18 MPs, while sustained were 3 MPs. At first there was electronic voting, but after a request by an MP voting was repeated by having every MP voting separately and publicly. For the Agreement voted MPs from SDSM, VMRO-DPMNE, DPA, PDP, LP, LDP and New Democracy. All MPs of Albanian ethnicity voted for the document, same as all SDSM, LDP and New Democracy MPs. But not all MPs from some parliamentary groups voted for the Agreement. Namely, out of 42 present VMRO-DPMNE MPs, 35 supported the Agreement, in spite of the party leadership instructions. The groups of VMRO-VMRO and of Democratic Alternative unanimously voted against, together with one MP from the Liberal party. This parliamentary session was characterized by many as historical. After this vote, it is the duty of the President within 10 days to submit the text of the draft amendments, with which substantial changes will be made in the Constitution.

Although all foreign representatives praised the adoption of the initiative for constitutional change, there are still very strong dilemmas about the future security of the country. There is a sense that a "security vacuum" may emerge after the agreed 30 days of the "Essential Harvest" will end. As two most frequently mentioned alternatives are: the OSCE monitoring mission (which in fact was increased to 51 persons) to be protected by NATO forces, or the same mission to be protected by European Forces which will be activated for the first time. In both cases Russia was putting obstacles, similar to the reservations the Macedonia government had as regards to NATO troops. An idea was to be reestablished the UNPREDEP mission in the country. Fact is that these reflections are not without basis. One proof would be the statement of the leader of the Democratic Union of Kosovo Ibrahim Rugova. He accuses the Albanian terrorists in Macedonia and Kosovo that all they want is war. They disarm themselves only in the scenario frames, which is aimed on propaganda purposes.

### **Issues Related to the Current Events**

For the atrocities that were happening in Macedonia, the Public Prosecutor Mr. Stavre Dzиков informed the representative of the investigation team of the Hague Tribunal that in front of the Trial Court Skopje N.2 it is submitted a request for initiating investigation against 11 persons, among which were the names of Ali Ahmeti, Fazli Veliu and Gzim Ostreni. This was initiated on base of the accusations for performing criminal acts against the state, humanity and international law. The Hague Tribunal representative stated that starting from March this year the Tribunal started to follow the events in Macedonia. A month ago a couple of persons were interviewed, for which a report was submitted to the Tribunal, and an official investigation was initiated for Macedonia, in order to cover the criminal acts done, which are under jurisdiction of the Tribunal. For this reason, Mrs. Carla Del Ponte is expected to visit Macedonia soon.

One of the burning issues was also the national census, which was supposed to take place in October 2001, after the first postponement (dating from April 2001). Due to the latest circumstances, the census was once again postponed for next year (from April 1-15 2002). The special importance of this census is linked to the determination of the actual and accurate number of Albanians in the country. The figures officially given after the last census in 1994 (22,7% Albanians) were questioned by the Albanian parties (claiming to be 40%), openly disputed and often used for political marketing. The Director of the State Statistical Bureau thinks that these estimations are incorrect. It remains to be seen what shall be the data obtained in April next year.

Another interesting issue, which shall raise a lot of discussions and dilemmas, shall be again the electoral model in the country. At present, out of 120 seats 35 are distributed by PR nationwide party lists by use of the D'Hondt formula. The remaining 85 seats are filled from single member constituencies on basis of a two-round majoritarian system. One of the ideas (especially promoted by the Albanian parties) is to have a PR system where all 120 seats shall be filled by nationwide fixed party lists. The very fact that the whole country shall be one constituency brings repercussions on the party strategy, which

may present some defaults. On the other hand there are ideas of having a regional PR system where the whole country shall have around 12 districts with a vary in the number of mandates, due to the number of inhabitants per district. This law shall be not on the parliamentary agenda soon.

The international organization on human rights "Human Rights Watch" accused the Minister of Interiors for disproportional use of force in the Ljuboten operation on August 12. The organization claims that "there is no military justification, the operation had a pure revenge context". The Minister denies these accusations, claiming that the use of force was against the Albanian terrorists, and not against civilians. He thinks that the accusations are monstrous and incorrect.

While the debate about the Framework Agreement was on, a group of MPs consisted of people of different ethnic background, announced that they are going to submit an initiative about amending the Annex A of the Agreement regarding the use of language. With this amendment shall be secured additional rights for all other ethnic communities in the country, in the sense of use as an official language also the language spoken by these communities in places where they live, but the suggestion is to lower the percentage of population of the particular group to 2-3%. "We have always said that official language should be Macedonian, but if everybody speaks on its own language, I don't see why shouldn't we?"- the representative of the Democratic Party of the Serbs said. Other than this, we expect that the Serbs should find their place in the Constitution. Nezdeta Mustafa from the United Party of the Roma thinks that certain ethnic aspiration can be met with general and not with singled out solutions, because the latter produce dissatisfaction. He thinks that only the civic concept of the state can bring wellbeing to everybody. Erdogan Sarac from the Democratic Party of the Turks says: "By this initiative one can avoid the favoring of the ethnic communities according to their numbers, and create citizens in second, third or other categories".

