



Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights

# THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

**REFERENDUM**  
**30 September 2018**

**ODIHR NEEDS ASSESSMENT MISSION REPORT**

**6-10 August 2018**



Warsaw  
16 August 2018

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**THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA  
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**ODIHR Needs Assessment Mission Report**

**I. INTRODUCTION**

Following an invitation from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to observe the 30 September 2018 referendum, and in accordance with its mandate, the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) undertook a Needs Assessment Mission (NAM) from 6 to 10 August. The NAM included Steven Martin, ODIHR Senior Adviser on New Voting Technologies, and Keara Castaldo, ODIHR Election Adviser.

The purpose of the mission was to assess the pre-referendum environment and preparations for the referendum. Based on this assessment, the NAM should recommend whether to deploy an ODIHR observation activity for the forthcoming referendum and, if so, what type of activity best meets the identified needs. Meetings were held with officials from state institutions as well as with representatives of political parties, media, civil society and the international community. A list of meetings is annexed to this report.

ODIHR would like to thank the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the OSCE Mission to Skopje for their assistance and co-operation in organizing the NAM. ODIHR would also like to thank all of its interlocutors for taking the time to meet with the NAM and for sharing their views.

**II. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

On 30 September, the country will hold a consultative referendum related to a bilateral agreement with the Republic of Greece, which envisages constitutional amendments that change the name of the country to “Republic of North Macedonia”. Most ODIHR NAM stakeholders stressed that the implementation of the agreement has a direct impact on the country’s European Union and NATO integration processes as well as on broader regional political stability.

The bilateral agreement remains subject to significant discussion and numerous points of controversy. The president has characterized the agreement as unconstitutional and refused to sign the law ratifying it, despite being constitutionally obligated to do so following adoption in the parliament. The main opposition party has not yet announced if it will participate in the referendum, and several groups have already publicly called for a boycott.

The conditions for conducting the referendum were subject to negotiations between the ruling and opposition parties, which failed to reach consensus on the consultative nature of the referendum and the wording of the question. Following a majority vote in parliament, in which the main opposition party did not participate, the question will read: “Are you in favor of European Union and NATO membership by accepting the agreement between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece?”, and will be considered successful if a majority of

registered voters participate, and if of these, a majority vote “for”. Following the referendum, constitutional amendments would still require a two-thirds majority vote in parliament.

The referendum is regulated primarily by the Constitution, the Referendum Law, and the Electoral Code, as well as additional subsidiary regulations. Most ODIHR NAM interlocutors consider the Referendum Law outdated and pointed to a lack of explicit provisions regarding issues of campaigning, campaign finance, and media obligations. While the authorities maintain that such ambiguities should not impact the overall conduct of the referendum, many ODIHR NAM interlocutors identified gaps and contradictions in the legal framework.

Recent amendments to the Electoral Code introduced a temporary State Election Commission (SEC) that will administer the referendum. Lower-level commissions will be staffed by public employees and will not include party representatives. While the SEC has commenced its work and many ODIHR NAM interlocutors acknowledged its initial collegial and productive approach, many raised concerns with its ability to effectively regulate the referendum under the current legal framework, including on referendum day.

All citizens at least 18 years of age have the right to vote, except for certain restrictions on persons with mental disabilities. Citizens will have the opportunity to inspect voter lists and request changes, and the possibility exists for citizens residing abroad to register and vote. Overall, ODIHR NAM interlocutors did not raise concerns that the accuracy of voter lists would significantly impact the integrity of the referendum process.

Limited provisions regulate the campaign and campaign financing, which are partially supplemented by SEC regulations. Most parties met with by the ODIHR NAM did not envision large-scale campaign activities, and many noted that they had limited resources to self-finance a campaign and would instead rely considerably on online and social media. There is no explicit prohibition on the abuse of state resources for the campaign, and stakeholders noted uncertainty on what may be considered permissible. Only the parliament as the proposer of the referendum is required to report its campaign finances, and only after the referendum day. All interlocutors expected separate campaigns to be conducted in each ethnic community, and some noted that this may include intimidation and pressure on voters in ethnic Albanian communities.

