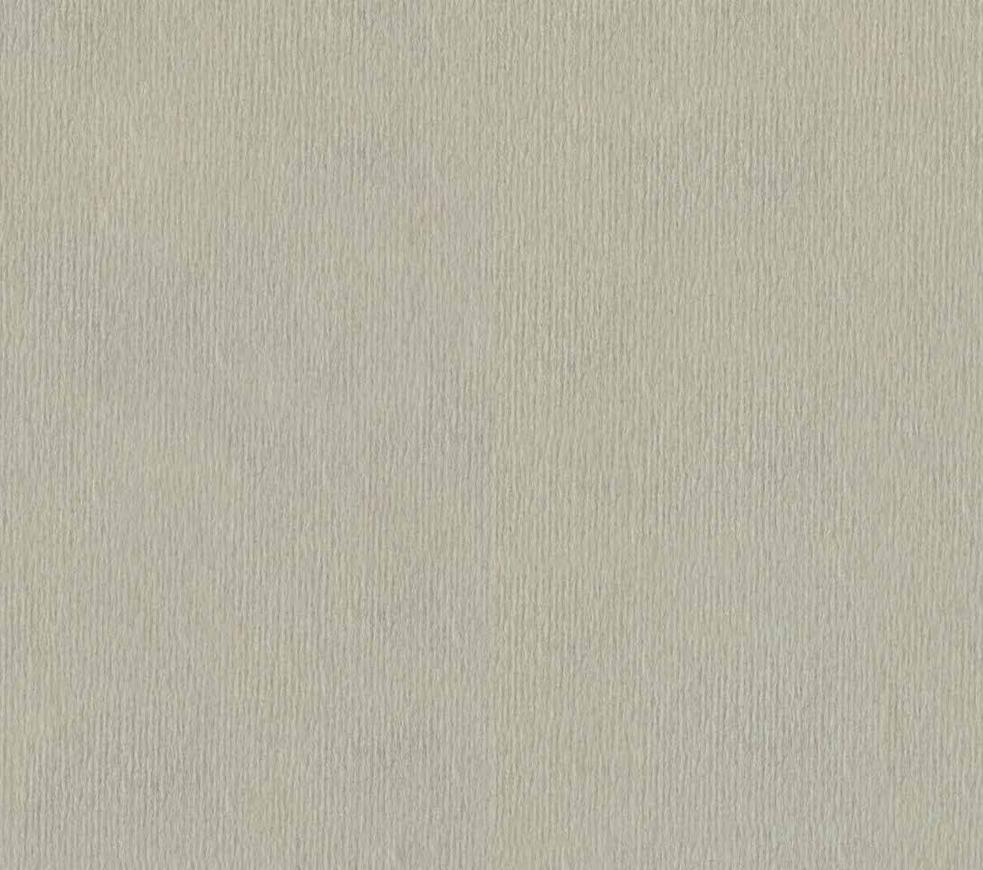
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FORWARD

pen Society Foundation celebrates 25 years of its existence in the Republic of Macedonia.

It would be more than convenient today when, in the words of Pasternak, "the twentieth century, that wild beast" is already behind us, to remind ourselves of what stands behind the name open society, behind the thousands of phenomena, forms, activities, behind the faces of people and of institutions which, in the last twenty five years, have participated, in one way or another, in diffuse situations associated with this name, and especially of those that diligently worked for that name, against all odds, to express its essence against the noise of all days passed in these years.

The term open society is first mentioned in Henri Bergson's book The Two Sources

of Morality and Religion (1932), wherein this French philosopher, analyzing the difference between concepts of closed and open society, relies on the assumption of social pressure on responsibility: obligations covered by societies are actually duties towards humankind and humanity, because the community should include, not exclude, different individuals and specificities, open to progress, or in other words, open to a new, thriving morality.

The concept of open society, as already known, is born in the academic word, in the book by eminent philosopher Karl Popper, The Open Society and Its Enemies (1945). Under pressure from dramatic changes on the European historical scene after Austria's annexation to the Third Reich and devastation caused by the Second World War, Popper directed his social and political philosophy to

criticism of the totalitarian society. Hence, Popper's vision of the open society is built on the theses that human knowledge is not eternal and unchangeable, but provisional and incomplete; it should be always open to improvement, just as the society should be open to new, thriving morality that implies cultural and religious pluralism and relies on permanent insecurity and dynamism of open change.

In all certainty, it could be said that life and real dimensions were instilled to Popper's ideas by his former student, philanthropist George Soros, who invests large portion of his wealth in the multi-decade effort on installing the world of values that arise from human mind into the valueless world of cruel facts. George Soros is a person well versed in Popper's lessons: we owe it to our existence in the world our rationality, the practice of critical and self-critical thinking and acting. To him owe our relation to our tasks, ability to measure our results, ability to

acquire greater knowledge, to develop our talents, to grow and to become, and finally, to him we owe the ability to exceed our potentials. What Popper developed in the theory, George Soros embodies in the practices: in spite of all contradictions of a moment in time and in spite of consequences of the world's inert actions on us, our works become independent from us, just as our children and our visions do, but still return as open possibility for us to learn and to contribute anew to the world.

Like it or not, from the very start of its institutional operation in our state, the Foundation Open Society – Macedonia has taken this path and has never derailed therefrom. Using the impersonal vocabulary of formality, it could be repeated, for the thousandth time, that:

"With funds at its disposal, the Foundation Open Society implements a broad spectrum of activities aimed to promote the open society, by shaping government

policies and by supporting education, the media, public health, human rights, women rights, rights of marginalized communities, as well as social, legal and economic reforms."

What is less known or maybe even unknown is that, behind that artless and, unfortunately, nondescript formulation that should sum up the multitude of actions taken by FOSM and that, in the last period, has caused less indifference in our setting, and more negativism and need for annihilation, there is one grand struggle of ideas, there is an array of people who wholeheartedly believe in uncertain and risky, yet possible and much needed, openness of the communities

FOSM and all its faces in these 25 years, even the most contradictory and the most criticized ones, stands to witness what humanism must inevitably embody in the twenty first century. Humanism

cannot be a theory enclosed within book covers. There is no privileged and meticulously demarked sphere for humanism. It is destitute to be pragmatic and thereby to appear contradictory, but that is the only possible image of humanism in action in this endlessly changing world.

Hence, those who have undertook this infernal, but noble task to change the surrounding, to help those in dire need, to push forward the horizon, not to personal liking, but to the criteria of developing humankind which, in ideal terms, could still reach pluralism of opportunities, will be forever surprised by the unexpected joy brought about by their, occasionally successful and often fragile, attempts.

April, 2018

Maja Bojadjievska, Chair of the Executive Board

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

n the occasion of 25th anniversary of the Foundation Open Society – Macedonia (FOSM), on behalf of all staff members at the Foundation and in my personal name, I would like to express deep respect and gratitude to all those who have made it possible to celebrate this important jubilee today.

I would like to give special acknowledgement to all former and current members of the Executive Board, for their contribution and leadership in strategic guidance of the Foundation's operation and its position in the last 25 years. In particular, I extend my gratitude to members of the Executive Board and its Chair Maja Bojadjievska, all of whom uncompromisingly and selflessly, together with the staff members, stood in defense of the Foundation in the darkest hours and at the time when, attacked by the government of VMRO-DPMNE in 2017, the Foundation's existence was almost brought under question.

FOSM is especially proud of its staff members, all of whom have invested significant portion of their working life and all of whom - with great enthusiasm, dedication and professionality - promoted the open society and its values, as something they deeply believe in. On this occasion, I would like to extend my immeasurable gratitude to all my senior and junior colleagues, with whom we openly discuss and listen to one another, learn from each other, solve problems together, and rejoice the successes.

Special acknowledgement is owed to former executive director Vladimir Milchin who, 25 years ago, started the story and, by July 1st 2015, managed FOSM's office with knowledge, instinct and self-sacrifice, thus leaving a mark on the history of the Open Society Foundations and especially on the history of the Foundation in Macedonia.

Our partners and grantees from the civil society and their efforts for open society values is something that we cannot imagine the Foundation's successes without when working with citizens, empowering marginalized communities, providing legal aid, reforming policies and institutions, organizing civic actions for peace, cohabitation, respect for human rights, rule of law and fight against corruption.

I express my gratitude to all institutions in the Republic of Macedonia from legislative, executive, judiciary and local government, which we cooperated with and which we have supported, and continue to cooperate with to this day, because they have demonstrated and continue to demonstrate openness and engagement for system reforms, improved quality of education and of public health, democratic governance and civil society involvement in policy shaping even when there is difference of opinions, protection of the rights of all citizens, and promotion of the rule of law and justice for all.

I express my honest appreciation to all colleagues within the big family of the Open Society Foundations

across the world, who have selflessly supported the work of FOSM and helped us make the open society reality in Macedonia. Many of them, from our establishment to present day, have worked and continue to work on par with us, and continue to support FOSM's operation, development and perseverance.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge all international donors and partners, which have recognized FOSM's strategic priorities and internal capacity at various times throughout our 25-year history and offered their financial support and cooperation to jointly respond to challenges and opportunities in the society, especially in the fields of education, civil society development, support for decentralization and local democracy, the rule of law and democratization in general.

April 2018

Fani Karanfilova-Panovska Executive Director 1992-1993: SOROS AND HIS FOUNDATION COME TO MACEDONIA





n Republic of Macedonia, single among the republics from former Yugoslavia to have gained its independence without warfare, philanthropic work of George Soros was almost unknown. A handful of people were familiar with Karl Popper's philosophy and book The Open Society and Its Enemies, wherein he claims that no philosophy or ideology is final arbiter of truth and that societies can thrive only if they embody democratic governance, freedom of expression, and respect for human rights. George Soros, subscriber to his philosophy, wanted to assist transition from one-party systems into societies where nobody holds monopoly over the truth.

Vladimir Milchin, future executive director of the Soros Foundation in Macedonia, learned for the first time about George Soros in the fall of 1991 at the conference in Prague, organized by international non-governmental organization, Helsinki Citizens' Assembly. This overlapped with establishment of the Soros Yugoslavia Foundation, as a result of agreement between George Soros and Ante Markovic, the last Federal Prime Minister. Members of the Yugoslavia Foundation's Council, Milchin included, were critical-minded intellectuals from all republics and

provinces of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) and active participants in the 1968 student demonstrations and the first Yugoslav non-governmental organization, Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative (UJDI). Soros Yugoslavia Foundation was short-lived due to administrative obstacles created by the Milosevic regime, who had already grabbed all power in Serbia.