### **Political Parties' Behavior Regarding the Current Situation**

One of the main reasons of forming a "wide" party coalition government was the actual effort to introduce systemic change, which would bring a peaceful resolution to the crisis. One here must say that this process was achieved after the big pressure of the international community. During the negotiations the leaders of the four major parties took place, in fact the ones who were in the coalition. Through them were also represented a few smaller parties which were already in coalition with VMRO-DPMNE and SDSM. At the same time, indirectly (through the signed Prizren Declaration earlier this year) ONA was represented on the table, having the two other parties (DPA and PDP) supporting the thing agreed. A crucial role here was played by the two mediators appointed for that purpose by EU (the former Minister Francois Leotard) and by USA (Mr. James Purdue). The special NATO envoy Peter Faith performed practical in-field contacts with ONA (although one must say that the NATO Secretary General Mr. George Robertson at the beginning of the crisis stated that there will be no talks or negotiations with the "extremists"). The whole process was planned to take place under the organization and coordination taken by the Macedonian President Mr. Boris Trajkovski. Some political forces in the country from the very beginning complained that this process is not legitimate, due to the fact that the principles agreed were not passed through the Parliament, but instead they were defined and decided somewhere else.

The whole process was imagined to be an initiative that would bring constitutional changes. For the purpose of preparing the joint document teams of experts were formed having both domestic and foreign participants. Among the first ones that arrived (by invitation of the Macedonian President) was the European legal expert on constitutional law Mr. Robert Badentaire. He was supposed to give his opinion on the possible corrections of the Macedonian Constitution, in order to move the stuck political processes. As a general principle he suggested the non-forcing the minority rights over the majority, but instead enforcing the actual balance between them. By his opinion, the essence of the systemic changes should be:

- local democracy development, in the sense of enhancing the decision-making process of the local community, but only for those issues for which it is not possible to be decided on national level
- enhancing the non-discrimination principle, as a principle which enables equal participation of all in the administration on local, as well as national level
- use of language on different levels, especially in the frames of education and administration
- operationalization of the possibility of all Macedonian citizens to be able to address to the administration on their own mother tongue. It is understood that on the local level will remain the equal use of both Macedonian and the other minority language
- the request of the Albanian parties for forming a consensual state, is not corresponding to the needs of a modern state, especially because joint decisions are very hard to reach, about the social and economic problems
- as official language should remain the Macedonian language
- there should be a legal guarantee for the preservice of the once introduced of minority rights

Both PDP and DPA were not happy with the proposed changes, demanding other, more radical ones. For that purpose, these parties hired a young expert (Mr. Paul Williams) of USA provenience. His suggestions included:

- the Albanian language to be the second official language of the country
- to have a vice-president who must be an Albanian
- consensual democracy in all levels and for all laws
- young recruits to serve their military duty only in the areas where they are born

Turbulent events in the country definitely didn't provoke the same reaction, especially when one talks about the parties of the Macedonian political block. VMRO-DPMNE took a more militant position in comparison with SDSM. This can be noted through the actions and statements given by the two most exposed ministers of Interiors (Ljube Boskovski is from VMRO-DPMNE) and of Defense (Vlado Buckovski is from SDSM). Newspapers write about rows between the Prime Minister and his Ministers on one side and the Social-democrat Ministers on the other, while the process of shaping the

Framework Agreement was on. According to the spoke person of the Government (VMRO provenience) VMRO was seeing as the only remedy for the escalation of the conflict to have a strong military response, which as an argument was not accepted by the other government members. This situation resulted in the form of a letter publicly addressed by the Prime Minister to the President. In this letter Trajkovski is called to issue all necessary commands to the police and army for the country's defense. Such a discrepancy is also visible between the statements and letters sent to international organizations by the Prime Minister (VMRO-DPMNE) and the Minister of Exteriors (SDSM). It is interesting that the President of the Republic Mr. Boris Trajkovski is also directly supporting the acceptance of the Framework Agreement, although he is of VMRO-DPMNE provenience. Perhaps the party is upset for the President's conduct, due to the pre-second round agreement during the presidential elections in 1999. It is said that in order to gain the DPA vote in the second round, VMRO has made some (allegedly written or oral) concessions, regarding the general status of the Albanians in Macedonia. By having him showing disobedience of the general VMRO-DPMNE political trend, the party leadership felt somewhat betrayed.

On the other hand, Albanian political parties acted very unanimously. Maybe part of this strategy was due to the agreement signed by both PDP and DPA party leaders with Ali Ahmeti as the ONA representative in May. Probably this was an effort by the two legitimate parties to prevent the loss of support by their electorate in favor of ONA. Time will show (especially in the next elections, which are due to happen in January 2002,) how successful they were in this effort.

When the Framework Agreement and its principles are in question, after the signing were publicly given opinions from other smaller parties which did not take part in the negotiation process. For example, the Democratic Party of the Turks positively estimated the document, stating that any other option would be very dangerous for Macedonia. The Party of the Vlachs gave the same opinion, with one reserve regarding the way of informing while the negotiations were taking place. VMRO-VMRO condemned the agreement as completely unacceptable, because it represents a platform for

dismantlement of Macedonia: "Macedonia is becoming an undefined territory, her statehood and legal continuity is denied. Bilingualism shall enforce the disintegration processes, and consensual democracy is promoted. This is only a phase that leads to a deeper conflict and decay of Macedonia." The block of Macedonian parties and associations from Tetovo think that the actual signing of the Agreement is scandalous and humiliating for Macedonia. DA representative thinks that this Agreement shall not overcome the ethnic clashes, nor shall eliminate the reasons that shall lead to civil war. The Democratic Party of the Serbs also thinks that the Agreement is unacceptable, because Serbs are again neglected and ignored as an ethnic group (the same as in the Constitution). Democratic Union does not accept the Agreement because thinks that it is a legal promotion of Macedonia as a collateral damage of the unsuccessful mission of NATO in Kosovo. "This Agreement is in fact signing of capitulation, and not an expression of will coming from the citizens". The World Macedonian Congress announced that they will start collection of signatures for initiation of a referendum for non-acceptance of the Agreement. The leader of MAAK Conservative gave the same opinion. The Democratic Islamic Party thinks that every agreement on a green table is better than a war.