The legislation does not comprehensively regulate the role of media in the referendum, lacking detail on entitlements in commercial and public broadcasts and what constitutes equal coverage. Several ODIHR NAM interlocutors shared conflicting interpretations of these provisions, and all were waiting for the authorities to provide further clarification.

The law provides for legal remedy to all citizens on referendum-related matters as well as for citizen and international observers in polling stations. However, regulations do not provide for observation by party representatives. Several ODIHR NAM interlocutors suggested this restriction may impact the transparency of the process.

All ODIHR NAM interlocutors emphasized the historic nature of the referendum and noted the importance of ODIHR to observe the process as robustly as possible. Many stressed the need to deploy a referendum observation mission with a long-term presence to comprehensively cover all stages of the process, including referendum day. The added value of an ODIHR observation activity was stressed by all ODIHR NAM interlocutors as a key aspect in fostering confidence in

the referendum process, especially given that observation by political parties is not provided for. Several aspects would merit specific attention, notably the legal framework, administration of the referendum including on referendum day, conduct of the campaign and lack of financial reporting requirements, and media coverage.

On this basis, the ODIHR NAM recommends the deployment of a Referendum Observation Mission (ROM) to observe the 30 September 2018 referendum. In addition to a core team of experts, the ODIHR NAM recommends the secondment of 20 long-term observers from OSCE participating States to follow the referendum process throughout the country, in addition to 250 short-term observers to follow referendum day procedures.

### **III. FINDINGS**

#### **A. BACKGROUND AND POLITICAL CONTEXT**

The last parliamentary elections were held in December 2016 and resulted in prolonged efforts to form a government. Despite the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (VMRO-DPMNE) winning most seats in parliament, the Democratic Union for Integration (DUI) and other ethnic Albanian parties aligned with the Social Democratic Union of Macedonia (SDSM) to form an overall majority, yet the president refused to give the SDSM a mandate to form a government. Following a period of intense political turmoil, an SDSM-led government was established on 31 May 2017.<sup>1</sup>

The country's progress towards joining the European Union (EU) and NATO has been historically blocked due to a dispute with Greece regarding the name of the country. A major development in this impasse occurred on 17 June when the foreign ministers of the two countries signed a bilateral agreement.<sup>2</sup> The implementation of this agreement requires a series of constitutional amendments, most prominently to name the country "Republic of North Macedonia". Most ODIHR NAM stakeholders stressed that the implementation of the agreement has a direct impact on the country's EU and NATO integration processes as well as on broader regional political stability.

The agreement remains subject to significant discussion and numerous points of controversy. The president has characterized the agreement as unconstitutional and refused to sign the law ratifying it, despite being constitutionally obligated to do so following its adoption in the parliament.

On 30 July, the parliament passed a decision to hold a referendum on the agreement on 30 September, with 68 votes for and none against.<sup>3</sup> By this decision, the referendum will be

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<sup>1</sup> The parliament consists of 120 seats, of which VMRO-DPMNE holds 51, SDSM 49, DUI 10, the Movement BESA 5, the Coalition "Alliance for Albanians" 3, and the Democratic Party of Albanians 2. Of the 120 seats, 45 are held by women. Following a split within Movement BESA, two factions are operating as separate entities under the party name.

<sup>2</sup> See the [complete text of the bilateral agreement](#).

<sup>3</sup> Representatives of the VMRO-DPMNE did not participate in the vote. Votes in favor were cast by representatives of the SDSM, DUI, and Movement BESA.

consultative and not legally binding.<sup>4</sup> The conditions for conducting the referendum were subject to negotiations between the ruling and opposition parties, which failed to reach consensus on the consultative nature of the referendum and the wording of the question. The VMRO-DPMNE remains opposed to the agreement and has not formally announced its participation in the referendum, though party representatives noted that a decision would be announced by 10 September, which could include calling for a boycott of the process. Several groups have already publicly called for a boycott of the referendum.<sup>5</sup>

Following the referendum, constitutional amendments would still require a two-thirds majority vote in parliament and amendments to the preamble would require a two-thirds majority vote that includes a simple majority of the votes of the total number of representatives who “belong to communities not in the majority in the population”. The agreement also requires adoption by the parliament of Greece, which would be initiated following amendments to the Macedonian Constitution.

