



*Ethnic Albanian students demonstrate for recognition of their studies at Tetovo University.
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IHF FOCUS: Elections; freedom of expression and the media; the judicial system; misconduct by law enforcement officials; religious intolerance; protection of ethnic minorities; women's rights²; rights of the child; social rights.

Despite some positive signs in 2000, Macedonia's human rights record still saw room for improvement. The September municipal elections in Macedonia did not meet international standards for fair and free elections. The draft law on public information, pending as of the end of 2000, included provisions that raised concern about media freedom, and journalists and media outlets faced politically motivated harassment.

Minority rights remained unresolved and discrimination and violence against the Roma increased; ethnic Roma as well as Albanians were also frequent targets of police abuse. The courts were under political influence and operated inefficiently. Religious intolerance by the majority Macedonian Orthodox Church grew and the proposal for a new law does not provide for

equality on a confessional level. Men continued to be imprisoned for conscientious objection to military service. Unemployment and other social problems brought nearly 20 percent of families below the poverty line and caused increasing tension.

Elections

The municipal elections were held in Macedonia on 10 September, with the runoff two weeks later.

The pre-election campaign was characterized by a high level of inter-ethnic aggressiveness and incitement to intolerance. The ethnic Albanian Party for Democratic Prosperity (PDP) did not manage to nominate its own candidates for the city council of the predominantly ethnic Albanian Tetovo due to obstructions by the Local Election Commission.

The OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission found that the elections showed improvement in some areas, but fell short on a number of international standards for democratic elections formulated in the 1990 OSCE Copenhagen Document. In particular, the elections did not fully meet Macedonia's OSCE commitment to conduct elections free from violence and intimidation, and to safeguard the secrecy of the vote.³

According to the OSCE/ODIHR, the voting was carried out in a calm and orderly manner in the majority of municipalities, and the process was further improved during the second round on 24 September. Nonetheless, the election days were marked by tension, major irregularities, and acts of intimidation and violence at a number of polling stations.⁴

The prohibition to continue campaigning on the day of the elections was ignored, particularly by the media. The independence day celebration was used as a political instrument mainly by the governing parties, and voters were intimidated, ballots were torn, and ballot boxes were stuffed or manipulated in other ways. Polling stations were raided, the secrecy of the ballot was not respected, independent monitors were excluded from polling stations and journalists were ill-treated by party activists. In the municipality of Kondovo political rivals of the two Albanian parties fired shots at each other.

◆ Due to a fight that took place at the polling station in the village of Vranjovce, the polling had to be interrupted for three hours. One voter publicly announced that he had cast his vote for the candidate of the Democratic Party of Albanians. Some other voters considered this statement a provocation, resulting in a clash between the voters, monitors and members of the Election Commission. After this, the Municipal Election Commission from Gostivar canceled the voting. The police intervened in the fight, which resulted in four injured persons, one of whom died later.

The run-off elections were organized in 21 polling stations in 12 municipalities. The

run-offs were marked by irregularities similar to those in the first round, but this time violent incidents were reported - particularly in the municipality of Strumica, eastern Macedonia. In many polling stations the elections were not over even by mid-November.

The State Election Commission did not operate adequately and was unable to solve many cases of violations of the election process. It also failed to observe the deadlines for announcing the initial election results.

Freedom of Expression and the Media

The media in Macedonia could generally operate freely. A new daily newspaper, Vest, began publishing in July. However, in the course of the year, journalists and media outlets complained of being put under pressure by politicians and several journalists were physically attacked.

In the pre-election campaign there was a clear division in the reporting and broadcasting of outlets supporting the opposition parties - being mostly private - and those supporting the Government, i.e. the state radio and television and the papers published by the Nova Makedonija publishing house. International monitors especially criticized the biased programming of the state television. Half of the media subsidies provided by the state budget were allocated to Nova Makedonija, while some newspapers received no state funding at all. The allocation process was non-transparent and the application procedure was unclear.

The Albanian-language media was generally considered to be under the control of the DPA party.

Access to information became more difficult as journalists had to ask for permission from the competent authorities when wishing to get information on almost any public issue.

Harassment of the Media

The media faced many forms of harassment ranging from financial pressure to direct violent attacks on editors and journalists.