### **Ambiguous Personality-Ali Ahmeti**

Ali Ahmeti is born in the Kicevo village Zajas in 1959. He studied philosophy in Pristina and did not serve the military service during socialist Yugoslavia. Even from those times he was accused of criminal act "associating for enemy activities". According to the indictment of the Skopje Trial Court in 1986, Ali Ahmeti in the period from 1978-85 is accused of political irredentism and for an independent Kosovo. He also took part in the Pristina demonstrations in 1981, and after in the forming of the sub-committee of the illegal organization Marxists-Leninist for areas inhabited with Albanians in Macedonia. Due to the indictment, he moves to Switzerland where he stayed for a long time. This is the reason why his investigation was stopped. Ten years after (1999) his name appears again, this time in the Kicevo Trial Court, for the accusation of terrorism. Ahmeti together with his uncle Fazli Veliu is wanted because of organization of bomb attacks in Kumanovo, Skopje and Prilep. All these activities are led by him from abroad, generously funded by a very rich Albanian living in Switzerland- Djevdet Pacoli. Again, in public his name is firstly heard by the OSCE Ambassador Robert Frowick, and then later as one of the signatories of the Prizren Accord. He showed readiness to negotiate only with the NATO representative, giving the impression that he is a man who keeps his word. Practice in the near future will show what is his real control over the armed Albanians, especially because now emerges a new organization (ANA) which refuses to give the weapons and stop the fighting. But now, if the Framework Agreement is going to be voted in the Parliament, it will be much harder to further justify the use of force. Most probably Ali Ahmeti intends to show his presence in the future political life in Macedonia. His emergence in the political scene might provoke new regroupings among the Albanian voters in the country.

### **Public Opinion and Other Data**

The Forum Center for Strategic Research conducted a poll at the end of July 2001. One of the questions referred to the idea offered by the Macedonian Academy about the exchange of territories between Macedonia and Albania. Out of all Macedonian respondents 90% are opposed to this idea and only 10% support it. Only 45% of the polled Albanians are also against this idea.

Current events also radicalize the citizen's opinions. On the question "Are you for a political or a military solution of the crisis", 61% supported the political solution of the crisis, while 22% prefer the military solution. The rest are undecided. It is interesting to see the distribution of answers according to national affiliation. None of the polled Albanians did not prefer the military solution, but also in the Macedonian group dominate those who prefer the political solution (80%).

On the question : "Is there a possibility of common interethnic life in Macedonia?", respondents of Albanian ethnic origin responded positively in 59% of the cases. No reply or cannot tell 41% of them. There are no negative answers in this case. Macedonians also in majority replied positively (61%), while around 1/5 (22%) think that common life is not possible anymore.

Another poll that was conducted in August 25 ("Utrinski Vesnik", September 5th) by the Institute for Democracy, Solidarity and Civic Society, showed that according to the opinion of the Macedonian respondents, Macedonia is closer to ethnic war than to peace (57%). Contrary to this, the polled Albanians in their vast majority (98,4%) think that Macedonia is closer to peace. With this opinion agree 38% of the interviewed Macedonians. What regards the personal contribution in resolving the crisis, respondents gave the highest positive opinion about the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mrs. Ilinka Mitreva (SDSM) - 66%, and then followed Boris Trajkovski<sup>1</sup> (58%), Branko

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<sup>1</sup> The President of the Republic

Crvenkovski<sup>2</sup> (55%), Vlado Buckovski<sup>3</sup> (53%), Ljube Boskovski<sup>4</sup> (44%), Ljupco Georgievski (31%), Arben Djaferi (20%). The largest percent of negative answers were given to the Prime Minister Georgievski (64%) and to Ljube Boskovski (51%). Macedonian citizens do not view positively the role of the international representatives, namely in 71% of the cases respondents had negative opinion of Javier Solana, and 60% negative opinion of George Robertson. More than half of the polled Macedonians do not approve the signing of the Agreement (51%), while 44% do. Differently than them, Albanians in larger percent (78%) approve the Agreement, while only 13% are categorically against signing. The actual amnesty of the ONA members is not approved by 82% of the Macedonians, while 99% of the Albanians do. "NATO disarmament mission is going to be a failure" think half of the polled Macedonians, while Albanians in 64% of the cases think that is going to be successful. These answers are in fact in a correlation with the confidence the citizens have towards NATO. Those grades in the Macedonian group are: no confidence-58%, very small confidence-22%, partly confidence-16%, and great confidence-4%. The Albanian group shows 76% of great confidence, while all the rest (24%) have partly confidence. None of them has chosen the "no" or "very small" confidence.