The year 1992 had an optimistic start for Macedonia. On January 15th, the Arbitration Commission set up by the European Community and chaired by Robert Badinter, former President of the Constitutional Court in France, announced that among all former republics from Yugoslavia, Slovenia and Macedonia alone fulfil all conditions for international recognition.

That spring, three days before the war erupted in Sarajevo, Milchin visited the Soros Office in New York and was told that Soros has decided to establish foundations in all republics from the former Yugoslavia.

On June 27th, the European Community adopted the Declaration on Former Yugoslavia wherein it requested the Republic of Macedonia to change its name (which should not include the term Macedonia).

Soros and his foundation come to Macedonia

That did not change Soros's mind and, in July that year, Milchin was given power of attorney to register the Soros Foundation in Macedonia. On September 15th, one year after the Republic of Macedonia declared its independence the foundation was registered as subsidiary office of foreign legal entity. Its first name was Open Society Fund – Skopje.

In September the same year, all Soros Foundations had a joint meeting in Sandanski, Bulgaria. Open Society Fund - Skopje was represented by executive director Milchin, administrative director Aljosha Rusi and board member Aneta Markoska Chubrinovska.

"I was summoned to Soros's hotel apartment for an urgent meeting, together with directors of already established foundations in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Slovenia and Croatia, i.e. Sonja Licht, Rastko Mocnik and Zarko Puhovski, and with Beka Vuco who was responsible for all Soros Foundations in the former Yugoslavia. Soros informed us that Bulgarian Prime Minister Philip Dimitrov, whom we passed by before entering the apartment, had warned about the Macedonian Foundation falling into the hands of Serbophiles and Crypto-Communists. My colleagues, however, argued against that and rejected these unfounded accusations, so Aljosha, Aneta and I went home to start preparations for Soros's visit, who flew to Skopje two days later", recollects Milchin.

After his cordial meeting with President Gligorov, Soros had a working meeting with Prime Minister Crvenkovski. Later, he met all 11 members of the foundation's first board, chaired by Ratka Kuljan MD, director of the Gynecology Clinic in Chair at that time. Soros immediately grew fond of the board's composition due to their professional, ethnic and political diversity. By the end of his official visit, Soros held a press conference at which he said he understands the importance of the state name for the people and that he agrees his foundation to be re-registered as Open Society Fund - Macedonia, which happened on November 2nd, 1992. Notably pleased with his visit, prior to boarding the plane, Soros told Milchin that he had decided for the foundation to start activities with a budget of 1.5 million dollars.

The foundation's board did not have time to develop its 1993 strategy, and therefore, bridging the isolated position of citizens in Macedonia emerged as urgent priority. This bridging effort was made possible by opening educational and scientific institutions, founded or supported by Soros, to Macedonian citizens, and by including Macedonia in regional programs shaped by Soros Foundations Network Offices in Budapest and New York. In the last quarter of 1992 and the first guarter of 1993, the Macedonian media were flooded with open calls for applications. Open competition of the Central European University (CEU) for individual and group research projects in social sciences and humanities, as part of the Research Support Scheme, was announced on October 8th. Open competition of the American University in Blagoevgrad (AUBG) for 10 four-year scholarships was announced on October 29th. CEU's open competition for one-year post-graduate studies was announced on November 5th, followed by CEU's open competition, announced on November 9th, for enrolment

in post-graduate studies in the fields of European studies, economy, history, art history, law, political science, environmental studies, medieval studies, society and politics. On December 31st, the foundation announced the open competition for individual scholarships intended for participation in international professional gatherings in science and culture and for short-term study visits and exchanges in duration of two to twelve weeks, as well as the open competition for institutional research scholarships in the fields of economy, law, sociology, philosophy, psychology, culture, architecture and environment: "Overall purpose is to stimulate science and culture

in Macedonia for their integration in the European and global spiritual values that would, in turn, boost development of Macedonia as civic, legal and democratic state, and to build awareness about the open society values", reads the announcement of this open competition for institutional scholarships. The open competition for doctoral studies at the Charles University in Prague was announced on January 8th, 1993. Open competition for participation of young lawyers and attorneys in summer school Birth of Rights Awareness 1993, organized by the Columbia University and the Democracy After Communism Foundation from Budapest, was announced on February 13th. On

First visit of George Soros and meeting with Prime Minister Branko Cryenkovski



"We live in turbulent times. Is there HOPE? If you believe we can look for hope TOGETHER, if you believe Macedonia can be a turning point amidst the madness surrounding us, if you believe that peace has a chance in Macedonia [...]". At that time, the only palpable hope for citizens were programs announced by OSIM and Soros Foundations Network.

March 5th, the regional program ArtsLink announced the open competition for scholarships intended for study visits of young artists and art managers to the United States and for cooperative projects with American artists abroad, followed by announcement, on March 25th, of the open competition for threemonth training at medical centers in the United States in the fields of anesthesiology, cardiology, emergency medicine, obstetrics and gynecology, child surgery, general medicine and ultrasound.

The foundation found that lack of English language skills prevents many candidates to apply on these open calls and therefore, on March 19th, it announced the summer seminar for English language teachers from foreign language centers and from private language schools in Macedonia.

News about the foundation's establishment and the opportunities offered under the first round of open competitions stirred major interest among citizens in the impoverished, unrecognized and isolated state, whose north border was strictly controlled due to UN-imposed sanctions on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and whose accession in the UN, EU, NATO and other international organizations was blocked by the Republic of Greece, which claimed that this neighboring state imposes threat to Greece and to the Balkan.

The foundation was re-registered as Open Society Institute – Macedonia (OSIM) on February 22nd, 1993.

In March, the open call for applications was announced for the campaign TOGETHER TO HOPE: "We live in turbulent times. Is there HOPE? If you believe we can look for hope TOGETHER, if you believe

Macedonia can be a turning point amidst the madness surrounding us, if you believe that peace has a chance in Macedonia [...]". At that time, the only palpable hope for citizens were programs announced by OSIM and Soros Foundations Network. Not only did they defy newly created borders among republics from the former Yugoslavia, but they also defied the Balkan borders.

The foundation tackled the most burning issue and opened the Macedonian-Greek Exchange Program, to encourage dialogue between civil societies (journalists, activists and intellectuals) from these two neighboring countries.

The war in Bosnia erupted on April 6th, 1992. In the months that followed, hundreds of thousands Bosnian citizens of all ethnic and religious communities abandoned their homes and sought temporary or permanent shelter in other republics from the former Yugoslavia. Army reservists from Serbia and Croatia, who managed to evade forceful mobilization in combatant armies and paramilitary troops, also found shelter in Macedonia. They were accommodated by their relatives and friends.

To alleviate hardships of displaced citizens from Bosnia and Herzegovina and to relive the states of the burden of hosting refugees, Soros expeditiously allocated a separate fund of 10 million dollars, which was administered by the foundations in Croatia, Serbia and Macedonia. Subsidiary office of Soros Humanitarian Foundation was registered in Macedonia on February 2nd, 1993. Scholarships and humanitarian aid were provided to refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Mental Crisis Centre for Children

and Youth started its operation at refugee camps "Chichino Selo" and "Dare Bombol".

On January 7th 1993, all media published George Soros's address to the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia. Initially, Soros planned to address the Members of Parliament in person, but heavy ice on the airport runway prevented the plane to land, so his address was faxed to Parliament Speaker Stojan Andonov, to be distributed to MPs:

"I wanted to come to Skopje in order to extend a loan of 25 million dollars to the government of Macedonia. The money will be available for the purchase of oil and other necessary expenditure until Macedonia is recognized by the United Nations, the United States and the European Community. This is a so-called bridge loan which should allow Macedonia to survive until it can obtain financing from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

I am not a Macedonian. I have no business with Macedonia nor do I intent to have any. I have a foundation here, the Open Society Fund – Macedonia, just as I have foundations in 17 other post-communist countries. I am extending this loan purely and solely because I think it is of vital interest to Europe and the entire world that Macedonia should survive as a multiethnic and open society.

I realize that this is an unusual act. It is normally the role of governments and not of individuals to extend bridge loans. I am doing this in order to draw the attention of the world to the failure of governments to act. I have in mind primarily the governments of the European Community and the United States. The European Community is blocked by Greece. The United States is in transition. I realize that the Greek lobby has great influence in the United States and I hope that the Clinton administration will not be influenced by the Greek lobby. For that matter, I hope that the Greek community in the United States will have more sense than to lobby against the recognition of Macedonia. Because Greece is wrong in opposing the recognition of Macedonia and the European Community is making a grievous mistake in allowing itself to be blocked by Greece.

Macedonia has a multiethnic society. Yugoslavia has been torn apart by ethnic conflict. The world has been watching in horror while the Milosevic regime has pursued a policy of ethnic cleansing. It is reluctant to intervene with military force. Why can't it act before conflict erupts?

Macedonia has a democratic government consisting of a coalition of moderate Macedonians and Albanians willing to live together. It is threatened from all sides. There are extremists both on the Macedonian and on the Albanian side. The Milosevic regime would like nothing better than to see some trouble in Macedonia in order to divert the attention

of the world from the situation in Bosnia and Kosovo. And Greece seems to be opposed to the survival of an independent Macedonia in any shape or form. It has sealed the borders and blocked the delivery of oil. Two weeks ago when the director of my foundation visited Skopje - office buildings were without heat. The blockade has been lifted at the insistence of the European Community, but the situation is still critical. There has already been a riot in Skopje in which people were killed. Economic hardships aggravate ethnic tensions. If conflict erupts, the neighboring countries - Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, are likely to become

involved. Yugoslavia may be happy to sit out, but I don't know what would happen in Kosovo. A general conflagration would be hard to avoid.

On the other hand, if a moderate and multiethnic government can maintain peace in Macedonia, it would raise the prospects for a peaceful settlement elsewhere. Macedonia deserves all the support it can get. That is why I give a bridge loan of 25 million dollars and that is why I wanted to come to Skopje to address you.