ODIHR has previously observed 17 elections and one referendum in the country.<sup>6</sup> The most recent election observation mission, deployed for the 2017 municipal elections, concluded that the elections contributed to strengthening confidence in the democratic process. However, credible allegations of vote-buying, pressure on voters and isolated cases of violence were observed during both rounds. Despite organizational challenges, the election administration ensured that voters were able to exercise their voting rights. The final report included recommendations for the authorities on how electoral processes may be improved and brought more closely in line with OSCE commitments.<sup>7</sup>

## **B. LEGAL FRAMEWORK**

The referendum is regulated primarily by the 1991 Constitution (last amended in 2011), the 2005 Law on Referenda and Citizen Initiatives (Referendum Law), and the 2006 Electoral Code (last amended in 2018), as well as additional regulations promulgated by the State Election Commission (SEC).<sup>8</sup> The country has also ratified key international instruments related to human rights and the holding of democratic elections.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The political party *Levica* filed a motion on 8 August to the Constitutional Court to review the legality of the decision to hold a consultative referendum. The Court has not yet issued a decision.

<sup>5</sup> A coalition of 28 civic associations, NGOs and non-parliamentary political parties have announced a campaign urging a boycott of the referendum.

<sup>6</sup> See previous [ODIHR reports on the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia](#).

<sup>7</sup> In paragraph 25 of the 1999 OSCE Istanbul Document, OSCE participating States committed themselves “to follow up promptly the ODIHR’s election assessment and recommendations”.

<sup>8</sup> Additional legislation includes the Criminal Code, the Law on Public Assemblies, the Law on Prevention of Corruption, the Law on Administrative Disputes, the Law on Political Party Finance, the Law on Media, and the Law on Audio and Audiovisual Media.

<sup>9</sup> These include the 1965 International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1979 UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 2003 UN Convention against Corruption, and 2006 UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. The country is also a member of the Council of Europe’s European Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission) and Group of States against Corruption (GRECO).

The Referendum Law contains limited detail, including on issues of campaigning, campaign finance, and media obligations. On some aspects, including the referendum administration and voter registration, provisions in the Electoral Code are applicable. The authorities acknowledged certain legal ambiguities and a lack of harmonization between the Referendum Law and Electoral Code, although there was no consensus as to how this would impact the overall conduct of the referendum. The SEC has adopted regulations to clarify certain procedures, including on out-of-country voting and to shorten various administrative deadlines. In general, many ODIHR NAM interlocutors noted that the legal framework is outdated and identified a number of gaps and contradictions.

Prior to the referendum, the authorities initiated a comprehensive and inclusive electoral reform process, which envisaged a range of amendments to the electoral legal framework. This process remains incomplete and the majority of previous ODIHR recommendations under consideration will not be addressed ahead of the referendum. However, the authorities have indicated an intention to address specific recommendations related to the functioning of the election administration and voter registration. As part of the negotiation process amongst parliamentary parties ahead of the referendum, parliament established a new, temporary, composition of the SEC and amended the Law on Political Party Finance.

The referendum will pass if a majority of registered voters participate and if, of these, a majority vote “for”. The proposed question will read: “Are you in favor of European Union and NATO membership by accepting the agreement between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece?” The Referendum Law requires that the issue be “precisely formulated and unambiguous, so that the citizen may answer “for” or “against”.<sup>10</sup> Some ODIHR NAM interlocutors expressed concern over the lack of clarity and the compound nature of the question. Moreover, while some stakeholders noted the lack of explicit reference to the associated change to the country’s name, others stressed the importance of signifying the impact of the referendum on EU and NATO integration.<sup>11</sup>

### **C. REFERENDUM ADMINISTRATION**

The referendum will be administered by the SEC, 80 Municipal Election Commissions (MECs) and the Commission for the City of Skopje, and some 3,480 Election Boards (EBs).<sup>12</sup> The SEC is supported by its secretariat and 35 regional offices.