At the same time citizens were asked which party they would vote if tomorrow there will be national elections. The current party rating was the following: SDSM-23,6%, VMRO-DPMNE-12%, DPA-10,2%, PDP-3,4%, LDP-2%, Socialist Party 0,8%, DA-0,8%, League for Democracy-0,5%, Democratic Union 0,4%, VMRO-VMRO 0,4%. A large part of the respondents (almost half of the sample) could not decide which party to vote, and probably some of them will not vote at all, due to the general disappointment. This is true for both ethnic groups.

The Agency for Workers in the Administration made an analysis regarding the ethnic structure of the persons employed at this moment in the administration, compared with 1997. The year 1997 is taken for comparison, because it is the last year before the

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<sup>2</sup> SDSM leader

<sup>3</sup> Minister of Defence, SDSM

<sup>4</sup> Minister of Interiors, VMRO-DPMNE

elections in 1998, in order to be seen what kind of changes took place in the meantime. Namely, it is drastically different the number of employed Albanians (only Albanians, in comparison with other minorities), as one can see from the table below.

Public administration structure according to national affiliation in the years 1997-2000:

Nationality	1997	2000	Discrepancy
Macedonians	84,93%	84,91%	-0,02%
Albanians	8,27%	10,19%	1,93%
Turks	1,96%	1,72%	-0,24%
Roma	0,50%	0,19%	-0,30%
Vlachs	0,72%	0,19%	-0,53%
Serbs	2,10%	1,69%	-0,41%
Bosniacs	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
Unknown	1,52%	1,11%	-0,42%

Still, these figures look a bit different if one analyzes the ethnic structure of the administration in local communities where significant number of Albanians live. As an example is mentioned Kicevo, where Albanians are 27% of the inhabitants. There the number of Albanians employed in the administration is 32,09%.

## **A D D E N D U M**

### **FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT**

13.08.2001

The following points comprise an agreed framework for securing the future of Macedonia's democracy and permitting the development of closer and more integrated relations between the Republic of Macedonia and the Euro-Atlantic community. This Framework will promote the peaceful and harmonious development of civil society while respecting the ethnic identity and the interests of all Macedonian citizens.

#### **1. Basic Principles**

1.1. The use of violence in pursuit of political aims is rejected completely and unconditionally. Only peaceful political solutions can assure a stable and democratic future for Macedonia.

1.2. Macedonia's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and the unitary character of the State are inviolable and must be preserved. There are no territorial solutions to ethnic issues.

1.3. The multi-ethnic character of Macedonia's society must be preserved and reflected in public life.

1.4. A modern democratic state in its natural course of development and maturation must continually ensure that its Constitution fully meets the needs of all its citizens and comports with the highest international standards, which themselves continue to evolve.

1.5. The development of local self-government is essential for encouraging the participation of citizens in democratic life, and for promoting respect for the identity of communities.

#### **2. Cessation of Hostilities**

2.1. The parties underline the importance of the commitments of July 5, 2001. There shall be a complete cessation of hostilities, complete voluntary disarmament of the ethnic Albanian armed groups and their complete voluntary disbandment. They acknowledge that a decision by NATO to assist in this context will require the establishment of a general, unconditional and open-ended cease-fire, agreement on a political solution to the problems of this country, a clear commitment by the armed groups to voluntarily disarm, and acceptance by all the parties of the conditions and limitations under which the NATO forces will operate.

#### **3. Development of Decentralized Government**

3.1. A revised Law on Local Self-Government will be adopted that reinforces the powers of elected local officials and enlarges substantially their competencies in conformity with the Constitution (as amended in accordance with Annex A) and the European Charter on Local Self-Government, and reflecting the principle of subsidiarity in effect in the European Union. Enhanced competencies will relate principally to the areas of public services, urban and rural planning, environmental protection, local economic development, culture, local finances, education, social welfare, and health care. A law on financing of local self-government will be adopted to ensure an adequate system of financing to enable local governments to fulfill all of their responsibilities.

3.2. Boundaries of municipalities will be revised within one year of the completion of a new census, which will be conducted under international supervision by the end of 2001. The revision of the municipal boundaries will be effectuated by the local and national authorities with international participation.

3.3. In order to ensure that police are aware of and responsive to the needs and interests of the local population, local heads of police will be selected by municipal councils from lists of candidates proposed by the Ministry of Interior, and will communicate regularly with the councils. The Ministry of Interior will retain the authority to remove local heads of police in accordance with the law.

#### 4. Non-Discrimination and Equitable Representation

4.1. The principle of non-discrimination and equal treatment of all under the law will be respected completely. This principle will be applied in particular with respect to employment in public administration and public enterprises, and access to public financing for business development.

4.2. Laws regulating employment in public administration will include measures to assure equitable representation of communities in all central and local public bodies and at all levels of employment within such bodies, while respecting the rules concerning competence and integrity that govern public administration. The authorities will take action to correct present imbalances in the composition of the public administration, in particular through the recruitment of members of under-represented communities. Particular attention will be given to ensuring as rapidly as possible that the police services will generally reflect the composition and distribution of the population of Macedonia, as specified in Annex C.

4.3. For the Constitutional Court, one-third of the judges will be chosen by the Assembly by a majority of the total number of Representatives that includes a majority of the total number of Representatives claiming to belong to the communities not in the majority in the population of Macedonia. This procedure also will apply to the election of the Ombudsman (Public Attorney) and the election of three of the members of the Judicial Council.