I am aware of the controversies around the name Macedonia. I can't claim to know all

George Soros on the meeting with the Foundation's first board



"I am not a Macedonian. I have no business with Macedonia nor do l intent to have any. I have a foundation here, the Open Society Fund - Macedonia, just as I have foundations in 17 other post-communist countries. I am extending this loan purely and solely because I think it is of vital interest to Europe and the entire world that Macedonia should survive as a multiethnic and open society."

the history that lies behind the controversy because it is very complicated, but that is probably just as well because it would oblige me to take sides. This way, I can maintain a certain perspective which may be lost if one gets too involved in details. Let me tell you how it looks to me from the outside.

I just don't see how Greece can legitimately object to the name Macedonia because Macedonia is a geographical term which accurately described where the country is located. Admittedly, the name raises some serious problems, because, as a geographical term it also covers part of Greece. Moreover, it is not only a geographical term, but also the name of an ethnic group of Slavic origin, the Macedonians. As far as I know they have no other name they can call themselves if they want to distinguish themselves from other ethnic groups of Slavic origin. The trouble is that the same ethnic group is also present in Bulgaria and Greece. It used to constitute a majority in parts of Greek Macedonia, but Greece has followed a policy of assimilation since the 1920s so that their numbers have been greatly reduced. What the actual numbers are depends on who is doing the counting. One thing is certain: there are many Macedonians with long memories who resent the policy of assimilation that has been carried out by Greece. There are some Macedonians who are still dreaming of a Greater Macedonia that would include parts of Greece and they form the core of the main opposition party VMRO-DPMNE.

That is what Greece is worried about. The Macedonian government has given all possible assurance that it has not territorial claims on Greece, but that does not seem to satisfy them. There are many Greeks with long memories who feel just as passionately as the Macedonians. The see maps of Greater Macedonia printed in Macedonia are their passions are inflamed. The Greek government feels obliged to cater to these passions, because if it did not, it would fall.

As I have said, the Greek government has no legitimate grounds for objecting to the name Macedonia, but it has every reason to respond to provocation. Maps of Greater Macedonia constitute such provocation, but the government of Macedonia is not responsible for these maps. I must tell you frankly that the flag of Macedonia also constitutes a provocation because the Sun of Alexander the Great was found in Greece, not in Macedonia. Let me ask you: is it necessary to have that flag? I understand your insistence on the name Macedonia, because if you don't belong to Macedonia, where do you belong? That goes for the Albanians and Vlachs and all the other nationalities living in the newly born country, not only to Macedonians. I also sympathize with the resentment that many Macedonians feel against Greece for insisting on a policy that

"Assistance in medicines and medical supplies secured by Soros in the value of more than 2 million dollars was sufficient to meet needs in the state over a period of two years. Distribution started from smaller medical centers and ended with medicines being supplied to the Clinical Centre in Skopje. Large number of citizens learned about the foundation because of this intervention in the healthcare system."

every citizen of Greece is Greek. But you have no trace of a claim on any part of Greece and the only connection you have with Alexander the Great is that you both lived in Macedonia. But the tomb of Alexander is in different part of Macedonia and by choosing the Sun of Alexander as your flag you are really confusing the issues.

If you want to be recognized as an independent nation, you must distinguish very clearly between Macedonia as a geographical location and Macedonia as a nation. You must distinguish just as clearly between Macedonia as a nation and Macedonians as a nationality. You are justly resentful of the Greek policy that every citizen of Greece should be Greek. If you started to insist that every citizen in Macedonia should be Macedonian, you would have a disaster on your hands. You must really learn to think in different terms. People of different nationalities must be able to live in the same state otherwise Macedonia as a state has no raison d'être. You need to create a society which is not dominated by the state and you need a state of law in which people of different nationalities and different beliefs enjoy equal rights. I call such a society 'open society'. It is in order to promote an open society that I established my foundation in Macedonia and that is why I am giving a loan of 25 million dollars to the Macedonian government.

Let me make it clear that I am not asking you to change your flag. That would be highly

improper on my part. But I do believe that you made a mistake in the choice of your flag. I also believe that mistakes can be corrected. For instance, Croatia adopted a flag in May 1990 and changed it on December 22nd, 1990.

I understand that there is a move afoot to adopt the Sun of Alexander the Great also as the national emblem. If you did that, I believe, you would lose the sympathy of the word. Some of you may not like what I say. I am sure that some people in Greece will not like it either. But I must say, and do, what is right.

You are going through very a very difficult time. I think I can speak for world public opinion when I say that we are concerned about your future. Governments, for reasons of their own, may be slow to act, but we are on your side. We look to you to bring ethnic conflict under control by creating a multiethnic, democratic state and an open society. Good luck!"

MPs from VMRO-DPMNE fiercely protested, mainly to Soros's view that the choice of Kutlesh Star (Vergina in Greek) as national flag is a mistake. This was followed by the first campaign against Soros and his foundation.

The struggle for international recognition of Macedonia's independence, however, gained support across the world. At its session held on March 12th 1993, in Strasbourg, the European Parliament urged the European Community to recognize Macedonia. On April 4th, the UN Security Council recommended the General Assembly to admit to membership the

state which, for all purposes within the UN, would be temporarily referred to as the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia pending settlement of differences that have arisen over the state name with neighboring Greece. By acclamation from April 8th, the General Assembly admitted the Republic of Macedonia to membership in the United Nations as the 181st member state. Four days later, negotiations for

resolution of the name dispute started in New York and are lasting for almost 25 years.

First challenges of the foundation were those faced by the state. By extending the state a loan of 25 million dollars, Soros removed the looming danger of wide-present cold due to lack of heating oil, while our foundation eliminated the danger of citizens

Media Strategy Conference of the Soros Foundations

Network in Ohrid ↓



remaining without newspapers in Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish language due to lack of newsprint paper in the state. To avoid that, the foundation made an exception and procured newsprint paper in the value of 100,000 dollars. Newspapers were printed by the state-owned monopoly NIP "Nova Makedonija" which, at that time, owned the single printing house.

Procurement of newsprint paper delayed, only for short period of time, the start of our strategy whose priority was development of media pluralism.

In October 1993, we hosted the Soros Foundations Network Media Strategy Conference, attended by George Soros in person.

George Soros in Saint Naum ↓



"On board of a ship cruising to Saint Naum, I had a brief conversation with Soros to persuade him to approve our plans. We reached understanding within five minutes and he approved significant amount of assistance, i.e. 3.5 million dollars for procurement of professional equipment for five private television channels (A1, Art, Vis, Tera, Iris) and ten radio stations (Kanal 77, Radio Libertas, Kanal 4, Radio Uno, Radio Skaj, Super Radio, Radio Toska, Studentsko Radio, Radio Bango, Radio BTR Nacional, Radio Delishes, Radio DJ, Radio Krushevo, Radio Ravel, Radio Uskana, Radio Bleta and CPRTV Prilep) to join the network, and for procurement of repaired printing machine to print daily newspapers that will be installed at the private printing house 'Evropa 92' in Kochani. This effort resulted in breaking the monopoly position of MRT and the printing house NIP 'Nova Makedonija", says Iso Rusi, Media Program coordinator at that time.

Macedonia struggled with lack of medicines, medical supplies and surgical threads. Medicines with expired dates were sold on the black market. Soros approved a major grant to address the crisis. In cooperation with the Ministry of Health, we designed procedures for distribution of medicines procured

by the New York Office. Medicines were of foreign origin, put into circulation less than a month earlier and exclusively intended for clinical use. All medical institutions had appointed doctors – trustees whose names were published in the media. The media published information on quantity and name of medicines to be distributed, while patients confirmed receipt of medicines by signing receipt notes.

"Assistance in medicines and medical supplies secured by Soros in the value of more than 2 million dollars was sufficient to meet needs in the state over a period of two years. Distribution started from smaller medical centers and ended with medicines being supplied to the Clinical Centre in Skopje. Large number of citizens learned about the foundation because of this intervention in the healthcare system", says Ratka Kuljan MD, the first chair of the foundation's board.

It was not by mistake that the first publication supported by the foundation was an inventory of Human Rights compiled by Zvonimir Jankulovski, which enlisted all important international treaties as sources of international law on human rights, accompanied with comments by the author.

1994:
MACEDONIA
UNDER EMBARGO





n February 16th 1994, Greece formally imposed an embargo on Macedonia. It closed the harbor in Thessaloniki, railroad and road border-crossings and its Consulate General in Skopje. Macedonia found itself clenched by the UN sanctions on the north border and the Greek embargo on the south. George Papandreou, Greek Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, stated that the embargo had been imposed for "Skopje to come to its senses". Greek expectations that such rigid measures would throw Macedonia on its knees and would force it to make concessions in the name dispute did not materialize. However, the embargo that lasted for 19 months, by October 15th 1995, had left the economy of this new-born state into shambles.

On August 1st, at the United States House of Representatives, George Soros testified before the Subcommittee on International Security, International Organizations and Human Rights of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, speaking about promises and pitfalls in building open societies:

"And now we have an even more striking example: Greece. Here is a country that is a member of the European Union and NATO, fully integrated into the international community. Yet, it has been possible to whip up national sentiment into frenzy over the name 'Macedonia'. A small and weak neighbor to the north is blown up into a threat to the territorial integrity of Greece. Admittedly, there is a minority in Macedonia which harbors irredentist dreams based on ethnic injustices suffered in the past. But the government of Macedonia is genuinely devoted

The foundation undertook an exceptionally difficult task: to affirm the concept for Macedonia as democratic state for all citizens, irrespective of their religious or ethnic background, to stimulate initiatives for cooperation in the Balkan and to help Macedonia connect with **Europe and the world.** The foundation's board was aware that the state could survive only as open society in which ethnic, religious and language differences are accepted as values, not as sources of problems or conflicts.

to the creation of a multiethnic, democratic state. It is ready to make every concession short of giving up its own identity. But Greek public opinion resonates to the Macedonian extremists, not to the Macedonian government, and the issue has been exploited for domestic political purposes in Greece. In the meantime, the Macedonian economy, already severely damaged by the sanctions against Serbia, is collapsing under the weight of the Greek embargo. The railroad connections run north and south, and Macedonia is cut off on both sides. As a result, heavy industry, which relies on rail transportation, has been brought to a standstill. The economic crisis is endangering political stability. The multiethnic, democratic coalition is threatened by extremists on both the Slavic-Macedonian and the Albanian side. It may easily fall apart in the next elections and, if Macedonia falls apart, we have a third Balkan war."

