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Macedonia¹

IHF Focus:

Elections; freedom of expression and media; judicial system; torture, ill-treatment and misconduct by law enforcement officials; religious tolerance; conscientious objection; protection of ethnic minorities; rights of the child; women's rights.

There was a persistent discrepancy of opinion between international diplomats and domestic observers regarding the human rights situation and the effect of the Kosova conflict in Macedonia, with diplomats tending to give a very optimistic view, whereas human rights monitors were more pessimistic. It appeared that the prevention of "spillover" violence from Kosovo, and the preservation of "stability" were the main priorities for members of the international community who had established a presence in Macedonia, as Macedonia was deemed an important international ally in the Balkans.² Main international bodies cooperated uncomfortably closely with a government that, during its seven years of existence, had concentrated power (police, judiciary, and other state institutions) into its own hands in an authoritarian manner, and played along with the process of the increasing polarizing of the main ethnic communities. The IHF emphasized that the preservation of stability in the short term may - if it leads to neglect of respect for human rights and lack meaningful democratization - prove to be counterproductive in the long run.³

The present bloody conflict in Kosovo affected the political climate in Macedonia, with its large ethnic Albanian minority, and inter-ethnic relation grew tenser. Other human rights concerns included abuse by the police, freedom of the media, inadequate operation of the judicial system, and freedom of religion.

Elections

Parliamentary Elections⁴

The third multiparty parliamentary elections were held in Macedonia in October and November, to fill 120 seats in the parliament. In 1998, for the first time, a combined election system was used: 85 seats were filled according to the majority vote, and 35 on the basis of a proportional system.

The IHF has consultative status with the United Nations and the Council of Europe.

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Albania – Austria – Azerbaijan – Belarus – Bosnia-Herzegovina – Bulgaria – Canada – Croatia – Czech Republic – Denmark – Finland – France – Georgia⁵
Germany – Greece – Hungary – Italy – Kazakhstan – Kosovo – Kyrgyzstan – Latvia – Lithuania – Macedonia – Moldova – Montenegro – The Netherlands
Norway – Poland – Romania – Russia – Serbia – Slovakia – Slovenia – Sweden – Switzerland – Ukraine* – United Kingdom – United States – Uzbekistan⁶

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS:

The European Roma Rights Center – Human Rights Without Frontiers – Mental Disability Advocacy Center

The winner of the elections was the Coalition for Change, consisting of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (VMRO-DPMNE), and the Democratic Alternative (DA). Other seats went to the Social-Democratic Union of Macedonia (SDSM), the Party for Democratic Prosperity (PDP), the Democratic Party of Albanians (DPA), the Liberal-Democratic Party, the Socialist Party, and the Union of Roma. The PDP and the DPA, the two political entities that mainly represent the Albanian national minority in Macedonia, ran jointly.

According to the OSCE/ODIHR, the elections represented a significant improvement over past elections, largely due to the new election law, which was adopted with a wide political consensus. However, the law included unclear definitions, leading to differing interpretations during the election period. Article 88 was a particular focus of discussions after the first round, as it determined the first round results. This article was not explicit whether the majority of votes required in round one was a majority of all votes cast or a majority of the valid votes cast. The campaign was generally well conducted, but a number of violent isolated incidents were reported, as were some violations of the campaign silence.⁵

Some parties raised concerns regarding voter registers and voter cards, and it appeared that authorities were not sufficiently receptive to complaints from opposition parties. The voting and counting processes were largely carried out according to the law. Some irregularities were reported, particularly with regard to group and proxy voting. The OSCE criticized the poor publication of the results by the State and District Election Commissions, which led to frustration among the public and the media.⁶

Smaller political parties objected to the required threshold of 5 percent per party to attain representation, claiming that this made it difficult for smaller political entities representing the interests of small national minorities, such as the Serbs, Vlachs, and Turks, to win seats.