There were well-founded reasons to believe that this was done to punish them for criticizing the politics of the governing parties. Audio and video cassettes were stolen and confiscated on many occasions from radio and TV stations or the media were otherwise harassed. Legal action was taken against five journalists working for the *Start* weekly magazine and a *Vecer* journalist was convicted of slander, although there was no evidence that the journalists had violated the Criminal Procedure Code or other laws.

◆ On 27 November, electricity was cut off at the two most popular nationwide television stations when they were to air their prime-time news: the news could be seen only in the capital, Skopje, and its surroundings. On the same day, unidentified persons warned by phone that a bomb had been planted at the Sitel TV premises, set for 8:15 P.M. The warning turned out to be a hoax. It was believed that the cutting off of electricity was linked to the fact that the previous day the stations had aired the views of the opposition leaders at the same time as the Macedonian Radio Television (MRTV) had aired an extensive interview with Prime Minister Georgievski.

◆ In June, the issues of the Tirana-based daily newspaper *Bota Sot* were confiscated in the towns of Tetovo and Gostivar, and its production by a local printer was shut down for five days, ostensibly on technical grounds. *Bota Sot* was generally critical of the Government.⁵

◆ Authorities tried to execute an order to demolish the buildings in which television stations A1 and Channel 5 TV stations were located, claiming that the buildings were constructed illegally. As a result of strong pressure by media outlets, the authorities abandoned the plan.

◆ Aleksandar Bozinov, owner of Radio Rosa, an independent radio station in Kocani, and fellow traveler Sasko Sokolov were brutally beaten on the evening of 4 November on the road from Stip to Kocani,

near the village of Krupiste. Three days before the incident, the Kocani local office of the Social Democratic Union of Macedonia (SDSM) had demanded that Radio Rosa repeatedly broadcast its announcement criticizing local representatives of the ruling parties. Representatives of the governmental Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (VMRO-DPMNE) and the Democratic Alternative (DA) soon demanded from the station the right to directly address people of Kocani through Radio Rosa. Because Bozinov refused to do anything more than broadcast a written statement, he was seriously threatened. The station had been a target of two other violent attacks in the past two years.

◆ During the pre-election campaign for local elections, the *Nova Makedonija* daily newspaper reported that security officers of a political party physically assaulted Ljupco Naskov, their correspondent in Sveti Nikole.

Phone Tapping

According to ARTICLE 19, the phones of some 25 journalists and opposition politicians were illegally tapped in the months leading up to the September 2000 local elections. The timing suggested that the initiative for this surveillance had come from the authorities and was politically motivated.⁶

Draft Law on Public Information⁷

The draft Law on Public Information, published in May 2000, guarantees media freedoms and access to public information, establishes a system of registration and stipulates a number of other obligations for the media. According to ARTICLE 19, the draft law represents a significant improvement over past laws and practices and, if passed, would largely bring Macedonia's law in this area into line with international standards.

However, the organization criticized a number of features that either are in clear

breach of international standards or unnecessary. Such features include a requirement for the media to publish accurate, timely and/or complete information in an efficient manner and to observe professional and ethical rules (which could be better dealt with as a matter of professional self-regulation); for journalists to register with the Government to receive an identification card; and for all media – defined also to include posters and photographs – to be registered with the responsible ministry. Moreover, the draft law defines the exceptions to the right of access to information too broadly and vaguely (e.g. “legitimate interest,” “protection of morals,” “protection of the rights of others”).

According to the Macedonian Helsinki Committee, local journalists generally disapproved of the draft law - suspecting that the goal of the bill was to legalize a certain level of government control over the media outlets.

Politically motivated Discrimination

It appeared that some administrative bodies took discriminatory measures in the field of employment against individuals solely because of their political or other opinions. In all the ministries and other organizations financed from the state budget there is an ongoing process of replacement of the administration (including the lowest levels) with people belonging to the governing parties.

◆ Daniel Zahariev, a lawyer with 18 years of work experience at Svetlina, the Kumanovo branch of the public electric power company of Macedonia, was dismissed from his job on 19 November. At a later press conference at the Kumanovo office of the opposition, SDSM claimed that Zahariev was dismissed solely because he had been elected to the local council as its candidate, while Svetlina’s director was elected to the local council as a representative of VMRO-DPMNE. Svetlina’s director had suggested that Zahariev leave the SDSM. According to SDSM, the director transferred

30-40 employees that were not members of the ruling party to other positions.