Soros agreed the timely repaid loan of 25 million dollars to be used for procurement of cattle feed that was in deficit. The foundation covered 50 percent of costs for airlifts of agriculture produce to markets in Slovenia and Austria, while the Green Corridor facilitated and accelerated road transport of agriculture produce through Bulgaria and Romania.

On February 2nd, the Greek pro-governmental newspaper TaNea published an article titled "Guardian Angel of Gligorov", which marked the start of

un-authored series of articles bitterly attacking Soros. Occasion for that article was the visit by group of influential western politicians and journalists from Action Council for Peace in the Balkans, non-governmental organization formed by Soros in January 1994. The group visited Greece and Macedonia to learn more about the dispute, consequences of the embargo and security risks for the Balkan powder keg. We organized the group's meetings with around hundred Macedonian politicians, civil activists, religious leaders, journalists and intellectuals. On Soros's invitation, in July, Milchin visited the United States to meet with congressmen and editors at The New York Times and Time and to lobby for suspension of the Greek embargo, indicating that the embargo is devastating Macedonian economy and is fueling Macedonian nationalism.

Second parliamentary and first direct presidential elections were held on October 16th. Due to mistrust in results from the first round of balloting, the two main opposition parties at that time, VMRO-DPMNE and the Democratic Party, declared boycott of the second round of balloting. Coalition "Union for Macedonia", led by SDSM and then incumbent Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski, won two-third majority seats in the Parliament, which was left without opposition. In the presidential race, the incumbent President Kiro Gligorov won majority of votes before VMRO-DPMNE's candidate Ljubisha Georgievski. Both opposition parties opted for out-of-parliament operation.

The foundation undertook an exceptionally difficult task: to affirm the concept for Macedonia as democratic state for all citizens, irrespective of their religious or ethnic background, to stimulate initiatives for cooperation in the Balkan and to help Macedonia connect with Europe and the world. The foundation's board was aware that the state could survive only as open society in which ethnic, religious and language differences are accepted as values, not as sources of problems or conflicts. In their immediate surrounding, the state and its majority population, the Macedonians, were denied their right to the name, the past and the future. The feeling of imperilment was dominant across the unrecognized and isolated state, giving rise to doubts about sincere intentions of the international community and even of Soros. Those obsessed with conspiracy theories abused the English pronunciation of his surname, claiming he is actually Greek, while anti-Semites expressed doubts that "Soros, the Jew, intents to buy Macedonia to re-populate it with Jews from Israel". But, why? "Because Jews in Israel had been endangered by the slew of Arabs."

"I started to cooperate with the Foundation in 1993/94. At that time, I worked for the Catholic Relief Service and we had an excellent collaboration as part of projects intended for refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Foundation has done plenty during the refugee crisis. The second project, implemented as partnership collaboration of the Foundation

and the Catholic Relief Service, concerned delivery of training on conflict resolution. That was a very successful event with participation of university professors from the United States. It was the first training of that type held in Macedonia, and was attended by all leaders of political parties and the entire academic elite, as well as leaders of religious communities and an array of intellectuals from the country. The mix of participants was truly fascinating. I think that, at that moment, given the political situation and the surrounding, the training proved to be of great importance and benefit for Macedonia', recollects Nafi Sarachini, who later served as member of the Executive Board.

Citizens in then-isolated Macedonia did not have any possibilities for Internet access. Use of obsolete YUPAK network, based on X.25 data transfer protocol, was extremely expensive and unreliable. Deprived of fast and cheap communications with the world, citizens were an easy prey of disinformation. Young people were hungry for information and communications. Even the foundation, due to branched cross-border contacts and activities, was in dire need of electronic communications with the world. The solution was identified in creation of national network that would use Internet protocols for data transfer (TCP/IP), which necessitated official request for connection with the closest country which, at the time, was in possession of such systems. Hence, we requested Internet connection to Austria and the Austrian government did not only approve the application, but also covered half of expenses for this line.

The program Conference & Travel supported 179 visits and participation in conferences, seminars and study visits. For many citizens of diverse professions, this was the only opportunity to acquire new knowledge and experience and bring them back to Macedonia. The regional program High-School Student Exchange helped 19 high-school students to form their education at high schools in the United States and the United Kingdom, while the regional program East-East enabled 62 citizens to participate in seminars and conferences organized abroad. In addition, this program supported 11 summer schools and seminars with participants from abroad, as well as visits of foreign journalists, experts and artists, while the program Civil Society enabled renewal of international contacts and membership in international organizations of Macedonian citizens and professional associations, including support for training on introduction of western standards on respect for human rights, non-violent conflict resolution and interethnic tolerance.

First major project of the Education Program concerned training for primary and secondary school principals. Around hundred school principals attended 28-days of training on management of education institutions, the need for changes and how to manage them, promotion of team work, and other topics. To this date, many participants in these seminars claim that education reforms in the country started with this project. The second major and long-term project was Step by Step, initiated with 10 preschool groups of children. Implemented in partnership with the Ministry of Education and Science and the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, this new project aimed

to develop programs that would contribute to democratization of education and would introduce new teaching approaches. The foundation refurbished and equipped 18 activity rooms and 10 kindergartens. All of them introduced new methodology of work, based on individual approach. Creative corners were opened, while parents were involved in their work. In its initial phase, the project covered 450 children from low-income families.

Aimed to strengthen capacity of local administrations, in cooperation with the Institute for Local Government and Public Services from Budapest, the foundation organized training on local government management. Trainers at this event were professors from the Syracuse University in the United States and from the Institute for Social, Political and Juridical Research in Skopje. Hundred representatives from local administrations were trained to ensure participation of citizens in shaping and evaluating local government activities, comparative competences of local governments, ethnic tensions and their manifestation at local level, and ways to improve performance results of local administrations.

Under the program Equipment for Institutions, more than 50 culture institutions and organizations were awarded computer equipment, free Internet connection, light and sound equipment. We procured simultaneous translation equipment for our purposes and for purposes of public institutions and civil society organizations.

On June 1st, we opened Soros Centre of Contemporary Art as support to painting artists and critics. This center informed about contemporary arts in Macedonia and promoted them abroad. English Language School Soros International House started its work, first in Skopje and later in Tetovo. The program Publishing awarded 45 grants for publication

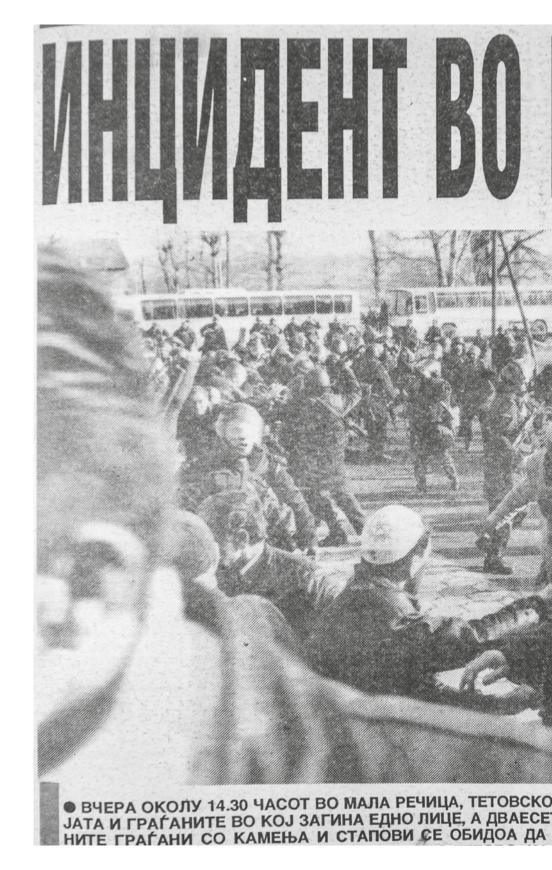
of books and journals. They included editions printed in Albanian language and editions in Macedonian language dedicated to Albanian culture and tradition. We established Soros Press and Information Centre with three regional offices - in Skopje, Shtip and Ohrid. It enabled fast flow of information of public interest. The seminar Media and Elections was organized in August, with participation of representatives from more than 60 private media in the country. At this event, speeches and presentations were delivered by domestic and foreign experts, while participants adopted the Rulebook on Media Election Campaign Coverage. This activity was highly appraised by international monitors, OSCE and the European Institute for the Media in Dusseldorf.



First exhibition Image Box, organized by the Soros Center of Contemporary Art $\, \Rightarrow \,$

1995:

TURBULENT YEAR
FOR THE STATE AND
THE FOUNDATION





fficial opening of the Albanian University in Tetovo was scheduled to take place on February 15th, in spite of the fact that the government had previously declared it as illegal. To prevent its official opening and acting upon orders from President Gligorov, the Minister of Interior deployed police forces. One Albanian was killed in the clashes that erupted.

Three months later, Soros arrived in Macedonia. To grave disappointment of the Albanian community, he did not support the initiative for the illegal university, but he also did not approve of the police intervention, thus displeasing the authorities. Later, it was found that the government had been whispered that Soros allegedly came to financially support the university, while the Albanian politicians had been whispered that Soros allegedly came to publicly support the university. After the meeting between Soros and Gligorov, the President's Cabinet issued a press release indicating that "views had been exchanged, albeit different, about current state-of-affairs in terms of Macedonian-Greek relations and about ongoing developments in international relations". This was followed by another campaign of

commissioned attacks, including news articles with false claims that the foundation had not been registered in Macedonia. This campaign continued even after the Parliament approved the new national flag, seven months later.

In September we initiated complete reorganization of the foundation, which was finalized in September the following year. One of the goals pursued by this reorganization effort was to neutralize certain external pressures and to resolve internal tensions that had hindered transformation of the foundation into institution that will operate in compliance with the highest international standards, quided by strict working and reporting rules, transparent decision-making and principles of personal and professional responsibility, as well as by rules on declaration and resolution of conflicts of interests. At that time, the foundation adopted a new statute. It underwent full internal and, later, external audit for 1993 and 1994, resulting in publication of the first annual report with the complete list of grantees published in the printed media. To strengthen expertise in decisions on awarding grants, all foundation programs were given advisory committees.