The generally positive climate notwithstanding, the media was busy predicting the result in light of their own political orientation. Media loyal to both leading political powers, the then ruling SDSM and the victorious VMRO-DPMNE, predicted great unrest, and even the fall of the republic, if the opponent won the elections.

Freedom of Expression and the Media⁷

The 1997 development toward increasing variety in the field of the media continued in 1998. The media, particularly radio and television, played a significant role in the parliamentary election campaigns. New publications emerged, and the circulation of newspapers and weeklies increased due to price reductions. The collapse of the state-owned publication house Nova Makedonija, which had a monopoly on the distribution network and near-monopoly on printing, provided new chances for the independent and opposition press to grow. The new government also made promises to end Nova Makedonija's monopoly.

Electronic Media

The electronic media finally began to operate in the framework of the new Law on Broadcasting Activity (Law No. 08-1 490/1 of 24 April 1997), though the law was criticized for not providing for an independent and transparent licensing and bidding procedure. It also granted the state radio and television, MRT, the right to collect monthly license fees.

In February, two important laws regarding MRT were adopted. The Law on Establishing the Public Enterprise Macedonian Broadcasting regulated the status and work of the former Department of Transmitters, which was part of MRT. The Law on Establishing Public Enterprise Macedonian Radio and Television regulated the programming of MRT.⁸ The first law provided that the transmitters - which were the only ones in all of Macedonia that covered the whole country - would become available to other radio and television stations.

According to the second law, MRT was governed by the Board of Governors. The Board consisted of 11 members, seven elected by the parliament and four employees of MRT. None of the members could be a member of government, the Broadcasting Council, a leader of any political party, or be employed in a private radio or TV station. The duties of the Board of Governors were to adopt the Statutes, yearly financial plan, and yearly report of MRT. The law gave most power to the general and other managers of MRT, who were, at the same time, the editors-in-chief, and responsible for the daily program policy. All were appointed by parliament. MRT was treated as any state-owned company, and it remained to be seen whether the new parliament would develop it more towards a role of public service broadcasting.¹⁰

Throughout 1998, debate continued on the coordinating role of the Broadcasting Council, a parliamentary appointed body, in charge of the electronic media, that was

set up in September 1997. According to the Law on Broadcasting Activity, the council and the Ministry of Communications and Transport were responsible for establishing the number of frequencies that may be allocated.

In the December 1997 allocation of licenses, the government rejected the applications of two television stations to broadcast nationwide. The two stations - TV Fiesta in Kumanovo and TV Uskana in Kicevo – heavily criticized the rejection of their applications. Their main objection was a lack of transparency in the licensing procedure. The Broadcasting Council both refused to publish the names of the stations whose applications were approved and to give any explanations for denial. In Skopje, the number of allotted licenses were not proportional to the demand. Some of the rejected radio and television stations complained to various international organizations about the decisions, while others threatened to go on strike.

Following criticism both at home and abroad, the government and the Broadcasting Council yielded, and announced a second round of allocations. Most of these licenses were allotted under the time-sharing system, i.e., several stations sharing one frequency. Despite the allocation of additional frequencies, suspicion remained about the adequacy of the procedure. For example, independent experts raised the question of why more licenses were not allotted during the first round, if there were so many frequencies available. As of the end of 1998, radio and television stations that were denied concessions continued to broadcast, while the council, on several occasions, threatened them with closure.

During the parliamentary election campaign, state-owned radio and TV basically respected the rules, allocating equal air time for all parties. Still, most observers stated that it clearly supported the ruling SDSM.

The Press

The variety of newspapers and magazines increased with the emergence of new publications, and the existing ones were able to increase their circulation through reducing their prices. This significantly weakened the monopoly position of the publishing company Nova Makedonija, which fell into a serious financial and personnel crisis, due to the exposure of illegal privatization measures allegedly taken by its leadership. As of the end of 1998, it was close to insolvency. The fall of Nova Makedonija gave new chances to independent and opposition press, particularly in distribution, which had been Nova Makedonija's monopoly.