The July 2018 amendments to the Electoral Code introduced a temporary SEC with a six-month mandate that comprises seven members, three of whom are women.<sup>13</sup> All members were nominated by parliamentary parties (four from the ruling coalition and three from opposition

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<sup>10</sup> The Venice Commission’s 2007 [Code of Good Practice on Referendums](#) notes the need for clarity in a referendum question and unity of its content.

<sup>11</sup> The VMRO-DPMNE proposed amendments to the referendum decision related to changing the wording of the question and to a legally binding result, neither of which were supported by the government.

<sup>12</sup> Out-of-country voting is provided for and EBs will be established in Diplomatic-Consular Offices (DCOs) abroad. The amount and locations will be finalized based on the number of registered voters.

<sup>13</sup> Since 2015, the SEC comprised six politically appointed members and three professional members, until their resignations in January 2018 amidst a corruption scandal.

parties, including the chairperson).<sup>14</sup> The Electoral Code provides for gender and ethnic representation in the election administration at all levels.<sup>15</sup> While the SEC has commenced its work and many ODIHR NAM interlocutors acknowledged its initial collegial and productive approach, many raised concern with its ability to effectively regulate the referendum under the current legal framework including on referendum day.

The composition of MECs remains unchanged with five members (and five deputies) who serve a five-year term and are randomly selected from among public employees. MECs will oversee the referendum in each municipality, appoint and train EBs and manage other technical preparations. EBs are responsible for conducting voting and counting procedures, and comprise three members and three deputies who are randomly selected from among public employees. Although EBs for elections include two temporary members nominated by parties, the Referendum Law does not provide for party representatives on EBs and the SEC confirmed that they will not be appointed.

The SEC intends to provide a range of voter education material, which will be narrow in scope and focus solely on providing logistical information related to the referendum. Voting materials on referendum day will be provided in the Macedonian language, as well as in Albanian and other minority languages in certain municipalities.<sup>16</sup>

Mobile ballot boxes will be available for homebound voters who pre-notify their MECs. In addition, Braille ballot sleeves will be available in polling stations for voters with visual impairments. Despite this, civil society organizations expressed regret to the ODIHR NAM that existing provisions to facilitate the participation of persons with physical disabilities and visual impairments were insufficient to guarantee independent access to suffrage, including with respect to municipal physical infrastructure and limited literacy in Braille.

#### **D. VOTER REGISTRATION**

Citizens at least 18 years of age have the right to vote, except for those declared legally incapacitated by a court decision.<sup>17</sup> Despite a previous ODIHR recommendation, only persons with a registered address and valid identification card or biometric passport are included in the voter register.

Voter registration is passive. Voter lists are compiled by the SEC based on data from various civil and population registers. Preliminary voter lists were published on 9 August and include some 1,805,700 eligible voters. Public scrutiny will take place from 9 to 23 August, when voters

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<sup>14</sup> The SEC comprises three nominees from the SDSM, two from the VMRO-DPMNE (including the chairperson), one from the Movement BESA, and one from DUI (vice-chairperson).

<sup>15</sup> Ethnic communities that constitute more than 20 per cent of the population in a municipality should be represented in MECs and EBs, while at least 30 per cent of members in all election bodies should come from each gender.

<sup>16</sup> The law provides for voting materials to be provided for any language spoken by more than 20 per cent of the municipal population. Several ODIHR NAM interlocutors suggested the language of this provision is discriminatory against the ethnic Albanian minority.