Turbulent year for the state and the foundation

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An unexpected recognition for George Soros and his foundation in Macedonia came from the Macedonian Patriotic Organization, established in 1992, whose members are Americans and Canadians with origins from Aegean Macedonia. In the capacity of executive director, Milchin was invited to receive special award from MPO on September 3rd recognizing the foundation's work and appeared as speaker at their 74th annual convention, together with Jeane Kirkpatrick, former US Ambassador to the United Nations. Expressing gratitude on behalf of Soros and the foundation, Milchin concluded his speech with the words:

"Finally, on behalf of the future generations, I want to present you with a challenge. Please, help us achieve our goal to support strong and independent Macedonia and to encourage stability in our Balkan neighborhood. To say the same in Macedonian: Let's work for the future of our children and grandchildren!"

One of the most dramatic events in the history of independent Macedonian happened on October 3rd: an attempt to assassinate President Kiro Gligorov. The ultimate goal of people that commissioned and executed this attack, which remains unknown 25 years after the event, was not achieved. Both, the President and the Republic of Macedonia survived the assassination.

The foundation's Education Program grew in importance. An incentive for that was the success achieved by the project Step by Step, which from 18 groups

of children in the first year was increased to 218 groups within a period of one year, covering around 40 percent of all kindergarten children. We secured computer equipment to more than 40 secondary schools and 11 secondary schools adopted the methodology applied under the project Active Learning. In the field of education, we cooperated with UNICEF, UNESCO, the United States Information Service and the British Council. We secured 19 scholarships for student exchange, four scholarships for the American University in Bulgaria, three scholarships for the Virtual University, four scholarships for the Central European University and two scholarships for the Cambridge University. We donated computer equipment and Internet access to the University "Ss. Cyril and Methodius" in Skopje and the University "St. Clement of Ohrid" in Bitola. As part of the same network, Internet access was also granted to several citizens' associations.

The program Medicine & Health enabled 15 young medical doctors to participate in the Salzburg Cornell Seminars. Roma Program secured textbooks and school materials for 2,400 Roma school children. Humanitarian Program developed the activity of the Mental Crisis Centre for Children and Youth. The toll-free SOS telephone recorded 1,080 calls, followed by provision of therapeutic interventions for children and youth aged 8 to 25 years; a total of 727 psychotherapeutic counselling sessions were held and 44 psychotherapy workshops were organized at refugee camps "Dare Bombol" and "Chichino Selo".

For the first time we supported the manifestation SKOMRAHI, gathering of drama art students and

teachers from the region, in organization of the Faculty of Drama Arts in Skopje. Support for SKOMRAHI continued in the following years, in partnership with the Ministry of Education, while in the period 2006-2009 this manifestation was co-financed together with the World University Service, through the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Together with OSI Regional Library Program from Budapest, we organized workshop with participation of librarians from 12 libraries. For many of them, this was their first insight in contemporary trends on library management. The foundation covered professional travel of librarians and study visit of one librarian at the University of Illinois.

In cooperation with American NGO Volunteers in Overseas Cooperative Assistance (VOCA), the Economic Reform Program secured free-of-charge expert advice and bridge credits to farmers and cattle breeders.

George Soros on the meeting with President Gligorov ψ



1996:

COOPERATION WITH
THE GOVERNMENT
IN THE FIELD OF
EDUCATION AND
COMPLETION OF
MEDIA PLURALISM





n January, the Republic of Greece opened its Liaison Office in Skopje, while the Republic of Macedonia opened its Liaison Office in Athens. On February 10th, the UN Security Council decided on fully independent operation of the prevention deployment troops UNPREDEP in the Republic of Macedonia. The European Parliament decided to grant Macedonia access to the PHARE program. Nevertheless, opposition's boycott and resulting absence of checks-and-balances allowed the executive branch of government full supremacy over the legislative branch, turning the Parliament into voting machine.

The foundation cooperated with the government in the field of education and health. Step by Step was expended to 110 classrooms at kindergartens and to 51 classrooms at primary schools, becoming the dominant education program. The initiative Computers for Classrooms awarded computer equipment to 10 secondary schools. Foreign experts engaged by the foundation provided assistance to advance school curricula and syllabuses, instruction methods, and management practice at primary and secondary schools. However, state universities in Skopje and Bitola declined cooperation, referring to their autonomy and maintained the status quo in higher education. Nevertheless, the same universities did not object Internet connection that was made available to them through MARnet, Macedonian Academic and Research Network, initiated and supported by the foundation.

Start of private daily newspaper Dnevnik, made possible with interest-free loan and grant awarded by the foundation, completed our efforts to break monopoly in electronic and printed media. For more than 10 years, Dnevnik would be the newspaper with the highest print circulation in Macedonia. It seemed that the strategy to ensure information pluralism for citizens was achieved with our support to private media. Fourteen years later, the foundation would be again compelled to save media pluralism.

In cooperation with the United States Information Service, we established the Resource Centre for English Language Teachers in Bitola. This center provided support for improved quality and contemporariness of English language teaching, which became compulsory school subject in third year of secondary education. At Soros International House 520 students per semester attended English courses that incorporated the most contemporary methods of instruction. Scholarships were awarded to 126 students for undergraduate and post-graduate studies abroad.

Through the regional program Internet, we secured Internet connection for 15 secondary schools, 20 healthcare institutions and 21 libraries. In addition, libraries were awarded computer equipment.

We started the Debate Program after several instructors were previously trained in Hungary. This program aimed to enable high-school students to acquire communication and rhetoric skills, develop logical and critical thinking, build their self-confidence and foster tolerance for different views and opinions. Translated handbooks were distributed to around 40 secondary schools, seven of which showed interest in introducing this program as extracurricular activity.

Spouses Stevo Teodosievski and Esma Redjepova, globally renowned Roma music artists, were awarded grant to purchase music instruments for their school for talented Roma children. Support was granted to monthly magazine Purt, published in Roma and Macedonian language, and to first Roma NGOs.

In Skopje we opened the Civil Society Resource Centre where non-governmental organizations could use free Internet, computers, fax and copier, and establish contacts and cooperation with partner organizations abroad.

Tuned to problems affecting the youth, we initiated two health programs on harm reduction, primarily from drug use. These projects helped introduction of the methadone therapy at primary healthcare centers to reduce danger of infections being spread by shared needles among youth using drugs. At the same time, we fought against prejudices and deeply-rooted views that treatment of addictions should be pursued by means of prohibition and repression. After having assessed these problems, we collected initial data on the number of registered and suspected drug users and presented the state institutions and the broader public with research results A Heroine Epidemic in Macedonia conducted by Jean-Paul Grund and Dusan Nolimal.

Publication of Albanian-Macedonian and Roma-Macedonian dictionaries marked an important step in building bridges of understanding among ethnic communities, as one of the foundation's priorities. We assisted printing of magazines in Macedonian and Albanian language, while the Open Society Clubs - established one year earlier in Skopje, Shtip and Gostivar - were equipped with computers and other equipment. Macedonian publishing houses were successfully presented at the Frankfurt Book Fair. Their stand showcased the Macedonian translation of the masterpiece Paradise Lost by John Milton, made possible with grant from the Publishing Program. The

program Arts & Culture enabled publication of Macedonian edition of the prestigious magazine Lettre International.

We started the Junior Achievement Program whose goal was, in cooperation with the Ministry of Economy, to transfer international education experience in junior achievement to schools across Macedonian.

In cooperation with the European Institute for the Media, the foundation published Macedonian Media Bulletin in Macedonian and English lanquage - a newsletter that informed about legal framework on information and media. Start of private daily newspaper Dnevnik, made possible with interest-free loan and grant awarded by the foundation, completed our efforts to break monopoly in electronic and printed media. For more than 10 years, Dnevnik would be the newspaper with the highest print circulation in Macedonia. It seemed that the strategy to ensure information pluralism for citizens was achieved with our support to private media. Fourteen years later, the foundation would be again compelled to save media pluralism.





• ГОДИНА І, БРОЈ 1

СКОПЈЕ, СРЕДА 20 МАРТ 1996

Македонија

со дожд и снег

гошев, Георгиевски и **Цафери** Ке собираат 150 иліади потписи во април

Уредникот на албанската редакција на мтв поднесе оставка

Свет

Србите го напуштија Сараево

Стр.7

(ултура

Медиумот во улога на автор

Спорт

Лемго повиcok од Пелистер?!

Стр.21

Омнибус

Супер моделите ги тресат берзите

Стр.13



27.20



40.00



иив тинејџери кои го проспавуваа крајот на учебната година, ги загубија животите како послелина на пожарот што со молневите бозина се рашири во еден од најпознатите диско клубови во

во пожар во Манила

Ноќта на забава се најголемиот број ол претвори во ноќ на ужас кога дискотеката "Озон" во Манила беще зафатена од пожар и кога околу 300 посетители се обилуваа да стигнат до единствени-

Изгореа 150 тинејџери

Претставниците

тврдат дека пожарот, што се случи во средината на месенот прогласен од сец за безбедност од по-жари", е еден од најкатастрофалните во истори-

Crp.6

Келиерот Гицев во кафе-барот "Меј Леі" во Штип, наводно во шега, на ученичката Јасмина Стојанова и вперил пиштол в глава, по што пиштолот - испукал. По тоа Стојанова веднаш починала. Неофицијалните

Лимитар верзии на настанот упатуваат на претпоставката дека станува збор за убиство од небрежност.

Пиштолот со кој с убиена Стојанова, е сопственост на полицаецот Зоран Манев (19), кој бил во

ментот на убиството наоѓал во кафе-барот. Манев е отстранет од работното место и против него е покрената постапка за утврдување на дисциплинска одговорност

тел Слободан Ми- лошевий йе се сретне со претседателот Киро Глигоров наівероіатно утре во Скопје. Според некои веофицијални најави, тоа би можело да слу-

Милошевиќ

чи уште вечерва. По оваа средба на врвот се очекува шефовите на дипломативте на Македонија и на Југославија, Ъубомир Фрчкоски и Милан Милутиновиќ, во Белград да го потпишат покументот за меѓусебно признавање и воспоставу

Во документот двете страни ќе се обврзат пра-шањето на сукцесијата да то решат спогодбено, но не исклучиво билатерално, како што инсистирал Белград во текот на пре говорите, твралт извори во македонското министерство за надворешня ра-

Ол Мялошевик и Глигоров се очекува да го најават чинот на меѓусебио то признавање.