Just before the fall parliamentary elections, the new daily paper Makedonija Denes, which openly supported VMRO-DPMNE, started publishing. It was operated by former editors and journalists of the weekly magazine Denes, which had been published by Nova Makedonija.

During the election campaign, the Nova Makedonija company, its daily paper Vecer, and its weekly Puls, initiated a fierce drive against the then opposition parties, and openly expressing their loyalty to the ruling SDSM. Makedonija Denes favored the former opposition. The newspaper Dnevnik managed to report relatively neutrally on all parties, though observers deemed it to be a partial supporter of the opposition. Due to a sharp price reduction, it managed to increase its circulation from 8,000 to 55,000 copies- despite the fact that Nova Makedonija refused to distribute it through its own network, and the former government did not allow it to set up its own kiosks.

The deep political polarization in the field of the media resulted in insults, defamation campaigns, and fabricated stories. Victims were often not aware of their right to correction, reply, and court protection.

The Helsinki Committee for Human Rights of the Republic of Macedonia was not aware of any cases of direct censorship or pressure on journalists. However, some journalists fell victim to attacks that were believed to be politically motivated.

- In July, the owner and managing editor of the weekly Fokus, Nikola Mladenov, was brutally beaten and seriously injured by unknown individuals in front of his house in Skopje. Mladenov believed that the assault was related to the critical writings of Fokus. The police were not able to catch the assailants. Another journalist of the same magazine was beaten up in late 1998 in Ohrid.

- During the election campaign, some journalists were ill-treated by party activists and racketeers hired by political parties. No one was seriously injured.

- In December, the car of the owner and manager of the TV station TV Iris from Stip, Simeon Marjanov, was destroyed by fire. Marjanov had received threatening calls before the act, and believed that the fire was politically motivated.¹¹

The Judicial System¹²

Legislation to implement many constitutionally guaranteed rights was not finalized.

For example, there was still not adequate legislation regulating the apprehension and rights of detainees. Moreover, law enforcement officers often violated those regulations that existed. Provisions adopted in March, to govern the operation of the Ministry of the Interior, did not come close to meeting international standards.

Court proceedings, particularly civil proceedings, were slow, seriously endangering the right to a trial in a reasonable period of time. Courts were overloaded with cases, and inefficient. Although there were no large political trials in 1998 similar to those in Tetovo and Gostivar in 1997, 13 courts of law were still, often, misused for political purposes. In addition, the Office of the Public Prosecutor was reluctant to take efficient measures to fight corruption and organized crime.

The new office of the public attorney (ombudsman) proved unable to make significant contributions towards the realization and protection of citizens' rights before administrative bodies.

Due to the very restricted legal aid provided by the state, the Helsinki Committee of the Republic of Macedonia initiated free legal counseling within the framework of the project "Lawyers for Human Rights." Between February and end of November, it dealt with 145 cases. Most of the problems were related to discrimination in granting citizenship, misconduct by law enforcement officials, employment, and inappropriate court proceedings.

Torture, Ill-Treatment and Misconduct by Law Enforcement Officials

Police violence remained one of the most serious human rights problems in Macedonia. According to research results of Human Rights Watch, violations cut across ethnic lines: all citizens of Macedonia suffered violence at the hands of the police, as well as procedural violations, almost always with no recourse through the courts. The common characteristic of victims was usually a person's activity in the political opposition or low social-economic status.¹⁴ Ethnic Albanians and Roma were particularly susceptible to police misconduct.

Police used violence and excessive force at the time of arrest, and during investigations while suspects were held in custody. Individuals were often beaten until they confessed to a crime. Police continued to arrest individuals without a court decision, summon others for "informative talks" to police stations, and conduct unwarranted searches. Suspects were often held in custody beyond the legal 24 hours without warrant. Electronic monitoring by the police was commonplace, despite

the fact that it was prohibited by law.

The constitutional right to legal counsel was not adequately adhered to. Detainees did not have prompt access to a lawyer, and they were generally not informed about their rights in police custody, including the right to compensation for unlawful detention.