Judicial System

Although the principle of separation of powers was formally recognized, political leaders tried to interfere in the operation of courts and use them as political instruments. The process of appointing, disciplining and dismissing judges was often politically coloured to promote politically loyal officials.

The courts continued to be treated to some extent as part of the state administration. The executive branch was responsible, for example, for controlling judges’ salaries and the courts’ budgets. The Government appeared to have a mixed attitude of abstract respect and concrete distrust towards the judiciary, including the Constitutional Court: on the one hand, it was unwilling to accept the courts’ power to make decisions that eventually slowed down or hindered the implementation of numerous political plans. On the other hand, it did not trust the judicial officials appointed by the former Government. The Government’s non-implementation of the decisions of the Constitutional Court was especially worrying. In addition, courts operated inefficiently and slowly, especially in civil cases.

◆ On 20 November, members of the independent trade union at the Makedonija Turist company staged a one-hour warning strike before the First Instance Court Skopje 1 and the office of the public prosecutor, demanding that the court act more quickly on embezzlement charges against the company’s managers Done Tanevski, Grigor Koprov and Sonja Bibanovska. The employees on strike believed that the president of the court and the Skopje public prosecutor had deliberately delayed the opening of the trial due to close relations to the accused and personal interests.

During the trials, the legal procedures and the relations between parties were not

followed. Violations of human rights resulting from unfair trials were getting huge dimensions.

Misconduct by Law Enforcement Officials

Vagueness in the constitutional provisions and the unfinished legal system, together with the inadequate training of police officers and the low quality of training for domestic jurists, resulted in violations of individuals' rights.

Police officers still arbitrarily stopped individuals and inspected vehicles, luggage, etc. without giving any explanation or issuing the person with a certificate of the act in order to allow him/her to file a complaint.

The legal provisions regarding conditions for arrest still went unobserved. People were arrested arbitrarily and not brought before a judge immediately to decide on detention, as prescribed by law. Investigative judges and public prosecutors turned a blind eye to such practices. In addition, coercion was used during arrest and in detention.

There was no adequate redress for illegal arrest. In practice, issuing such a claim was so complicated that it was seldom done. According to a survey carried out by the Macedonian Helsinki Committee, people brought to or held in a police station or other similar facility were often not informed of their rights (including the right to a lawyer of their own choosing), nor were their families informed of their whereabouts although, by law, this should have been done soon after arrest. The same applied to the transfer of detainees from one police station to another. Contact with a lawyer was often delayed or hindered, and detainees did not receive adequate medical treatment; nor could they seek a second opinion or examination by an independent doctor. The Helsinki Committee lobbied for a practice whereby all arrestees would immediately be given a multilingual brochure on their rights, for which they

should sign a receipt. The Committee also stated that every police station should keep separate and updated files on all arrested persons and detainees as an important safeguard against possible abuse of authority and extended police custody.

Both ethnic Albanians and Roma appeared to be singled out for police abuse.⁸ Particularly, the killing of three police officers in January triggered serious police abuse.

◆ On 14 January, three police officers were killed in the village of Aracinovo, near Skopje. Soon after that, the police raided the ethnic Albanian village without a warrant, obviously to revenge the death of the deceased officers. In the course of the raid, the police exceeded their legal powers and used excessive force: they ill-treated the villagers, used abusive language and intimidated them, for example at gunpoint. They forced people to lie down, stepped on them and kicked them all over their bodies. In one house, a hand grenade was thrown into a freezer, and an intact gas bomb was left in another house. More than a hundred persons were taken for questioning, two of whom were hospitalised for over a week because of serious injuries and one person died. Many houses suffered significant material damages – in some cases virtually all the property was demolished.⁹ One of the accused in the case is a child, but both the judge, the public prosecutor and the child's lawyer failed to fulfill their duties and protect his specific rights. This omission amounted to a major violation of the domestic laws and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Such incidents did little to raise confidence in policing among the Albanian community. In the three months following the Aracinovo killings, three police stations in predominantly ethnic Albanian areas were attacked with explosives, although it was not clear if the incidents were linked.¹⁰

In July, the European Roma Rights Center (ERRC, IHF Cooperating Committee) reported on the police abuse of Roma in Stip, central Macedonia, noting that it

was only the most recent in a string of incidents of police brutality against Roma to which the authorities have failed to respond adequately.

