

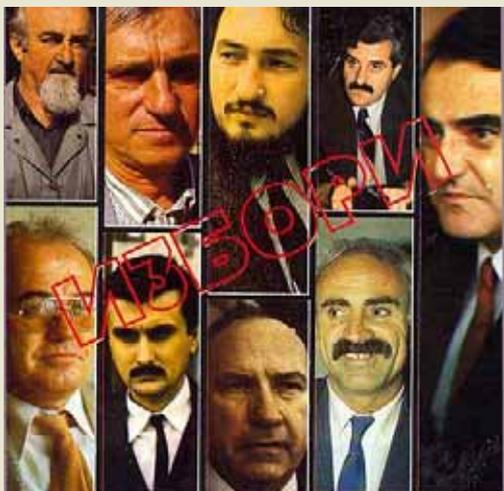
# NEW POLITICAL SCENE

In November 1990 were held parliamentary elections at which the citizens of Republic of Macedonia for the first time had the opportunity to elect representatives out of many political parties and independent candidates. In January 1991 was constituted the first multiparty assembly, and on 25 January 1991 was adopted the Declaration for sovereignty of S.R. Macedonia. Towards the end of the month, with a secret vote, the members of parliament had chosen Mr. Kiro Gligorov to be the first President of Republic of Macedonia.

On 20 March 1991 was formed the first, so-called, *expert Government*, headed by academician Dr. Nikola Kljusev. Right after the forming, the new Government had undertaken activities for changes in the economical and political system, as well as for the monetary and international independence of Republic of Macedonia.



The first Government of Republic of Macedonia



Leaders of political parties, 1990.

## Introduction of a multiparty system

1 With the adoption of the amendments and the additions of the ruling law, the public organizations and civil associations, the political pluralism, which was already a reality in Republic of Macedonia, now becomes practical legislation. It allowed founding of associations with a minimum of 10 people above the age of 18, whose members have a permanent stay in SR Macedonia, and any other person who had completed a form and whose civil rights are not underprivileged or limited upon a court order can become a member.

*Daily newspaper "Nova Makedonija", 13.04.1990*

## For the first time

2 Fortunate we are the voters, to reach the pre-elections period. We were marginalized and lied to, but now for the first time in 50 years we become participants in a political game, whose players are the ones that determine the result by themselves. Oh, beauty, oh, beauty of pluralism! (...) Actually, in my country these days, the air is burdened with the smell of democracy. There is no political party without the word democracy in its name or its program (...) The problem is that some of those who with all their heart declare that their party is helping the democracy in the political, cultural and public life make everything possible to suppress that same democracy in the days when democracy is needed more than anything else, especially in the time when the only smell of the red communist roses permeates everywhere from the communist garden.

*Tomislav Osmanli, "Vo smrtniot cas" ("At the Deathly Hour"), 1993*

## Constitution 1991

Article 20

3 ...the citizens can freely form associations of citizens and political parties, to join them or withdraw from them....

Article 22

Each citizen when fulfilling the age of 18 obtains the right to vote. The right to vote is equal, universal, and direct, and is applied at free elections with a secret vote.

## Declaration of Sovereignty of SR Macedonia

Article 1

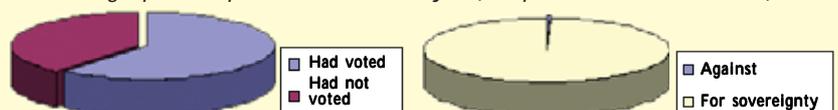
4 This Declaration expresses the sovereignty of Socialist Republic of Macedonia in accordance with the constitutive decisions for independence and territorial integrity of the Macedonian state, and the right of the Macedonian people for self-determination, including the right of separation.

*"Official Gazette of S.R. Macedonia", 01.02.1991*

## Referendum

5 The Assembly of Republic of Macedonia had decided on 6 August 1991 to hold a referendum and to determine the question that shall be posed at the referendum: **Are you for an independent Macedonia with the possibility to enter into union with the other countries in Yugoslavia?**

*Monograph, "Republika Makedonija" ("Republic of Macedonia") 1999*



71,85 % voter turnout at the referendum

From the total number of voters, positive votes were given by 95,05 %.