Despite some efforts supported by UN agencies, measures taken by government officials to reduce police abuse by promoting better training, rules governing the operation of the police, and the system of accountability were insufficient. The Ministry of Interior was reluctant to discipline its employees, the Prosecutor's Office showed resistant in pressing charges against police officers, and the courts often refused to convict, despite a preponderance of the evidence.¹⁵

Police attempted to justify the use of force, saying that they did it to prevent a criminal act, calm down active resistance by suspects, or protect themselves against assaults. According to police statistics, force was used in 43 instances, 33 of them unlawfully.

By the end of October, the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights of the Republic of Macedonia had registered 34 cases of coercive means used by the police, involving 42 individuals.

- In May, ten officers from the police station Kisela Voda (located in Prolet, a suburb of Skopje) beat Aleksandar Janevski-Tosta in front of the night club "Oranski" He was taken to a police station, handcuffed, and beaten again. He suffered a stroke, brain damage, and bruises all over his body. The Skopje Police Department claimed that Janevski, who was drunk, had made fun of them, attacked two police officers, refused to undergo an alcohol test, and resisted actively when being taken to the police station, therefore making the use of force legal. Janevski said he had called the police himself, as he had noticed that someone had broken into his car. He claimed that the police officers, for no reason at all, handcuffed and beat him. Janevski was scheduled to face trial for attacking police officers in early 1999. He sued the police for causing him serious bodily harm.

- On 2 September, Marjan Gjurovski, a reporter from Sitel TV, was reportedly severely ill-treated by several undercover police officers near the international bus station in Skopje. Gjurovski had escaped the officers with a taxi, not knowing that they were police officers. He was forced out of the taxi and beaten. According to the

Ministry of the Interior, the police were carrying out a raid near the bus station, and Gjurovski acted suspiciously.

Three police officers were dismissed from the Police Department of Skopje after they had beaten up guests in the night club "Academy." One was fired for stealing a lamb and threatening the owner with his police gun. An off-duty police officer attacked a taxi driver. Criminal charges were filed against him, and colleagues who came to arrest the taxi driver were punished with 15 percent salary reductions for the following six months. Two additional Skopje police officers were fined for not reporting the use of force during a raid in March.

Religious Tolerance¹⁶

In 1997, the Macedonian parliament passed the restrictive Law on Religious Communities and Religious Groups. The law favored traditional religions, registered as "communities," and discriminated against new religious association, registered as "groups." According to the law, "one religion could have only one religious community," a provision which favored "traditional" religions. The law also enabled arbitrary measures by authorities against religious groups.

In the course of 1998, the first results of the restrictive legislation were observed. Intolerance increased, restrictions on the right to worship were documented, and it appeared that the situation was growing worse towards the end of the year.

- The Commission for Relations with Religious Communities prohibited Jehovah's Witnesses from reconstructing their meeting hall in Skopje, citing an urban plan that did not "provide for a location of a religious building on that very site." The commission also referred to "serious disputes among the citizens who reside in the nearby houses or work in nearby administrative buildings." Jehovah's Witnesses had similar problems in Strumica.

- Macedonian authorities refused to register the Orthodox Church of the Vlach minority, on grounds that there was already one Orthodox Church in the country.

Four Evangelical churches filed complaints to the Constitutional Court, challenging the constitutionality of the law. On 24 December, the court ruled unconstitutional six articles of the law: article 3 that banned "religious work and rituals" by unregistered groups; article 10 that required 50 adult members to form a religious group; article 11

that required one representative to file detailed information with the Office of the Affairs of Religious Communities and Religious Groups; article 13 that established an official register of legal religious groups; article 14 that granted legal status to a religious group from the date it was recorded in the official register; and article 22 that required permission from the Office for the Affairs of Religious Communities and Religious Groups for the construction or acquisition of religious buildings. However, the court did not rule unconstitutional further discriminatory articles. They include article 8 that allows only one religious denomination for any one faith, and article 19 which requires permission from the Office of the Affairs of Religious Communities and Religious Groups to hold religious events in public places. 17

Conscientious Objection

There was no law on conscientious objection to military service in Macedonia, though the constitution guarantees the freedom of conviction, conscience, and thought (article 16). The young men who refused to carry out the compulsory military service were punished with a prison sentence or a fine. After each punishment, they were again called up, and again sentenced.