#### 5. Special Parliamentary Procedures

5.1. On the central level, certain Constitutional amendments in accordance with Annex A and the Law on Local Self-Government cannot be approved without a qualified majority of two-thirds of votes, within which there must be a majority of the votes of Representatives claiming to belong to the communities not in the majority in the population of Macedonia.

5.2. Laws that directly affect culture, use of language, education, personal documentation, and use of symbols, as well as laws on local finances, local elections, the city of Skopje, and boundaries of municipalities must receive a majority of votes, within which there must be a majority of the votes of the Representatives claiming to belong to the communities not in the majority in the population of Macedonia.

#### 6. Education and Use of Languages

6.1. With respect to primary and secondary education, instruction will be provided in the students' native languages, while at the same time uniform standards for academic programs will be applied throughout Macedonia.

6.2. State funding will be provided for university level education in languages spoken by at least 20 percent of the population of Macedonia, on the basis of specific agreements.

6.3. The principle of positive discrimination will be applied in the enrolment in State universities of candidates belonging to communities not in the majority in the population of Macedonia until the enrolment reflects equitably the composition of the population of Macedonia.

6.4. The official language throughout Macedonia and in the international relations of Macedonia is the Macedonian language.

6.5. Any other language spoken by at least 20 percent of the population is also an official language, as set forth herein. In the organs of the Republic of Macedonia, any official language other than Macedonian may be used in accordance with the law, as further elaborated in Annex B. Any person living in a unit of local self-government in which at least 20 percent of the population speaks an official language other than Macedonian may use any official language to communicate with the regional office of the central government with responsibility for that municipality; such an office will reply in that language in addition to Macedonian. Any person may use any official language to communicate with a main office of the central

government, which will reply in that language in addition to Macedonian.

6.6. With respect to local self-government, in municipalities where a community comprises at least 20 percent of the population of the municipality, the language of that community will be used as an official language in addition to Macedonian. With respect to languages spoken by less than 20 percent of the population of the municipality, the local authorities will decide democratically on their use in public bodies.

6.7. In criminal and civil judicial proceedings at any level, an accused person or any party will have the right to translation at State expense of all proceedings as well as documents in accordance with relevant Council of Europe documents.

6.8. Any official personal documents of citizens speaking an official language other than Macedonian will also be issued in that language, in addition to the Macedonian language, in accordance with the law.

## 7. Expression of Identity

7.1. With respect to emblems, next to the emblem of the Republic of Macedonia, local authorities will be free to place on front of local public buildings emblems marking the identity of the community in the majority in the municipality, respecting international rules and usages.

## 8. Implementation

8.1. The Constitutional amendments attached at Annex A will be presented to the Assembly immediately. The parties will take all measures to assure adoption of these amendments within 45 days of signature of this Framework Agreement.

8.2. The legislative modifications identified in Annex B will be adopted in accordance with the timetables specified therein.

8.3. The parties invite the international community to convene at the earliest possible time a meeting of international donors that would address in particular macro-financial assistance; support for the financing of measures to be undertaken for the purpose of implementing this Framework Agreement, including measures to strengthen local self-government; and rehabilitation and reconstruction in areas affected by the fighting.

## 9. Annexes

The following Annexes constitute integral parts of this Framework Agreement:

A. Constitutional Amendments

B. Legislative Modifications

C. Implementation and Confidence-Building Measures

## 10. Final Provisions

10.1. This Agreement takes effect upon signature.

10.2. The English language version of this Agreement is the only authentic version.

10.3. This Agreement was concluded under the auspices of President Boris Trajkovski.

Done at Skopje, Macedonia on 13 August 2001, in the English language.

ANNEX A

## CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

### Preamble

The citizens of the Republic of Macedonia, taking over responsibility for the present and future of their fatherland, aware and grateful to their predecessors for their sacrifice and dedication in their endeavors and struggle to create an independent and sovereign state of Macedonia, and responsible to future generations to preserve and develop everything that is valuable from the rich cultural inheritance and coexistence within Macedonia, equal in rights and obligations towards the common good -- the Republic of Macedonia, in accordance with the tradition of the Krushevo Republic and the decisions of the Antifascist People's Liberation Assembly of Macedonia, and the Referendum of September 8, 1991, they have decided to establish the Republic of Macedonia as an independent, sovereign state, with the intention of establishing and consolidating rule of law, guaranteeing human rights and civil liberties, providing peace and coexistence, social justice, economic well-being and prosperity in the life of the individual and the community, and in this regard through their representatives in the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, elected in free and democratic elections, they adopt . . . .

### Article 7

- (1) The Macedonian language, written using its Cyrillic alphabet, is the official language throughout the Republic of Macedonia and in the international relations of the Republic of Macedonia.
- (2) Any other language spoken by at least 20 percent of the population is also an official language, written using its alphabet, as specified below.
- (3) Any official personal documents of citizens speaking an official language other than Macedonian shall also be issued in that language, in addition to the Macedonian language, in accordance with the law.
- (4) Any person living in a unit of local self-government in which at least 20 percent of the population speaks an official language other than Macedonian may use any official language to communicate with the regional office of the central government with responsibility for that municipality; such an office shall reply in that language in addition to Macedonian. Any person may use any official language to communicate with a main office of the central government, which shall reply in that language in addition to Macedonian.
- (5) In the organs of the Republic of Macedonia, any official language other than Macedonian may be used in accordance with the law.
- (6) In the units of local self-government where at least 20 percent of the population speaks a particular language, that language and its alphabet shall be used as an official language in addition to the Macedonian language and the Cyrillic alphabet. With respect to languages spoken by less than 20 percent of the population of a unit of local self-government, the local authorities shall decide on their use in public bodies.