Фрчковски кон крајот на март во Атина

Министерот за надворешни работи на Република Македонија Љубомир Фрчковски ќе ја посети Атина до крајот на месецов. Веста денеска ја објави атинската новинска агенција, истакнувајќи лека Фрчковски и Пангалос ќе разговараат за трговските и за стопанските опвоси меѓу двете држави, пренесува Макфакс од

Министерот за решни работи на Макелонија Фрчковски на крајот од минатата недела ја прифати поканата на сво іот грчки колега Пангалос ла ја посети Атина.

За и против доживотен затвор

Партиите се поделени во олнос на владиниот предлог за воведување на казната доживотен затвор во новиот Кривичен закон. ВМРО - ДПМНЕ тврди дека таквата казна нема никаква смисла. СДСМ дека е потребна

социјалистите дека е хумана в во ПЛП смета ат дека во услови на пораст на криминалот, постојат доволно аргументи за прифаќање на едно

Стр. 3 Коментар стр. 11



WKII 23.03.1996

20.00

Од денес со "Дневник"

Од денес на сите кносци на "Тутун" можете да го купите новнот дневен весник "Дневник". Весникот ќе излегува секој ден освен во недела, а ќе се продава по не

20 денари.

"Дисвинк" ќе комуницира и со вас, по читувани читатели. Читајте, јавувајте с читувани читатели. Читајте, јавувајте с

Front page of the first issue of Dnevnik →

1997:

LAW ON
INSTRUCTION
LANGUAGES
DETERIORATES
INTERETHNIC
RELATIONS

СЕДНИЦА НА СОБРАНИЕТО НА РЕПУБЛИКА МАКЕДОНИЈА

Усвоен Законот з на Педагошкиот

 ● За овој Закон гласаа 54 пратеници и тоа од СДСМ и уште тројца соција: либералите воздржани. – Остана поделеноста на пратениците: за СДСМ ци само оправдување за пред надворешната јавност

Вчера во Собранието на Република Македонија беше усвоен Законот за јазиците на кои се изведува наставата на

Педагошкиот факултет "Св. Климент Охридски" во Скопје. По дводневна расправа, во која ставовите на пратениците беа и остан ризирани во о бата и значење от предлог-зак



Законот, околу кој се кршеа многу коћја, вчера сепак беше донесен

а јазиците факултет

писти, пратениците - Албанци беа против, а практичен закон, а за пратениците - Албан-

аа крајно пола-



днос на потрето на владинион за Педагош-

киот факултет, Законот беше усвоен со 54 гласа што дојдоа од пратениците на СДСМ, кои и цело време го поддржуваа како решение за состојбата на оваа високообразовна институција, и од уште тројца пратеници од редовите на пратеничката група на СПМ. Пратениците - Албанци беа против овој закон со образложението дека нивните вистински потреби и барања можат да бидат реализирани исклучиво преку законот за високото образование и легализирањето на "тетовскиот универзитет", додека пак за либералите ова е само маневар на Владата за одвлекување на вниманието од економските проблеми во земіата.

Вчера во Собранието беа ратификувани повеќе договори на нашата земја со неколку земіи. Исто така беше усвоен и Нацрт-законот за енергетика. Пратениците избраа и 23 претседатели на основните судови во земјата. Четворица од предложените кандидати за претседатели не го добија потребниот број гласови.

(Опширно на стр. 3)

n January 30th, the Parliament adopted the Law on Instruction Languages at the Faculty of Pedagogy "St. Clement of Ohrid" in Skopje, allowing teacher training to be performed in Albanian language as well. In response, 460 professors and teaching assistants from the two state universities succumbed to the virus of nationalism and endorsed the letter Professors for Statehood of the Republic of Macedonia. For days, thousands of university and high-school students took to the streets to protest against adoption of this law. Slogans exclaimed at these protests included "Death for Shiptars!" and "Shiptars in Gas Chambers!" Events that followed later showed that the protests were politically construed by then out-of-parliament opposition party, VMRO-DPMNE. Interethnic relations deteriorated dramatically. It seemed that the Constitutional Court's decision not to revoke the Law on Instruction Languages would appease tensions between Macedonians and Albanians, but on May 24th the Constitutional Court revoked the decisions of local authorities in Tetovo and Gostivar for erection of Albanian and Turkish flags

in front of their municipal buildings. On July 9th, the police forcefully removed the flags. Clashes that erupted afterwards included several persons injured, while the two mayors were detained and later sentenced to imprisonment.

Partnership Agreement with King Baudouin Foundation from Belgium signed for the new program Improving Interethnic Relations was our first response to the crisis in Macedonian-Albanian relations. Civil Society Resource Centre developed a brochure on civil rights, distributed as insertion to the most circulated newspaper Dnevnik, and organized the conference European Convention of Human Rights in Practice, in cooperation with the Council of Europe.

The traditional Book Fair in April went by in the sign of the project e-Station which united the foundation's programs Publishing, Internet, Youth and Debate. At the Book Fair, our stand had eight computers for visitors to browse the World-Wide-Web free of charge, allowing many young people to discover opportunities offered by the Internet. We promoted the website dedicated to publishing activity in Macedonia. Four

фото: Ж. Јаневски

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monitors screened the research on youth and reading titled The Philosophy of Burek, conducted by film aficionados from the Ed Wood Film Workshop. Gjurgja Club hosted debates among publishers and young debaters. E-station was the focal point of interest of both citizens and the media. On the last day of the Book Fair, we secured Internet connection for the Open Society Clubs and awarded them complete sets of Encyclopedia Britannica.

Equal attention in the public was caused by the opening of the Children Creative Centre. For many years to follow, this center would be the most popular venue for children and regular destination of school excursions from other towns. Junior Achievement Program, which started the first pilotclass at the private high school "Nova", reached the level of popularity enjoyed by Step by Step after its expansion to another 26 primary schools and 19 secondary schools. Junior Achievement introduced active learning, an alternative approach that was first accepted by youth and children, then by parents, and finally by teachers. Primary and Secondary Education Program went one step further from equipping schools and dedicated its efforts to education reforms. In Bitola, the Secondary Vocational Education and Training School for Machine Engineers "Gjorgji Naumov" opened the Youth Educational Centre which was later transformed into public institution for vocational education that promotes techniques of visual thinking and critical thinking. Debate Program reached membership quota of around hundred high-school students. We opened the University Debate Program, joined by students from the Faculty of Law and the Faculty of Economy,

including those attending journalism studies at the University "Ss. Cyril and Methodius" in Skopje. Higher Education Program awarded more than 120 scholarships for undergraduate and post-graduate studies and participation in summer schools. Scholarships and mentor assistance for Roma high-school and university students aimed to improve the education status of Roma people.

"At the Harm Reduction Conference, we promoted the alternative approach to treatment of addiction diseases which, among other things, included distribution of clean needles to drug addicts to prevent blood transmission of infectious diseases (primarily AIDS and Hepatitis C), and introduction of methadone therapy. Harm Reduction Centre was established with the Foundation's support, and later the state assumed this practice. These were new, pioneering steps in our country" says Ratka Kuljan, MD.

At the conference, ten renowned foreign experts discussed positive effects from application of these methods in developed countries. In spite of that, vast majority of medical professionals, social workers and other experts in the field of prevention and treatment of addiction diseases remained firmly entrenched in their prejudices and conservatism. Spins were placed in the public that Soros and his foundation want to legalize drugs, in order to produce heroin in Macedonia. These blatant fabrications were disseminated even by the media that were previously supported by the foundation.

Children Creative Center accommodated at the Youth Culture Center in Skopje ↓ In spite of that we continued to support new-ly-emerged media. Grants were awarded to new weekly newspaper Denes and monthly magazine Forum. Electronic media were assisted to compile documents necessary to obtain licenses issued by the Broadcasting Council. If it were not for this assistance, many small radio and television stations would not have been able to apply for broadcasting licenses.

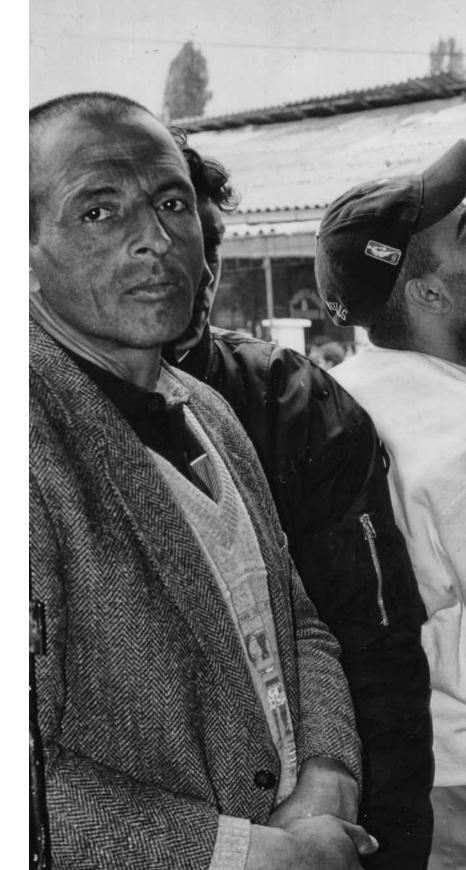
To assist young musicians, we announced an open competition for publication of CDs with their music. Contemporary Art Centre organized the first Electronic Music Art Fair - SAEFair '97.

The biggest grant awarded under the program Medical & Health concerned bus for the Mental Hospital in the small town of Demir Hisar.



1998:

DE-MARGINALIZATION
OF ROMA STARTS
IN THE FIELD OF
EDUCATION





n cooperation with the Media Network Program, we formed the International Media Fund with participation of Press Now from the Netherlands, Helsinki Committee from Sweden, Medienhilfe from Switzerland, People's Aid from Norway, IREX ProMedia from the United States and the US Embassy. Underlying goal was to pool funds together to support private electronic media in the wake of forthcoming parliamentary elections. In July, we organized the round table Media and Elections, with participation of editors-in-chief from the media, spokespersons of several political parties, domestic and foreign experts. It aimed to determine broadly acceptable rules on media coverage of election campaigns and the elections.