Protection of Ethnic Minorities

Interethnic relations remained tense, and the level of tolerance reduced. In particular, relations between the Albanian and Roma minorities and the Macedonian majority became very tense.

Higher education remained a burning issue. The failure to solve this problem also blocked the passage of a law on higher education. Ethnic minorities were disproportionately represented in secondary and higher education, particularly ethnic Albanian and Roma girls. An additional problem was the lack of minority participation in the drawing up of educational policy, curricula, and other educational programs.

Albanian Minority¹⁸

No major Macedonian-Albanian conflicts similar to the 1997 incidents in Tetovo and Gostivar occurred in 1998. The ethnic Albanian mayors of Gostivar and Tetovo, Refik Dauti and Rufe Osmani, imprisoned for illegally flying Albanian flags, remained incarcerated throughout 1998. Both were included in the February 1999 amnesty. "Quiet discrimination" against the ethnic Albanian minority continued, and the Kosovo

conflict greatly affected the inter-ethnic atmosphere.

Albanians charged that they were subordinated to the majority population, and treated as second-class citizens. In relations with the Albanian minority, authorities generally respected the letter of the law, always just barely remaining on the legal side. Albanian victims of violence rarely reported such case, expecting no recourse. The ethnic Albanian minority continued to be under-represented in public bodies, including various ministries and other administration.

The lack of education in the Albanian language remained a central problem. Article 48 of the constitution guaranteed the right to primary and secondary education in recognized minority languages, but made no reference to higher education. Albanians also demanded the use of the Albanian language in all other national institutions, including Skopje University.¹⁹ The Albanian language private university in Tetovo operated, but its status remained inadequately solved. New problems are expected to arise the moment the first ethnic Albanian students graduate from the university in the academic year 1998/99. There was a lack of proper equipment for schools, particularly in rural areas. The Albanian language Teachers' Faculty in Skopje operated formally, though relations between Macedonian and Albanian professors and students remained tense. The curriculum of this faculty did not include elements for the promotion of inter-ethnic tolerance.²⁰

Albanians demanded for more Albanian-language programs in public radio and television. In May, when the government issued new public concessions for frequencies, all Albanian-language stations that were affiliated with or sympathetic to the DPA, including TV-Koha in Tetovo and TV-2 in Gostivar, lost their licenses. ²¹

The question of citizenship remained problematic. Albanians alleged that the process of handling applications and complaints was corrupt and arbitrary. In October, Albanians claimed that as many as 50,000 Albanians in Macedonia were still without citizenship and, consequently, had no right to vote in parliamentary elections.²²

The alleged presence of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) on Macedonian territory was an important factor in inter-ethnic relations. There were a series of bomb attacks in different Macedonian towns and, in September 1998, the head of Macedonian counterintelligence announced that there were KLA structures inside Macedonia, something he later denied. There was a wave of police operations and arrests: several people were detained for terrorist activities, though formal charges presented to the court, for the most part, were for illegal possession of arms. Among ethnic

Albanians, there was a widespread feeling that the police were waging an unwarranted campaign against them in order to improve their public image, which had been tarnished by, among other things, their inability to apprehend anyone for the attempted assassination of President Kiro Gligorov in October 1995. In this campaign, the police were supported by the prosecutors and courts, institutions which the Albanians deemed to be puppets of the government, who willingly played along in the pre-electoral witch hunt against them. The view of most observers was that, generally, these detained persons had been involved in criminal activities, but that these activities were most probably related to smuggling rather than terrorism. There was also a widespread opinion that the latest police offensive was meant to demonstrate the force and resolve of the present government, and whip up anxiety regarding radical Albanian separatism. The main Macedonian media - state TV and the Nova Makedonija newspaper – were extraordinary willing to promote the government's view of these events.²³