### Article 8

- (1) The fundamental values of the constitutional order of the Republic of Macedonia are:
    - the basic freedoms and rights of the individual and citizen, recognized in international law and set down in the Constitution;
    - equitable representation of persons belonging to all communities in public bodies at all levels and in other areas of public life;
- . . . .

### Article 19

- (1) The freedom of religious confession is guaranteed.
- (2) The right to express one's faith freely and publicly, individually or with others is guaranteed.
- (3) The Macedonian Orthodox Church, the Islamic Religious Community in Macedonia, the Catholic Church, and other Religious communities and groups are separate from the state and equal before the law.
- (4) The Macedonian Orthodox Church, the Islamic Religious Community in Macedonia, the Catholic Church, and other Religious communities and groups are free to establish schools and other social and charitable institutions, by ways of a procedure regulated by law.



#### Article 48

- (1) Members of communities have a right freely to express, foster and develop their identity and community attributes, and to use their community symbols.
- (2) The Republic guarantees the protection of the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of all communities.
- (3) Members of communities have the right to establish institutions for culture, art, science and education, as well as scholarly and other associations for the expression, fostering and development of their identity.
- (4) Members of communities have the right to instruction in their language in primary and secondary education, as determined by law. In schools where education is carried out in another language, the Macedonian language is also studied.

#### Article 56

...

- (2) The Republic guarantees the protection, promotion and enhancement of the historical and artistic heritage of Macedonia and all communities in Macedonia and the treasures of which it is composed, regardless of their legal status. The law regulates the mode and conditions under which specific items of general interest for the Republic can be ceded for use.

#### Article 69

...

- (2) For laws that directly affect culture, use of language, education, personal documentation, and use of symbols, the Assembly makes decisions by a majority vote of the Representatives attending, within which there must be a majority of the votes of the Representatives attending who claim to belong to the communities not in the majority in the population of Macedonia. In the event of a dispute within the Assembly regarding the application of this provision, the Committee on Inter-Community Relations shall resolve the dispute.

#### Article 77

- (1) The Assembly elects the Public Attorney by a majority vote of the total number of Representatives, within which there must be a majority of the votes of the total number of Representatives claiming to belong to the communities not in the majority in the population of Macedonia.
- (2) The Public Attorney protects the constitutional rights and legal rights of citizens when violated by bodies of state administration and by other bodies and organizations with public mandates. The Public Attorney shall give particular attention to safeguarding the principles of non-discrimination and equitable representation of communities in public bodies at all levels and in other areas of public life.

....

#### Article 78

- (1) The Assembly shall establish a Committee for Inter-Community Relations.
- (2) The Committee consists of seven members each from the ranks of the Macedonians and Albanians within the Assembly, and five members from among the Turks, Vlachs, Romanies and two other communities. The five members each shall be from a different community; if fewer than five other communities are represented in the Assembly, the Public Attorney, after consultation with relevant community leaders, shall propose the remaining members from outside the Assembly.
- (3) The Assembly elects the members of the Committee.
- (4) The Committee considers issues of inter-community relations in the Republic and makes appraisals and proposals for their solution.
- (5) The Assembly is obliged to take into consideration the appraisals and proposals of the Committee and to make decisions regarding them.
- (6) In the event of a dispute among members of the Assembly regarding the application of the voting procedure specified in Article 69(2), the Committee shall decide by majority vote whether the procedure

applies.

#### Article 84

The President of the Republic of Macedonia

...

- proposes the members of the Council for Inter-Ethnic Relations;(to be deleted) . . . .

#### Article 86

(1) The President of the Republic is President of the Security Council of the Republic of Macedonia.

(2) The Security Council of the Republic is composed of the President of the Republic, the President of the Assembly, the Prime Minister, the Ministers heading the bodies of state administration in the fields of security, defense and foreign affairs and three members appointed by the President of the Republic. In appointing the three members, the President shall ensure that the Security Council as a whole equitably reflects the composition of the population of Macedonia.

(3) The Council considers issues relating to the security and defense of the Republic and makes policy proposals to the Assembly and the Government.

#### Article 104

(1) The Republican Judicial Council is composed of seven members.

(2) The Assembly elects the members of the Council. Three of the members shall be elected by a majority vote of the total number of Representatives, within which there must be a majority of the votes of the total number of Representatives claiming to belong to the communities not in the majority in the population of Macedonia.

....

#### Article 109

(1) The Constitutional Court of Macedonia is composed of nine judges.

(2) The Assembly elects six of the judges to the Constitutional Court by a majority vote of the total number of Representatives. The Assembly elects three of the judges by a majority vote of the total number of Representatives, within which there must be a majority of the votes of the total number of Representatives claiming to belong to the communities not in the majority in the population of Macedonia.

....

#### Article 114

...

(5) Local self-government is regulated by a law adopted by a two-thirds majority vote of the total number of Representatives, within which there must be a majority of the votes of the total number of Representatives claiming to belong to the communities not in the majority in the population of Macedonia. The laws on local finances, local elections, boundaries of municipalities, and the city of Skopje shall be adopted by a majority vote of the Representatives attending, within which there must be a majority of the votes of the Representatives attending who claim to belong to the communities not in the majority in the population of Macedonia.