The third parliamentary elections were held on October 18th, with the "Coalition for Changes" - comprised of VMRO-DPMNE, led by Ljubco Georgievski, and the newly emerged Democratic Alternative, led by Vasil Tupurkovski - winning majority seats. Later, the coalition government also included the Democratic Party of Albanians, led by Arben Xhaferi. Tupurkovski resorted to populism and promised voters that, after being elected to office, he would bring Taiwanese

investments to Macedonia in the amount of one billion dollars.

At that time we were preoccupied with the foundation's multi-program effort for de-marginalization of Roma people in two large suburban Roma settlements. In the bigger settlement, Skopje-based Shuto Orizari, in collaboration with Roma NGO "Nadez" we established the Centre for Roma Education Support. Accommodated at refurbished premises of 240 square meters, this center started implementation of already developed programs such as Step by Step. Debate and Junior Achievement, and group of Roma high-school students were involved in the English Language Program at Soros International House. Various courses were organized, including computer literacy and mathematics, Macedonian language, music and sports. Work and activities at this center were performed by engaged pedagogues, social workers and local activists, and special attention was paid to involvement of parents. The second project for de-marginalization of Roma children was implemented in the settlement Radanski Pat in Shtip, dominantly populated by Roma.

De-marginalization of Roma starts in the field of education

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Two private Roma television channels, BTR and Shutel, both grantees of the foundation, and team from the public service broadcaster Macedonia Radio-Television were dedicated to work on bridging the gap between Roma-populated suburbia settlement Shuto Orizari and Skopje downtown, and on increasing opportunities for marginalized Roma people, especially the youth, to break free from the ghetto. The private radio station in Roma language "Cerenia". located in the settlement Radanski Pat. was awarded equipment that fulfils requirements for legal broadcast in compliance with the new Broadcasting Law. A local radio in Kumanovo was supported in similar manner. Technical assistance and training was provided to other television and radio stations broadcasting programs in Roma language. Roma Program awarded scholarships to 25 university and 35 high-school Roma students, while 5,000 Roma pupils received packages with school materials.

Under the program East-East, we cooperated with Transeuropeennes from France on the project Women Activists in the War in the Former Yugoslavia: Perspectives for Democracy on the Balkan. Project components included organization of conference, workshops and exchange of experience among women activists working with traumatized communities.

We opened additional two Resource Centers for English Language Teachers, in Strumica and Skopje. We organized 37 workshops for more than 600 English language teachers, one specialized seminar

for teachers in rural areas, and we supported several teachers to attend advancement courses and schools for further professional development.

After having equipped libraries with computers and other equipment, activities started to advance expertise of library staff, in cooperation with the Association of Librarians of Macedonia. We supported the Training Centre for Librarians at the National University Library "St. Clement of Ohrid".

Other institutions benefited from digitalization activities. Almost half of all secondary schools, 22 libraries and 20 healthcare institutions were given Internet connection as part of the megaproject implemented by the Internet Program. More than 600 users in the fields of education, media, health, culture, non-governmental sector, and two centers at student dormitories in Skopje also benefited from free Internet access. We established the first Macedonian web-oriented e-mail server "@freemail. org.mk" with more than 10,000 users. We organized education training and seminars on Internet use for 264 secondary school teachers and 162 librarians.

"I will go to the book market, to buy a book for you, my love" was a variation of the famous verse by Jacques Prèvert which the Publishing Program used to promote culture of reading at the Skopje Book Fair. Posters, cards and t-shirts and films of the Ed Wood Film Workshop did not leave citizens and the media indifferent. We supported electronic editions of the magazine Studentski zbor and the first website dedicated to publishing activity Blesok. In the period

1998-2002, credit fund in the amount of 120,000 euros was made available to young publishing houses.

In partnership with the European Foundation for Culture, we established the program Art for Social Change.

Civil Society Resource Centre was granted status of consultancy organization with the Council of Europe, which is an important recognition for their competence and expertise. Moreover, the center specialized in provision of legal aid to citizens. After having completed training delivered by experts from the Essex University, the team of lawyers selected to work at this center processed more than 100 cases. Law Program worked on education of judges and lawyers. A group of lawyers attended seminars and training abroad, while 500,000 pocket-size cards outlining citizens' rights when taken into custody or arrested were printed and distributed in cooperation with the Civil Society Resource Centre. The seminar Police and Human Rights was organized in cooperation with the Constitutional and Legislative Policy Institute from Budapest, targeting around 50 police officers and commanders.

From the opening of the Center for Roma Education Support, in Shuto Orizari $\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,$



Project and Grant Management was the first training for internal capacity building at the foundation, delivered manly with expertise from Soros Foundations Network. Other capacity building training followed: Facilitating Leadership (2000), Building Partnerships with Donors (2006), EU Institutions, Policies and Funds (2008) and Active Human Rights-Based Approach (2011).



President of Soros Foundations Network Aryeh Neier at the opening of the Center for Roma Education Support, in Shuto Orizari →



1999:

CHALLENGE OF THE KOSOVO REFUGEE CRISIS





n January 1st, the government led by Georgievski, Tupurkovski and Xhaferi recognized Taiwan. China expressly reciprocated by terminating all diplomatic relations with Macedonia, and on February 25th the UN Security Council vetoed the mandate extension for UNPREDEP on the Macedonian north border. From late March to late April, around 344,500 Kosovo refugees entered Macedonia. Faced with a humanitarian disaster, state institutions were in panic, but the foundation was fast and efficient in addressing this challenge.

We decided to modify the strategy and to reallocate funds in response to the newly-emerged situation. On April 30th, at the Donor Conference in Brussels organized by King Baudouin Foundation and the Open Society Institute Office in Brussels, the new strategy was presented by Vladimir Milchin and Terrice Bassler. The set of projects intended for refugees, but also for Macedonian citizens in settlements hosting Kosovo refugees, attracted the attention of many donors, which agreed to pool together resources and expertise with the foundation. Activities at refugee camps included opening of kindergartens, organization of various training and workshops, donation of books.

At the camp in Neproshteno, we established a social club and founded four youth centers for refugees. In Tetovo, we opened the SOS Centre for Mental Crisis, while mothers and children at refugee camps benefited from psychological and social support. Civil Society Resource Centre joined these efforts by providing legal aid to refugees.

"In cooperation with the Soros Foundation from Kosovo, we managed to identify artists at the refugee camps who have fled their country. We trained them and they joined work on various art projects with children at the camps. This activity implied an upgrade to the program Art for Social Change", says Refet Abazi, project coordinator at that time.

In partnership with UNICEF and the Franco-German Youth Council, the foundation formed the theatre troupe Nadez/Shpresa. This troupe performed pantomime plays, while children and adults had the opportunity to see performances by Milan Sladek, a worldwide renowned pantomime, whom we managed to bring to the camps together with his troupe. Other troupes and acts performing at refugee camps included Clowns without Borders. At the camp in Neproshteno, we established a social club and founded four youth centers for refugees. In Tetovo, we opened the SOS Centre for Mental Crisis, while mothers and children at refugee camps benefited from psychological and social support. Civil Society Resource Centre joined these efforts by providing legal aid to refugees. Having in mind that Roma refugees from Kosovo and from other parts of Serbia were underserved in terms of foreign donor assistance, the foundation intensified its support for projects of Roma NGOs. Summer camp for Roma refugees was organized on the Prespa Lake, in partnership with the British Department for International Development. On the foundation's website we hosted regular editions of Refugee Bulletin. We supported several television and radio programs for refugees in terms of production costs and exchange

of current affair programs, which were aired three times a week. Free copies of newspapers in Albanian, Serbian and Macedonian language were distributed to refugee camps. The foundation awarded computers and other equipment to 10 municipalities that organized refugee registration and humanitarian aid distribution. In cooperation with OSCE, we delivered training to Macedonian policemen on stress management when working with refugees. Almost all staff members from the Soros Foundation Office in Pristina arrived to Macedonia as refugees. By the year's end, our colleagues from Kosovo worked on their projects at FOSIM offices.

Macedonian society was shaken and divided at many levels, with interethnic relations suffering the most. An informal association of citizens, ALMATUROVO (acronym from first letters of the words Albanians, Macedonians, Turks, Roma, Vlachs and Others), was one of our first responses to the threat for complete and utter disintegration of the Macedonian society.

Three summer schools Image of the Other, Summer School in Architecture and Bright Side of the Balkans, were also part of the foundation's response to the crisis, both in terms of topics covered and in terms of participants. They were financially supported by the Higher Education Support Program from Budapest, the regional program East-East and the US Embassy.

The foundation's Higher Education Support Program established the EuroBalkan Institute, first think-tank in Macedonia. Its primary goal was to ensure conditions for greater participation of academic community in activities of governmental and non-governmental sectors. EuroBalkan was formed to disseminate European ideas and policies,

to support transatlantic cooperation, to promote regional integration and to underline the authentic European identity, culture and civil society in the Balkan. The first electronic news archive in Macedonia, ENA, became operational within the EuroBalkan Institute.

Law Program supported the Centre for Legal Clinics at the Faculty of Law in Skopje, established to develop advocacy skills and social responsibility awareness among law students in their professional work, especially when working with marginalized and vulnerable groups that cannot afford attorney representation (Roma, refugees, foreigners, and others). In addition to projects on legal education and free legal aid for refugees, this program organized two seminars on police reforms. In the period 1999-2005, the foundation supported the Centre for Continuous Education of Judges (and court administration) at the Association of Judges of the Republic of Macedonia. In 2006, this center was transformed into public institution, Academy for Judges and Public Prosecutors.



Activities at the camps Stenkovec, Neproshteno and Chegrane, organized in cooperation with the Children Theatre Center →

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With support from the Women Network Program, the foundation's Women Program secured an emergency fund for women refugees from Kosovo. Research Centre for Gender Studies was formed and became functional within the EuroBalkan Institute.

"The program Step by Step achieved exceptional results. More than 4,000 primary school teachers were trained on interactive teaching methods and work with children. In 1999, this program was transformed into Foundation for Educational and Cultural Initiatives 'Step by Step', as spin-off organization. Another spin-off organization emerged from the Debate Program. The newly formed citizens' association 'Debaters' continued to implement this program. Later, this association assumed implementation of the program Street Law, which introduced high-school students to the basic principles of democracy and the rule of law. After several years, this association was registered as Youth Educational Forum, known for its projects on combating corruption in the higher education and reforms of student organization", says program director Spomenka Lazarevska.