◆ In the early morning of 26 May, police - accompanied by three ethnic Macedonian villagers - arrested Selajdin Mustafov, Sehri Mustafov, Orhan Aliov, Ferat Skenderovski, Mamet Redzepov and a minor called Dzero Aliov upon their return from illegally gathering firewood in the village of Sasavarija, close to Stip. One of the villagers hit Sehri Mustafov in the mouth with an iron rod. He fell down, and then managed to escape. One of the policemen hit Selajdin Mustafov several times, handcuffed him, and pushed him into the police car. The non-Roma group then surrounded the other Roma and beat them severely while the police handcuffed and took Orhan Aliov, Selajdin Mustafov, Redzepov and Skenderovski to the police station in Stip, where the ill-treatment continued. The Roma were released about seven hours after their arrest, and required urgent medical treatment.¹¹

Prison Conditions

The Macedonian Helsinki Committee expressed its deep concern about the extremely poor conditions in the Idrizovo penitentiary, the oldest and largest prison in the country, saying that they amounted to inhuman and degrading treatment and punishment.

The conditions did not meet basic hygienic requirements, cells were overcrowded, the heating did not operate satisfactorily, and single cells had no heating at all. It was impossible to wash and dry clothes and there were no adequate uniforms, shoes or bed sheets for the prisoners. The possibilities for contact among prisoners and between prisoners and their instructors, doctors and other prison officials were insufficient. The poor and repressive conditions meant there was no progress in the process of correction and re-socialization. The inmates' psychological and moral in-

tegrity was seriously threatened by violence among prisoners, including frequent homosexual assaults. Prisoners' work was not properly compensated and those who had no work did not receive the legally prescribed pocket money. Conditions for education or professional training were poor. Outdoor exercises were not possible on a regular basis nor were there facilities for other spare-time activities, sports or recreation. Prisoners were only entitled to one or two telephone calls per month. Prisoners also complained about poor medical care and a lack of appropriate medications. Legal counsel for prisoners had stereotypical attitudes and poor qualifications. On the positive side, since the arrival of the new director, coercive measures were rarely used as punishment.

Religious Intolerance

The question of freedom of belief gained importance in 2000. The domination of the Macedonian Orthodox Church and discrimination against other religious communities and groups continued. The situation deteriorated with the absence of appropriate legislation after the Constitutional Court abolished more than one third of the provisions of the previous law. No new provisions were adopted by the end of 2000.

On several occasions, high-ranking officials of the Macedonian Orthodox Church made openly hostile statements regarding other confessions. In addition, the Orthodox Church reportedly asked to be granted the status of a "national church." This privileged status would, for example, exempt it from all taxes; allow it to give religious instruction in schools; exempt its priests from military service and other public duties that are contrary to their calling; provide it with financial assistance from the state budget; and allow it to conduct religious sermons in the army, hospitals and jails.

The hostile attitudes of the Macedonian Orthodox Church leadership encouraged direct attacks by the members of the

church against minority communities. For example, the fence of the Jehovah's Witnesses' place of worship in Prilep was demolished and the Jewish cemetery in Bitola was vandalized.

Close links between the Macedonian Orthodox Church and state authorities were evident. In addition, the Macedonian Orthodox Church was the only religious community involved in the preparation of the 1997 law on religious communities and religious groups. The law that remained in force in 2000 clearly favoured "traditional" religions and discriminated against religious minorities. For example, "traditional" denominations were registered as "communities" and enjoyed various privileges. Other denominations, registered as "religious groups," had to undergo much stricter scrutiny than traditional religious communities and other organizations. They did not enjoy tax exemptions like other civic organizations and special conditions were set for their establishment and registration.

The Vlachs were still not allowed to register their own religious community. Due to their unresolved status, it was not possible to construct buildings or hold religious services in the Vlach language.