## What kind of changes happened in Macedonia at political plan?

One of the more important activities of the Assembly was the decision to announce a referendum for the independence of Republic of Macedonia, which was held on the 8<sup>th</sup> of September 1991. The Albanian electorate had not supported it. After the holding of the referendum, the Assembly had adopted the Declaration for Independence and Sovereignty of Republic of Macedonia. The members of parliament on 17 November 1991 finalized the process of independence with the adoption of the Constitution, although the Albanian representatives in the legislative house had not supported it.

After the signing of the agreement between the President Kiro Gligorov and the representative of JNA (Jugoslovenska narodna armija - Yugoslav National Army) general Blagoja Adžikij, started the retreat of JNA from the territory of Republic of Macedonia. In the same time, the process of creation of ARM (Army of Republic of Macedonia) was unfolding.

In 1994 were held the second parliamentary and the first presidential elections. At these elections as President at direct elections, the citizens had elected



*The square in Skopje after the announcing of the results from the Referendum*



*Signing of the agreement for peaceful leaving of JNA from Macedonia*

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### INDEPENDENCE

That night, as our statesmen and party leaders were drinking triumphant champagne at the stage at the city square, someone from the crowd, whether it was serious or it was a joke, said: "Be careful - you will get drunk from the champagne! And an empty stomach speaks louder than it!"

*Magazine "Svet" nr. 63, 1996*

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### How sovereign we are?

We had declared ourselves for a sovereign Republic of Macedonia. We had declared that in front of the whole democratic and freedom-loving world that had the opportunity to see the video tape of how that Nazi-monster, mounted on that "military vehicle", without anything human in him, had strangled the Macedonian soldier. But what kind of sovereignty is that, when our soldiers are dying at someone else's battle fields? What kind of sovereignty is that, when we cannot recruit our soldiers ourselves? What kind of sovereignty is that, when our sons are awoken from their beds and taken...who knows where (...)? What are the secrets of a war when a parent does not know where is his child taken? Someone would say "war situation, mobilization"...Why don't they mobilize the sons of the ones that brought us to this "war among brothers", and when "the death cry" will come in their homes, than they will be able to come to their right mind.

*Daily newspaper "Nova Makedonija", 14.05.1991*

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### Cavalcade of the Macedonian mothers

We are not crying because our children are soldiers, we just do not want them to be killed for someone else's nonsense – said the parents which had gathered first in the park "Zhena - borec", and than entered in the Assembly of Macedonia.

The organization board had submitted several requests: the Macedonian soldiers from the Fifth military district to return immediately for serving out of their military term in Macedonia; the government of Slovenia to stop all military actions and to guarantee the lives of their children, to provide living conditions for the soldiers until their return (food, water), to enable phone calls, the Red Cross of Macedonia to organize visits to the soldiers by their parents.

More than 400 parents of soldiers from Macedonia that are serving their military term in the Fifth military district, yesterday around 10 o'clock had gathered in the park "Zhena - borec" in order to express their revolt and concern about the destiny of their children. In organized manner arrived 60 parents from Strumica, which together with the ones from Skopje, Debar, Radovish and other places from the Republic had requested admission in the Macedonian Parliament. After two hours of waiting, they were received by the President of the Assembly, Stojan Andov. In the four hours long emotionally tensed, accompanied by tears and at times revolted conversation, partook also the Minister for National Defense of Republic of Macedonia, Risto Damjanovski.

*Daily newspaper "Večer", 05.07.1991*



*Hundreds of mothers protesting in the Macedonian Assembly*

Mr. Kiro Gligorov, who later in 1995 would suffer an attempt of assassination by unknown perpetrators. The third parliamentary elections were held in 1998, and the following year the presidential elections. Among the six candidates that participated at the elections, Mr. Boris Trajkovski was elected President.

After the independence, the Macedonian leadership undertook activities for international recognition. The Badinter Commission in January 1992 gave a positive opinion that Republic of Macedonia fulfils the conditions for international recognition, but the Council of Ministers of the EC (European Community) in Lisbon had announced that the recognition of Macedonia is being postponed until the solving of the name dispute. Besides the problems with the name, part of the Balkan states and wider had recognized Republic of Macedonia with its constitutional name. Among the first countries that had done so were Bulgaria, Turkey, Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The international recognition of Republic of Macedonia was finalized with the admission in the OUN (Organization of the United Nations), under the reference FYROM (Former Yugoslav Republic of



**Kiro Gligorov**  
(President of R.M. 1991-1999)



**Boris Trajkovski**  
(President of R.M. 1999-2004)

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## RESULTS OF THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