<sup>17</sup> Paragraph 22 of the UN Human Rights Committee (CCPR) [concluding observations on the third periodic report](#) on the country noted concerns “about reports that persons with disabilities and persons held in detention facilities have been unable to exercise their voting rights owing to administrative obstacles” and stated that the country “should ensure that voting rights are made accessible to all citizens, including persons with disabilities and persons deprived of their liberty”.



may apply to the SEC to correct their personal information. Although the Referendum Law pre-dates the introduction of out-of-country voting in the Electoral Code, according to the SEC, citizens abroad are eligible to vote and must register by 23 August with the MFA, which informs the SEC of eligible voters. The SEC will publish final voter lists on 7 September. In line with prior ODIHR recommendations, the authorities noted their intention to facilitate the renewal of expired documents for persons confined in penitentiaries as well as to expedite the renewal processes for all voters with expired documents. Overall, ODIHR NAM interlocutors did not raise concerns that the accuracy of voter lists would significantly impact the integrity of the referendum process.

## **E. CAMPAIGN AND CAMPAIGN FINANCING**

The Referendum Law contains limited provisions on campaigning, and is partially supplemented by SEC regulations. By law, the campaign period ends two days before referendum day. SEC regulations provide that it should have started from the call of the referendum on 30 July, although many ODIHR NAM interlocutors believe that the campaign will effectively start on 10 September, following the parliamentary recess.

The Referendum Law does not provide for registration of any campaign groups and indicates only that the “authorized proposer” of the referendum may formally campaign. The SEC has interpreted this designation to refer to the parliament in its entirety, although it remains undefined as to who has the right for such activities (members of parliament or parliamentary parties) and what entitlements are to be made available. SEC regulations define campaigning to include public events and gatherings, displays of material and audio-visual content in the media and online. The SEC has also advised that other stakeholders, such as non-parliamentary parties or civil society organizations, will not be restricted from campaigning.

Most political parties met with by the ODIHR NAM did not envision large-scale campaign activities, and many noted that they had limited financial resources to self-finance a campaign and would rely considerably on online and social media. Given the lack of online regulation and oversight, some interlocutors noted concern with misleading or false information on the referendum through social media, as well as a possible use of harsh rhetoric and inflammatory language throughout the campaign given existing strains between ethnic communities.<sup>18</sup>

Since signing the agreement, the government has been actively promoting the referendum and its importance for EU and NATO integration, and encouraging citizens to vote. ODIHR NAM interlocutors expect external actors to play an active and visible role in the campaign with a number of high-level visits by senior foreign officials, including from the EU and NATO. Several stakeholders noted the lack of explicit provision regulating the involvement of foreign actors in the campaign and noted possible interference to undermine the referendum process. All ODIHR NAM interlocutors noted that the campaign is expected to be conducted separately across ethnic communities. Some interlocutors noted that this may include intimidation and pressure on voters in ethnic Albanian communities, who are expected to comprise a significant portion of the turnout.

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<sup>18</sup> The Electoral Code foresees the regulation of campaign-related online media content by the State Audit Office and the SEC.

Under the existing framework, provisions regulating income or expenditure of campaign finance are limited. The Referendum Law and SEC regulations only provide that the proposer's campaign must be financed at the proposer's own expense. The authorities informed the ODIHR NAM that all stakeholders, including the parliament, must privately finance their campaigns and will not have access to public funds. There is no explicit prohibition on the use of state resources for campaigning, and stakeholders noted uncertainty as to what may be considered permissible.

Only the parliament as the authorized proposer is required to submit a financial report on income and expenditure within 30 days of the close of the campaign to the SEC, the State Audit Office (SAO), the State Commission for Prevention of Corruption (SCPC) and the parliament.<sup>19</sup> The authorities noted a lack of regulation on how to process and audit such reports and indicated that the oversight of campaign finance needs to be further clarified, including delegating responsibilities to specific institutions as well as mechanisms for how the parliament, as the authorized proposer, should submit its financial reports.<sup>20</sup>