There were also fears among the Albanian minority that the drawing of constituency boundaries – on the basis of the new electoral system – would be done to weaken the ethnic Albanian vote. In addition, the Albanian parties objected to the composition of the election commissions, and complained that insufficient funding was provided for voter education. ²⁴

Roma Minority ²⁵

According to the European Roma Rights Center (ERRC), the long-cherished view that Macedonia would be positively "exceptional" with respect to Roma – a view enthusiastically promoted by Macedonian authorities - has contributed to a consistently inadequate state response to human rights violations against Roma.²⁶

The Roma minority was subjected to open and hostile treatment. Its members fell victim of police violence and other misconduct, discrimination in employment and education, and inadequate treatment of Roma children by teachers. In addition, legal provisions providing for equality were misinterpreted (e.g. provisions on students' quotas in higher education).

In all sectors of life, individuals in public service openly discriminated against Roma. The low level of education and awareness of basic civil rights, as well as possibilities for legal remedy, among the Roma added to the problems. On the other hand, the failure of the judicial system, from investigation to court decisions, to appropriately handle cases involving Roma led to substantiated distrust, and reluctance among the

Roma to file complaints and seek justice. On the positive side, one Roma group in 1998 initiated legal proceedings against officers of the Ministry of the Interior for ill-treatment and abuse committed by the police.²⁷

As a result of omissions in the 1992 Citizenship Act, there were a high number of stateless individuals among the Roma in Macedonia. Ethnic tensions and racially motivated violence against Roma were commonplace, and Roma frequently fell victim to police violence and judicial abuses. At the municipal level, corruption and prejudices resulted in Roma living without adequate accommodation and infrastructure. Roma dwellings were even demolished if they stood in the way of city planning. Municipal authorities discriminated against Roma in the allocation of social welfare payments and education. Service bans in restaurants, bars, clubs, and discos were a daily phenomena.²⁸

According to the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights of the Republic of Macedonia, intolerance towards the Roma minority increased, and violent clashes between ethnic Macedonians and Roma occurred on an almost daily basis in 1998. The police reacted promptly, but looked for perpetrators primarily among the Roma population. Police activity was accompanied by violations of several basic human rights, including violations of the right to privacy and human dignity, and physical abuse against Roma. ²⁹

At pace with this growing intolerance, members of the Roma minority also stood up and demonstrated against discrimination in Stip and Kumanovo. The result, however, was even greater repression. Some Roma NGOs made noticeable efforts to overcome the poor situation of the Roma. The NGO "Moonlight" organized several seminars for the Roma population on the subject of human rights, and opened an office for the protection of the rights of Roma in Gostivar.

Vlach Minority³⁰

The Vlach minority criticized the failure to receive instruction in the Vlach language as an optional subject in the curricula of public schools. In addition, they were not allowed to establish their own Orthodox religious organizations, because the Law on Religious Communities and Religious Organizations prohibited the registration of more than one religious organization representing the same tradition. In this case, Macedonian authorities judged that the Macedonian Orthodox Church was sufficient for all Orthodox believers, although most Vlachs felt affiliated with their own Orthodox Church.

The request by the Vlachs to include 23 May, the National Day of the Vlach, in the calendar of public holidays in Macedonia was turned down.

Rights of the Child³¹

Macedonian law emphasized the rights of the parent, rather than the rights of the child. Consequently, children were left to "the good will" of parents and guardians. The rights of the child were also ignored by social workers, who should have reacted to neglect, abuse, and other violence against children.

The number of child street beggars and vendors increased. Many left school without completing primary education. Marriages among minors, particularly among the Roma and Albanian minorities, persisted, without reaction by judicial bodies. The right of children to participate in discussions on issues that concern them was virtually non-existent. The media identified several cases of home violence against children, and public interest in this issue should intensify.