Conscientious Objection

Criminal charges were brought against men who refused to perform military service for reasons of conscience (Article 341.1 of the Criminal Code). Article 7 of the Law on Defence provided for unarmed service. The new draft defence law, which was being debated in Parliament as of the end of 2000, provides for an alternative, civilian service in the army that does not meet international standards: it does not provide for service outside the armed forces; it does not allow persons who have already begun their military service to change to the alternative service; it provides that a commission established by the Ministry of Defence should decide on applications; and it prescribes a punitive length of 14 months for civil service (normal military service is nine months).

Protection of Ethnic Minorities

The situation of minorities was affected by discrepancies between the legislation, political decisions and the *de facto* inter-ethnic situation. Several ethnic Albanian DPA party members were appointed to high positions in the state administration (without having a genuine multicultural reshuffle of the state apparatus) but some basic problems remained unresolved.

The long-standing problem regarding Tetovo University was not solved. The Roma minority faced more negative attitudes than ever since Macedonia's independence. While the international focus was often on the relations with ethnic Albanians, the problems of other minorities (Turks, Vlachs, Roma and Serbs) tended to go unnoticed.

Albanian Minority

On 25 July, the Government adopted a provision to the Law on Education to resolve the question of Tetovo University, a private Albanian-language institution that Macedonian authorities refused to accredit as a state educational institution. The provision established a new institute in the Albanian and English languages offering training in business, education, and public management. The internationally funded institution, intended as a replacement to Tetovo University, would allow Albanians to study in their own language, although a proficiency test in Macedonian would be required before their diplomas could be officially recognized. Despite receiving the backing of the Albanian party in the ruling government coalition, the new institute did not receive unequivocal support from the country's ethnic Albanian population, many of whom wanted nothing less than the recognition of Tetovo University itself.¹²

Roma Minority

The situation of the Roma remained a cause of concern in Macedonia. It appeared that negative stereotypes and prejudices increased during 2000, and several

Roma were the victims of police abuse.¹³

In several schools, teachers discriminated against Roma children and non-Roma fellow pupils showed clear animosity towards Roma. Some non-governmental organizations openly expressed negative attitudes towards Roma, and the authorities did not make efforts to improve their educational and social situation, thus continuing to "quietly discriminate" against Roma and ignoring their needs.

Authorities and humanitarian organizations failed to pay the necessary special attention to the situation of Roma refugees from Kosovo: they had previously been actively engaged in helping ethnic Albanian refugees, but virtually ignored the Kosovar Roma refugees.

The Vlach Minority

The State failed to adequately protect the cultural rights of the Vlach minority, for example by not supporting the publication of literature in the Vlach language, Vlach presence in the media and or cultural events. In addition, there was no Vlach-language instruction at any level of the education system.

Citizenship

The Macedonian Government had promised to reform the overly exclusive 1992 citizenship law in line with Council of Europe standards, but the law remained unchanged as of the end of 2000. The law never adequately resolved the status of the significant number of Yugoslav citizens who were long-term residents in Macedonia but who were neither born in Macedonia nor ethnic Macedonian. Large numbers of ethnic Albanians, Turks, and Roma who knew no other home than Macedonia remained effectively stateless as a result of the law.¹⁴

Protection of Refugees and Immigrants

Following the repatriation of most of the 344,500 Kosovar refugees, their num-

ber decreased to less than 1,000. The total number of refugees as of the end of 2000 was 6,300, including 5,700 from Kosovo, about 110 from Bosnia and Herzegovina, and 700 newcomers from southern Serbia. Fifty persons received refugee status. Ethnic Roma accounted for well over 90 percent of all refugees. Others included ethnic Albanians from south Serbia, as well as ethnic Serbs and other non-Albanian minority members from Kosovo, such as Gorans and Zubas. The poor security situation of non-Albanians in Kosovo ruled out the organized repatriation of non-Albanians. The Government granted Kosovar Roma persons "temporary humanitarian assistance" for a duration varying from three to six months. The limited duration and successive extensions of this status, however, placed constraints on their protection and the search for viable solutions.

Three collective centres were closed in July due to the relocation of a total of 1,248 refugees to the new Suto Orizari refugee centre near Skopje. Phase one of the centre was completed and consists of 16 barracks (with 236 rooms), five communal kitchens, showers and sanitary facilities. During the first six months of the year, refugees in the collective centres were provided with cooked meals. Vulnerable refugees living with host families were given cooking stoves, firewood and kitchen sets. Extremely vulnerable host families also received support.