Party	Election year		
	1990	1994	1998
Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity 	38	/	49
Social-democratic Alliance of Macedonia 	31	59	27
Party for Democratic Prosperity 	22	10	14
Liberal Party 	18	29	/
Socialist Party 	4	7	1
Party of Yugoslavs	2	/	/
National Party of the Albanians	1	/	/
Party for Complete Emancipation of Romas 	1	1	/
Independent candidates	3	7	/
National Democratic Party	/	4	/
Democratic Party of Macedonia	/	1	/
Social-Democratic Party	/	1	/
Turkish Democratic Party 	/	1	/
Democratic Alternative	/	/	13
Democratic Party of the Albanians 	/	/	11
Liberal-Democratic Party 	/	/	4
Alliance of Romas of Macedonia	/	/	1

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### Badinter Commission

According to the Arbitration Commission of the European Community (Badinter Commission) on 11 January 1992: *Republic of Macedonia had fulfilled the conditions which were enunciated from the Directives for Supporting of New States in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union as well as with the Declaration for Yugoslavia adopted by the Council of Ministers of the European Community on 16 December 1991.*

[www.historyofmacedonia.org](http://www.historyofmacedonia.org)

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### Statement of Mitsotakis on the issue under which conditions they would recognize RM as an independent country

If in Skopje prevails the view that there should be proclaimed an independent Republic, it must be clear that the usurpation of a Greek name, with which, viewed from a historical point of view, the people that live in "Republic of Skopje" do not have any connection, actually includes territorial pretensions.

*Daily newspaper "Nova Makedonija" 15.01.1992*

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### The Declaration of Lisbon

... emphasize that are prepared to accept the request of Macedonia to be recognized as an independent state in the existent borders. EC is prepared to do so in the moment when the name issue of that Former Yugoslav Republic will be solved.

*Daily newspaper "Nova Makedonija", 28.06.1992*

Macedonia), as a result of the pressure from Republic of Greece. After the admission in UN on the 8<sup>th</sup> of April 1993, Republic of Macedonia becomes also a member of numerous international institutions, associations, and communities.

Bulgaria was the first to recognize the Macedonian state in January 1992 under its constitutional name; nevertheless it had not recognized the Macedonian nation and the Macedonian language.

In the fall of 1992, Greece had introduced an economical blockade towards Macedonia, and the relations were normalized with the signing of the Interim Agreement in September 1995.

SR Yugoslavia had refused to normalize the relations and to establish any diplomatic relations, until September 1996, when it recognized the country with its constitutional name.

Albania had recognized Macedonia under its constitutional name in 1993.

13 The mediator of USA, Richard Holbruck had arranged an agreement between the two countries on 13 September 1995. Macedonia had agreed to change its flag and to introduce provisions in its Constitution that prevents it to make any territorial pretensions towards the neighboring countries. Greece had agreed to remove the trade blockade and the ban for the people with Macedonian passports and to stop preventing the assistance from the European Union for Macedonia.

*Daily newspaper "Nova Makedonija", 14.09.1995*

14 Part of the speech of President Kiro Gligorov on the occasion of the admission in the UN

... the admission of RM in the international family of peoples is an act with which the justice triumphs and is a bright example how one small and peaceful people had fulfilled its right for self-determination and statehood and its responsibility in the international community in a peaceful and legitimate way...with this act are crowned all the centennial aspirations of the Macedonian people and its 130 years of struggle for independence and freedom...

15 Statement of Tadeush Mazowiecki (special reporter of the UN for former Yugoslavia)

The international public has a big debt to return to Macedonia. That country was subjected to great injustice by putting pressure on it in the moments when it gained its independence, to accept an absurd name – Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

*Daily newspaper "Utrinski vesnik", 29.03.2004*



1992 - 1995



1995 -



**Branko Crvenkovski**  
(Prime minister of R.M. 1992-1998)



**Ljubcho Georgievski**  
(Prime minister of R.M. 1998-2002)



1. Which expectations and disappointments are indicated by the author? (doc. 2)
2. How would you pose the referendum question?
3. Why, in spite of the proclamation of sovereignty, the Macedonian soldiers were recruited in JNA? (doc. 4, 7, 8)
4. Which were the main obstacles for the international recognition of RM? (doc. 10, 11, 12)
5. Why had the Macedonian leadership accepted admission in UN under the reference FYROM?



Create a slogan and a short program of an imaginative political party for participation in the elections of 1990 in Macedonia!