#### Article 115

(1) In units of local self-government, citizens directly and through representatives participate in decision-making on issues of local relevance particularly in the fields of public services, urban and rural planning, environmental protection, local economic development, local finances, communal activities, culture, sport, social security and child care, education, health care and other fields determined by law.

....

## Article 131

- (1) The decision to initiate a change in the Constitution is made by the Assembly by a two-thirds majority vote of the total number of Representatives.
- (2) The draft amendment to the Constitution is confirmed by the Assembly by a majority vote of the total number of Representatives and then submitted to public debate.
- (3) The decision to change the Constitution is made by the Assembly by a two-thirds majority vote of the total number of Representatives.
- (4) A decision to amend the Preamble, the articles on local self-government, Article 131, any provision relating to the rights of members of communities, including in particular Articles 7, 8, 9, 19, 48, 56, 69, 77, 78, 86, 104 and 109, as well as a decision to add any new provision relating to the subject matter of such provisions and articles, shall require a two-thirds majority vote of the total number of Representatives, within which there must be a majority of the votes of the total number of Representatives claiming to belong to the communities not in the majority in the population of Macedonia.
- (5) The change in the Constitution is declared by the Assembly.

## ANNEX B LEGISLATIVE MODIFICATIONS

The parties will take all necessary measures to ensure the adoption of the legislative changes set forth hereafter within the time limits specified.

### 1. Law on Local Self-Government

The Assembly shall adopt within 45 days from the signing of the Framework Agreement a revised Law on Local Self-Government. This revised Law shall in no respect be less favorable to the units of local self-government and their autonomy than the draft Law proposed by the Government of the Republic of Macedonia in March 2001. The Law shall include competencies relating to the subject matters set forth in Section 3.1 of the Framework Agreement as additional independent competencies of the units of local self-government, and shall conform to Section 6.6 of the Framework Agreement. In addition, the Law shall provide that any State standards or procedures established in any laws concerning areas in which municipalities have independent competencies shall be limited to those which cannot be established as effectively at the local level; such laws shall further promote the municipalities' independent exercise of their competencies.

### 2. Law on Local Finance

The Assembly shall adopt by the end of the term of the present Assembly a law on local self-government finance to ensure that the units of local self-government have sufficient resources to carry out their tasks under the revised Law on Local Self-Government. In particular, the law shall:

- Enable and make responsible units of local self-government for raising a substantial amount of tax revenue;
- Provide for the transfer to the units of local self-government of a part of centrally raised taxes that corresponds to the functions of the units of local self-government and that takes account of the collection of taxes on their territories; and
- Ensure the budgetary autonomy and responsibility of the units of local self-government within their areas of competence.

### 3. Law on Municipal Boundaries

The Assembly shall adopt by the end of 2002 a revised law on municipal boundaries, taking into account the results of the census and the relevant guidelines set forth in the Law on Local Self-Government.

### 4. Laws Pertaining to Police Located in the Municipalities

The Assembly shall adopt before the end of the term of the present Assembly provisions ensuring:

- That each local head of the police is selected by the council of the municipality concerned from a list of not fewer than three candidates proposed by the Ministry of the Interior, among whom at least one candidate shall belong to the community in the majority in the municipality. In the event the municipal council fails to select any of the candidates proposed within 15 days, the Ministry of the Interior shall propose a second list of not fewer than three new candidates, among whom at least one candidate shall belong to the community in the majority in the municipality. If the municipal council again fails to select any of the candidates proposed within 15 days, the Minister of the Interior, after consultation with the Government, shall select the local head of police from among the two lists of candidates proposed by the Ministry of the Interior as well as three additional candidates proposed by the municipal council;
- That each local head of the police informs regularly and upon request the council of the municipality concerned;
- That a municipal council may make recommendations to the local head of police in areas including public security and traffic safety; and
- That a municipal council may adopt annually a report regarding matters of public safety, which shall be addressed to the Minister of the Interior and the Public Attorney (Ombudsman).

#### 5. Laws on the Civil Service and Public Administration

The Assembly shall adopt by the end of the term of the present Assembly amendments to the laws on the civil service and public administration to ensure equitable representation of communities in accordance with Section 4.2 of the Framework Agreement.

#### 6. Law on Electoral Districts

The Assembly shall adopt by the end of 2002 a revised Law on Electoral Districts, taking into account the results of the census and the principles set forth in the Law on the Election of Members for the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia.

#### 7. Rules of the Assembly

The Assembly shall amend by the end of the term of the present Assembly its Rules of Procedure to enable the use of the Albanian language in accordance with Section 6.5 of the Framework Agreement, paragraph 8 below, and the relevant amendments to the Constitution set forth in Annex A.

#### 8. Laws Pertinent to the Use of Languages

The Assembly shall adopt by the end of the term of the present Assembly new legislation regulating the use of languages in the organs of the Republic of Macedonia. This legislation shall provide that:

- Representatives may address plenary sessions and working bodies of the Assembly in languages referred to in Article 7, paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Constitution (as amended in accordance with Annex A);
- Laws shall be published in the languages referred to in Article 7, paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Constitution (as amended in accordance with Annex A); and
- All public officials may write their names in the alphabet of any language referred to in Article 7, paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Constitution (as amended in accordance with Annex A) on any official documents.

The Assembly also shall adopt by the end of the term of the present Assembly new legislation on the issuance of personal documents.