Women's Rights³²

Violence against women, both at home and work, persisted, and remained uninvestigated by law enforcement officials. An increasing number of women wanted to take advantage of help provided by the newly established women's shelters. However, the communication between shelters, social workers, and police departments, in order to coordinate activities to protect women victims of domestic and other violence, was insufficient.

Ethnic Albanian women had a very low level of education, and remained outside public life. After the 1998 elections, the number of female deputies increased to nine. There were virtually no women in managing positions.

FOOTNOTES:

1. Officially recognized by the UN as the "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia."
2. See also Macedonia: Police Violence, Official Thumbs Up, Human Rights Watch/Europe and Central Asia Division, 1998.

3. The Macedonian Side of the Conflict in Kosovo, Report of the Netherlands Helsinki Committee and the Norwegian Helsinki Committee in Cooperation with the International Helsinki Federation (IHF), Fact-Finding Mission to Macedonia, 25 September – 1 October 1998.
4. Unless otherwise noted, based on the Annual Report on the Conditions of Human Rights in the Republic of Macedonia During 1998, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights of the Republic of Macedonia.
5. Parliamentary Elections in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, 18 October and 1 November, ODIHR.
6. Ibid.
7. Unless otherwise noted, based on the Annual Report on the Conditions of Human Rights in the Republic of Macedonia During 1998, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights of the Republic of Macedonia.
8. 1998 World Press Freedom Review, International Press Institute.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Unless otherwise noted, based on the Annual Report on the Conditions of Human Rights in the Republic of Macedonia During 1998, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights of the Republic of Macedonia.
13. See IHF Annual Report 1998.
14. "Police Violence in Macedonia," press release, Human Rights Watch/Europe and Central Asia Division, 7 April 1998. For details, see the report Macedonia: Police Violence, Official Thumbs Up.
15. Ibid.
16. Unless otherwise noted, based on the Annual Report on the Conditions of Human Rights in the Republic of Macedonia During 1998, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights of the Republic of Macedonia.
17. "Macedonia: Macedonian Evangelicals Successfully Challenge Restrictive Law," Human Rights Without Frontiers, 1 March 1999.
18. Unless otherwise noted, based on Annual Report on the Conditions of Human Rights in the Republic of Macedonia During 1998; and Human Rights in the Republic of Macedonia (January through June 1998), Helsinki Committee for Human Rights of the Republic of Macedonia.
19. The Albanian Question in Macedonia, Implications of the Kosovo Conflict for Inter-Ethnic Relations in Macedonia, International Crisis Group, 11 August 1998.
20. See IHF Annual Report 1998.
21. The Albanian Question in Macedonia, Implications of the Kosovo Conflict for Inter-Ethnic Relations in Macedonia, International Crisis Group, 11 August 1998.

22. The Macedonian Side of the Conflict in Kosovo, Report of the Netherlands Helsinki Committee and the Norwegian Helsinki Committee in Cooperation with the International Helsinki Federation (IHF), Fact-Finding Mission to Macedonia, 25 September – 1 October 1998.
23. Ibid.
24. The Albanian Question in Macedonia, Implications of the Kosovo Conflict for Inter-Ethnic Relations in Macedonia, International Crisis Group, 11 August 1998.
25. Unless otherwise noted, based on the Annual Report on the Conditions of Human Rights in the Republic of Macedonia During 1998, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights of the Republic of Macedonia.
26. A Pleasant Fiction: The Human Rights Situation of Roma in Macedonia, the European Roma Rights Center, 1998.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Human Rights in the Republic of Macedonia (January through June 1998), Helsinki Committee for Human Rights of the Republic of Macedonia.
30. Based on the Annual Report on the Conditions of Human Rights in the Republic of Macedonia During 1998, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights of the Republic of Macedonia.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.