The Government had no clearly formulated asylum or immigration policy. However, it cooperated with UNHCR to develop appropriate laws in this area.

There were no reports of the forced return of persons to a country where they feared persecution. In the new Association and Stabilization Agreement between Macedonia and the European Community, both sides accepted to cooperate in the areas of visa, border control, asylum and migration. Besides this, the agreement contains "re-admission clauses" whereby Ma-

cedonia is obliged, with no special formality or time limit, to re-admit illegal migrants from the EU.

Rights of the Child

Seven years following the ratification of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, children still only enjoyed rights originating from the rights of their parents and families. The Family Code, which defines parents' rights, does not even mention the rights of the child. The idea of the right of the child to actively participate in the community or the school system was in the initial stages.

A serious cause for concern were the unprofessional attitudes and lack of interest by social workers, medical institutions, schools and the police about child victims of any form of ill-treatment and, in particular, family violence. Moreover, there were no shelters to protect child victims of abuse. It was impossible to give exact figures on the number of abused children, street children, exploited children, trafficked children and children involved in juvenile prostitution, although it is clear that such figures are not insignificant.

In May 2000, following the recommendations of the World Health Organization and UNICEF, a pilot project was started for the de-institutionalisation of patients in the special hospital in Demir Hisar, which accommodates seriously mentally handicapped children. The Government decided to stop admitting new patients and instead to offer assistance to families with handicapped children. To support the care-taking families, centres for daily care and small groups in the communities were established.

However, special efforts were still needed to develop alternative shelter for orphaned children either in other families or through adoption.

The Law on Child Protection that was adopted in November, does not contain adequate articles relating to the right of the child to non-discrimination, the best inter-

ests of the child, the right of the child to freely express his/her opinion, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, the right to privacy, etc.

Social Rights

The process of privatisation and structural reforms continued alongside an increase in the number of redundant or unemployed workers of bankrupt companies. The rate of unemployment varied from 35 to 50 percent. With over 70,000 families depending solely on a social allowance, more than 20 percent of all families lived below the poverty line. There were no appropriate social programs to lessen the expected social tensions.

The Law on Early Retirement was passed in May in order to implement reforms in the public administration, but the Constitutional Court declared the law unconstitutional. The Government attempted to circumvent the ruling by requiring that all retired persons wishing to return to their jobs had to file a request to the governmental body that made the decision on their dismissal. Those who wished to exercise the right to a pension could file a complaint with the same body – this violated the law as only the State Fund for Pension and Disability Insurance was authorised to recognize the right to a pension. As a result, persons who returned to work have not received a salary, a pension or the right to health care.

Decision No. 229/95 of 20 July 1996 of the Constitutional Court, which abolished Article 4(1) of the law on amending the law on pension and disability insurance, had still not been implemented four years after its passage. Military officers who retired after 1 January 1994 received an advance payment, but not the full amount of their pension. Retired former Yugoslav army officers have not received their old-age pensions for years because they did not meet the conditions set by the Government.¹⁵

Endnotes

- ¹ Unless otherwise noted, based on the *Annual Report 2000* of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights of the Republic of Macedonia.
- ² See IHF, *Women 2000, an Investigation into the Status of Women's Rights in Central and South-Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States*, November 2000
- ³ OSCE/ODIHR, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia: Municipal Elections, 10 September 2000, Final Report.
- ⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵ *Human Rights Watch World Report 2001*: Macedonia.
- ⁶ Article 19, 19 January 2001.
- ⁷ Based on *Memorandum by ARTICLE 19, Global Campaign for Free Expression on the Draft Macedonian Law on Public Information of 12 May 2000*, July 2000.
- ⁸ See Protection of Ethnic Minorities.
- ⁹ Press release of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights of the Republic of Macedonia, 22 January 2000.
- ¹⁰ *Human Rights Watch World Report 2001*: Macedonia.
- ¹¹ Letter from the European Roma Rights Center to the Macedonian General Prosecutor, 13 July 2000.
- ¹² *Human Rights Watch World Report 2001*: Macedonia.
- ¹³ See Misconduct by Law Enforcement Officials.
- ¹⁴ *Human Rights Watch World Report 2001*: Macedonia.
- ¹⁵ "Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia", No. 33/92.