The Assembly shall amend by the end of the term of the present Assembly all relevant laws to make their provisions on the use of languages fully compatible with Section 6 of the Framework Agreement.

#### 9. Law on the Public Attorney

The Assembly shall amend by the end of 2002 the Law on the Public Attorney as well as the other relevant

laws to ensure:

- That the Public Attorney shall undertake actions to safeguard the principles of non-discrimination and equitable representation of communities in public bodies at all levels and in other areas of public life, and that there are adequate resources and personnel within his office to enable him to carry out this function;
- That the Public Attorney establishes decentralized offices;
- That the budget of the Public Attorney is voted separately by the Assembly;
- That the Public Attorney shall present an annual report to the Assembly and, where appropriate, may upon request present reports to the councils of municipalities in which decentralized offices are established; and
- That the powers of the Public Attorney are enlarged:
  - To grant to him access to and the opportunity to examine all official documents, it being understood that the Public Attorney and his staff will not disclose confidential information;
  - To enable the Public Attorney to suspend, pending a decision of the competent court, the execution of an administrative act, if he determines that the act may result in an irreparable prejudice to the rights of the interested person; and
  - To give to the Public Attorney the right to contest the conformity of laws with the Constitution before the Constitutional Court.

#### 10. Other Laws

The Assembly shall enact all legislative provisions that may be necessary to give full effect to the Framework Agreement and amend or abrogate all provisions incompatible with the Framework Agreement.

### ANNEX C

#### IMPLEMENTATION AND CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES

##### 1. International Support

1.1. The parties invite the international community to facilitate, monitor and assist in the implementation of the provisions of the Framework Agreement and its Annexes, and request such efforts to be coordinated by the EU in cooperation with the Stabilization and Association Council.

##### 2. Census and Elections

2.1. The parties confirm the request for international supervision by the Council of Europe and the European Commission of a census to be conducted in October 2001.

2.2. Parliamentary elections will be held by 27 January 2002. International organizations, including the OSCE, will be invited to observe these elections.

##### 3. Refugee Return, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction

3.1. All parties will work to ensure the return of refugees who are citizens or legal residents of Macedonia and displaced persons to their homes within the shortest possible timeframe, and invite the international community and in particular UNHCR to assist in these efforts.

3.2. The Government with the participation of the parties will complete an action plan within 30 days after the signature of the Framework Agreement for rehabilitation of and reconstruction in areas affected by the hostilities. The parties invite the international community to assist in the formulation and implementation of this plan.

3.3. The parties invite the European Commission and the World Bank to rapidly convene a meeting of international donors after adoption in the Assembly of the Constitutional amendments in Annex A and the revised Law on Local Self-Government to support the financing of measures to be undertaken for the purpose of implementing the Framework Agreement and its Annexes, including measures to strengthen

local self-government and reform the police services, to address macro-financial assistance to the Republic of Macedonia, and to support the rehabilitation and reconstruction measures identified in the action plan identified in paragraph 3.2.

#### 4. Development of Decentralized Government

4.1. The parties invite the international community to assist in the process of strengthening local self-government. The international community should in particular assist in preparing the necessary legal amendments related to financing mechanisms for strengthening the financial basis of municipalities and building their financial management capabilities, and in amending the law on the boundaries of municipalities.

#### 5. Non-Discrimination and Equitable Representation

5.1. Taking into account i.a. the recommendations of the already established governmental commission, the parties will take concrete action to increase the representation of members of communities not in the majority in Macedonia in public administration, the military, and public enterprises, as well as to improve their access to public financing for business development.

5.2. The parties commit themselves to ensuring that the police services will by 2004 generally reflect the composition and distribution of the population of Macedonia. As initial steps toward this end, the parties commit to ensuring that 500 new police officers from communities not in the majority in the population of Macedonia will be hired and trained by July 2002, and that these officers will be deployed to the areas where such communities live. The parties further commit that 500 additional such officers will be hired and trained by July 2003, and that these officers will be deployed on a priority basis to the areas throughout Macedonia where such communities live. The parties invite the international community to support and assist with the implementation of these commitments, in particular through screening and selection of candidates and their training. The parties invite the OSCE, the European Union, and the United States to send an expert team as quickly as possible in order to assess how best to achieve these objectives.

5.3. The parties also invite the OSCE, the European Union, and the United States to increase training and assistance programs for police, including:

- professional, human rights, and other training;
- technical assistance for police reform, including assistance in screening, selection and promotion processes;
- development of a code of police conduct;
- cooperation with respect to transition planning for hiring and deployment of police officers from communities not in the majority in Macedonia; and
- deployment as soon as possible of international monitors and police advisors in sensitive areas, under appropriate arrangements with relevant authorities.

5.4. The parties invite the international community to assist in the training of lawyers, judges and prosecutors from members of communities not in the majority in Macedonia in order to be able to increase their representation in the judicial system.

#### 6. Culture, Education and Use of Languages

6.1. The parties invite the international community, including the OSCE, to increase its assistance for projects in the area of media in order to further strengthen radio, TV and print media, including Albanian language and multiethnic media. The parties also invite the international community to increase professional media training programs for members of communities not in the majority in Macedonia. The parties also invite the OSCE to continue its efforts on projects designed to improve inter-ethnic relations.

6.2. The parties invite the international community to provide assistance for the implementation of the Framework Agreement in the area of higher education.