## **F. MEDIA**

The media environment is diverse, but politically divided, and content is widely available in minority languages. Television is the main source of information while growing Internet penetration has led to a significant development of online content. The public broadcaster, Macedonian Radio and Television (MRT), operates three television and three radio stations. A number of private broadcasters operate across the country. The Constitution guarantees freedom of expression and prohibits censorship. The OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media (RFoM) has commended several media reforms while underlining the need to improve the general media situation in the country.<sup>21</sup>

The legislation does not comprehensively regulate the role of media in the referendum, such as by indicating whether there are entitlements in commercial and public broadcasts for those campaigning "for" and "against" the referendum question, and what constitutes equal coverage. Various laws and SEC regulations regulate paid political advertisements, and free airtime is not provided for, though broadcasters informed the ODIHR NAM that they would be willing to air debates if the campaign stakeholders are defined. Several ODIHR NAM interlocutors shared conflicting interpretations of these provisions, and all were awaiting the authorities to provide further clarification.<sup>22</sup>

The Agency for Audio and Audiovisual Media (AVMS) is responsible for the oversight of television and radio broadcasters. The AVMS has developed draft guidelines for the conduct of the media in the campaign, which should be finalized by 17 August, following a period of public

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<sup>19</sup> The SCPC is not currently operational, as all of its members have resigned.

<sup>20</sup> In its [Second Compliance Report \(Third Evaluation Round\)](#), the Council of Europe's Group of States against Corruption (GRECO) concluded that certain recommendations to improve the transparency of political party financing and third party involvement in campaigns had been fully or partly implemented, but that some progress was still needed in enforcement.

<sup>21</sup> See the RFoM statement from [15 November 2017](#).

<sup>22</sup> The Association of Journalists issued statements of concern related to the SEC regulation of media under the Electoral Code, and on 9 August, the Council of Europe issued a corresponding [alert](#).

consultation.<sup>23</sup> These will call for fair and balanced coverage of referendum stakeholders, but do not define stakeholders and what constitutes an equal provision of airtime. Additionally, several broadcasters expressed concerns to the ODIHR NAM that the lack of clear rules makes them susceptible to potential sanctions, given the campaign period has formally started.<sup>24</sup>

#### **G. COMPLAINTS AND APPEALS**

The Referendum Law provides for all citizens to file complaints to the SEC within 24 hours related to irregularities in voting day procedures and results tabulation, and to appeal SEC decisions within 48 hours to the Supreme Court.<sup>25</sup> This constitutes a variation from the Electoral Code, under which the Administrative Court is the highest instance of election dispute resolution. The ODIHR NAM was informed that the Supreme Court will establish a special department to adjudicate referendum matters.<sup>26</sup>

Complaints on campaign violations are not under the SEC's mandate, and are considered criminal or civil matters and filed with basic courts. Disputes concerning actions of government and public entities that breach provisions aimed at a separation of state and party and to prevent the use of public resources for campaigning remain under the jurisdiction of the SCPC.

#### **H. CITIZEN AND INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS**

The Electoral Code and the SEC regulations provide for observation of the referendum administration and referendum day procedures by international organizations, representatives of foreign countries, and domestic and foreign organizations that were established at least one year prior to the referendum. Several civil society organizations have already initiated observation activities on various aspects of the process, and at least one citizen observer group intends to comprehensively deploy observers on referendum day.

The legal framework excludes parties from nominating representatives to observe the administrative and voting processes. The parliament, as the authorized proposer, has the right to appoint one special representative to observe the work of the referendum administration in each commission, although how such an appointment process will be undertaken has not been clarified. ODIHR NAM interlocutors noted that the exclusion of party representatives may impact the transparency of the process.

### **IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION**

All ODIHR NAM interlocutors emphasized the historic nature of the referendum and noted the importance of ODIHR to observe the process as robustly as possible. Many stressed the need to deploy a referendum observation mission with a long-term presence to comprehensively cover all

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<sup>23</sup> The AVMS published its recommendations the day after the announcement of the referendum, and comments have been submitted by various broadcasters.

<sup>24</sup> The AVMS may apply sanctions in a case of violation and refer the matter to the relevant court.

<sup>25</sup> By law, the SEC must respond to all complaints within 24 hours, and the Supreme Court to all appeals of SEC decisions within 48 hours.

<sup>26</sup> The ODIHR NAM was informed that forthcoming amendments to the Electoral Code also envisage the Supreme Court adjudicating appeals of SEC decisions during elections.

stages of the process, including referendum day. The added value of an ODIHR observation activity was stressed by all ODIHR NAM interlocutors as a key aspect in fostering confidence in the referendum process, especially given that observation by political parties is not provided for. Several aspects would merit specific attention, notably the legal framework, administration of the referendum including on referendum day, conduct of the campaign and lack of financial reporting requirements, and media coverage.

On this basis, the ODIHR NAM recommends the deployment of a Referendum Observation Mission (ROM) to observe the 30 September 2018 referendum. In addition to a core team of experts, the ODIHR NAM recommends the secondment of 20 long-term observers from OSCE participating States to follow the referendum process throughout the country, in addition to 250 short-term observers to follow referendum day procedures.

## **ANNEX: LIST OF MEETINGS**

### **Ministry of Foreign Affairs**

Andrej Zernovski, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

Dusko Uzunovski, Deputy Director, Directorate for Multilateral relations

### **Ministry of Justice**

Oliver Ristovski, Deputy Minister of Justice

### **Ministry of Interior**

Agim Nuhiu, Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs

### **State Election Commission**

Oliver Derkovski, Chairperson

Ditmir Shehu, Vice Chairperson

Boris Kondarko, Member

Elizabeta Postolovska, Member

Radica Ristevska, Member

Enver Saliu, Member

Janaki Vitanovski, Member

Dobre Jancev, Secretary General

### **State Audit Office**

Naser Ademi, Deputy Auditor General

Katica Janeva, Chief Special Prosecutor

### **Agency for Audio and Audiovisual Media Services**

Lazo Petrusevski, President of the Council

Emilija Janevska, Head of Programme Affairs Department

Dragica Ljubevska, Head of Department of Support to Agency Director and Council Activities

### **Political Parties**

Elmi Aziri, Vice President, Alliance for Albanians

Krenar Loga, Adviser on Legal Issues, Alliance for Albanians

Afrim Gashi, President, Movement BESA (“Gashi”)

Bilal Kasami, President, Movement BESA (“Kasami”)

Arjanit Hoxha, Secretary General, Movement BESA (“Kasami”)

Azem Sadiku, Secretary General, Democratic Party of Albanians

Artan Grubi, MP, DUI

Mile Zecevic, Organizational Secretary and Election Campaign Manager, SDSM

Zlatko Perinski, Executive Board member, VMRO-DPMNE

### **Media**

Dragan Sekulovski, President, Association of Journalists

Marjan Cvetkovski, General Manager of MRT

Zaharija Vulgarakis, Director, MTV

Migena Gorenca, Chief Editor, MTV2

Stojan Trpceviski, Chief News Editor, MTV1

Ana Cvetkovska, Editor, Macedonian Information Agency  
Lirim Hajredini, Chief Operating Officer, AlsatM  
Sanja Vasic, Editor, Telma  
Marjan Nikolovski, Sitel

**Civil Society**

Zlatko Dimitrioski, Citizen Association MOST  
Hajdi Shterjova-Simonovikj, Helsinki Committee  
Elena Kochoska, Polio Plus

**International Community**

Jeffrey Goldstein, Acting Head of Mission, OSCE Mission to Skopje  
Lukas Holub, Deputy Head of Mission, Delegation of the European Union  
Ioana Cosma, Chief of Party, International Foundation for Electoral Systems  
Aferdita Haxhijaha-Imeri, International Foundation for Electoral Systems  
Marko Cehovin, Civilian Advisor, NATO Liaison Office  
Christopher Henshaw, National Democratic Institute  
Narine Sahakyan, Deputy Head of Mission, UNDP  
Representatives of Embassies of OSCE participating States