The program Medicine & Health supported the initiative for establishment of day-care center within the Centre for Children with Intellectual Disabilities in Sveti Nikole. The Day-Care Hospital for Children's Mental Health in Skopje was assisted to develop program of workshops on multidisciplinary approach to mental illness, intended for parents, teachers, school pedagogues and psychologists. Together with the Children Clinic, we implemented program for engagement of volunteers to work with hospitalized children and organized 12 different workshops, which have brought joy to more than 400 children.

Media Monitoring adjusted its activities to focus on the printed media and their coverage of the presidential elections at which Boris Trajkovski, candidate of VMRO-DPMNE, was elected to office.

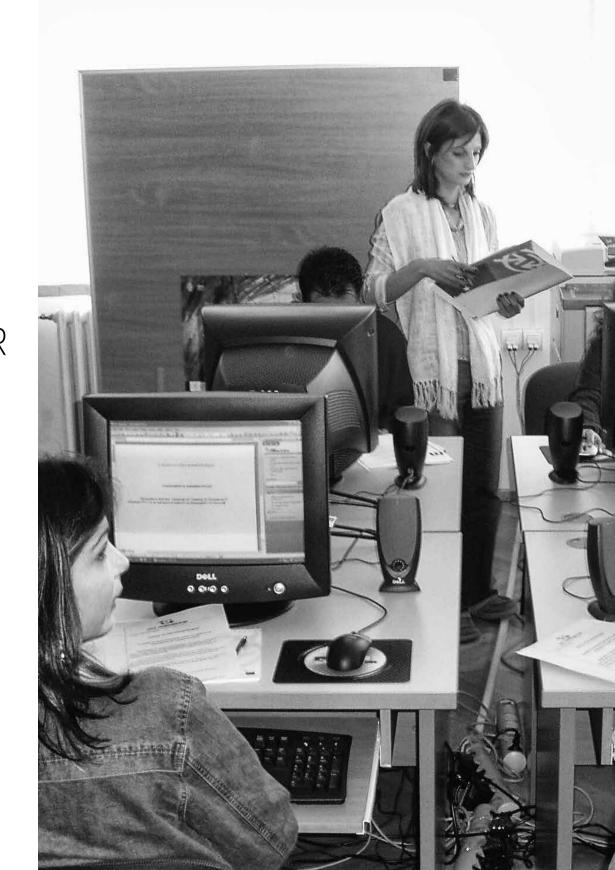
In cooperation with Soros Economic Development Fund from New York and Export & Credit Bank from Skopje, new credit line was established for farmers and small rural businesses which, by May 2007, has approved and disbursed 526 loans in total value of 1,821,000 euros. Funds from the foundation's own budget were used to establish credit fund of 65,500 dollars for small group loans, administered by the Humanitarian Association "Opportunities".

In compliance with the new Law on Citizens' Associations and Foundations, the Foundation Open Society Institute – Macedonia was registered as domestic legal entity on October 7th, 1999.



2000:

THE SPEECH OF FIREARMS FASTER THAN DIPLOMACY





n January 11th, three policemen were killed in crossfires near village Arachinovo, Skopje. On February 10th, Skopje hosted the Stability Pact Conference, established on June 10th 1999 on the EU initiative for creation and solidification of peace and security in Southeast Europe. One week later, Secretary General of NATO George Robertson had an address at the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia. On May 18th, the united opposition, led by SDSM, organized mass rally and requested immediate dissolution of the Government and the Parliament. Nevertheless, the government continued its Taiwanese adventure and, in attempt to save that project, signed an agreement for establishment of free economic zones with the Government of Taiwan. Main principles underlying cooperation among SEE countries were in the focus of the Summit held in Skopje, on October 25th. However, EU and NATO efforts to ensure stability on the Balkan with diplomacy and by underling the Euro-Atlantic perspective were belated and lukewarm. The war in Kosovo escalated, followed by several firearm incidents in Macedonia.

Soros encouraged his foundations based in Southeast Europe to use all opportunities created by the Stability Pact and designated a separate budget for External Matching Funds. The foundations received funds from this budget in cases when foreign governmental and non-governmental partners participated in their projects with matching funds of at least 50 percent of the total amount. On the account of its reputable track record as very successful donor and implementing organization, in particular during the Kosovo refugee crisis, FOSIM was a sought-after partner. Even the government led by Georgievski, aware of its own limited human capacity and financial resources, cooperated with FOSIM in the fields of education, economic reforms and public administration reform.

The speech of firearms faster than diplomacy

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Visit of the delegation from the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs to FOSIM resulted in cooperation agreement for the training of trainers project Introduction to EU Structures. This ToT project was implemented in the period 2000-2002, in cooperation with the Institute for European Policy from Berlin, and was co-financed by the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Twenty representatives from civil society and state administration attended this two-year training project, of which eleven passed the final exam and were awarded diplomas for certified trainers on EU. In December 2002, they founded the Macedonian Centre for European Training. As part of this cooperation, Stabilization and Association Agreement Seminars were organized with 70 participants from the state administration.

The foundation was the only actor in Macedonia with developed long-term strategy for de-marginalization of Roma, starting with incentives for Roma community members to complete primary and secondary education and ending with increased number of Roma students enrolled at the universities.

"The goal was to move from humanitarian assistance towards developmental activities. In that, we replicated the model applied by the Foundation in Hungary, which had coupled scholarships with mentor assistance, and successfully implemented it in Macedonia. According to this strategy, Roma nongovernmental sector and Roma education should not be supported only under separate

Roma Program, but should be integrated under other programs implemented by the Foundation. We strengthened the capacity of Roma NGOs and, in turn, they attributed their success to FOSIM", says Elvis Ali, program coordinator at that time.

In the academic year 1993/94, only nine Roma students were enrolled at universities. Our projects increased their number to 126 in the academic year 2001/02. Scholarships were of great assistance in achieving this success. In the academic year 2000/01, 20 university and 20 high-school students benefited from scholarships and mentor assistance. Japanese Association for Aid and Relief awarded five additional scholarships for students and mentors, while the Austrian KulturKontakt awarded another 20 scholarships for high-school students and their mentors. Performing Arts Centre "Multimedia" was formed as spin-off, and the foundation's program Arts & Culture opened new subprogram called KulturaNova, in cooperation with the European Cultural Foundation from the Netherlands.

Turning to local communities and acknowledging their needs was necessary in order to strengthen the public trust in non-governmental organizations.

"With financial support from the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, we established the first NGO Support Centers in Prilep, Veles, Shtip and Kichevo, and by the end of 2004 eight new centers were opened in Debar, Delchevo, Strumica, Resen, Kratovo, Negotino, Struga and

Participants in the training of trainers project Introduction to EU Structures, in cooperation with the German MFA $_{\rm J}$

Gevgelija, in partnership with the European Agency for Reconstruction. Overall goal of the institutional support, awarded to these centers until 2006, was to strengthen the role of non-governmental organizations outside the

capital, by supporting them to provide better services and to strengthen their capacity for cooperation with other non-governmental organizations, local authorities, business sector and the media. The Foundation continued its



"What fascinated me the most could be summarized with the words 'multilevel cooperation and partnership': the **Foundation strengthened** its role as credible entity for cooperation and partnership with the international organizations and donors, whereas nongovernmental organizations had fruitful cooperation with the local authorities and all centers operated as respectable network and created new networks of non-governmental organizations that worked together on democratization of the society, following the principles of open society."

support even after these centers were profiled as independent entities, under new names and defined missions reflecting priorities of their respective local communities. What fascinated me the most could be summarized with the words 'multilevel cooperation and partnership': the Foundation strengthened its role as credible entity for cooperation and partnership with the international organizations and donors, whereas non-governmental organizations had fruitful cooperation with the local authorities and all centers operated as respectable network and created new networks of nongovernmental organizations that worked together on democratization of the society, following the principles of open society", says Slobodanka Markovska, member at that time, and later chair of the Executive Board.

Summer schools in Ohrid were integrated into Ohrid Summer University with more than 90 participants from Southeast Europe, covering topics such as: Mass Migrations as Challenge to Balkan Security, International Industry Relations, Image of the Other, Frontiers of Humankind, and Architecture of Mass Movements

Primary and Secondary Education Program initiated two new projects that attracted the interest of young people: Street Law and SEE Youth Initiative Fund. Under Street Law, youth were introduced to fundamental values and principles of state

operation, human rights, law and democracy. Youth Initiative Fund supported 13 youth initiatives geared towards tolerance and understanding, interethnic relations, leadership and responsibility, multiculturalism and democratic values, entrepreneurship and non-violent conflict resolution.

The program East-East supported gathering of around 40 experts from member countries of the Stability Pact to exchange experience on stabilization and development in the region. Under this program we organized training for mayors, municipal officers and businessmen from countries along the Corridor 8, who discussed developmental plans and perspectives of the region, while the mayors of Skopie, Sofia and Tirana signed a cooperation agreement. Women Program worked on promotion of equal access of women in politics, economy and other fields. Furthermore, we worked on capacity building of women NGOs, while the Information and Documentation Department started its operation as part of the Research Centre for Gender Studies and joined the network of 12 such departments within the Soros Foundations Network. We supported the project Maria-HOPS, dealing with prostitution and trafficking of women related to drug users. Women Program participated in the initiative for establishment of Macedonian Women's Lobby and organized donor conference for projects aimed at political empowerment of women in the wake of the local elections scheduled to take place in September 2000.



2001: ENOUGH IS ENOUGH!

Населението панично го напушти најголемото скопско село

Во Арачиново останаа само ал

Околу 500 вооружени терористи хараат низ селата Мојанце, Орланци и Арачиново. - Влезно-излезните патишта кон селата се под целосна контрола на македонските безбедносни сили

Лилјана ЃОРЃИЕВА Игор ПАНОВ

АРАЧИНОВО речиси е празно. Месното население под закана на оружјето на околу 500 вооружени терористи кои хараат низ селата Мојанце, Орланци и Арачиново во изминативе три дена масовно ги напуштаат своите огништа и се упатуваат, Албанците во правец на Косово, а македонското население кон Скопје. Оние поупорните кои сѐ уште се наоѓаат во селото, според полициски извори, се изложени на насилство и закани дека ќе бидат ликвидирани доколку не дадат свој придонес за албанската кауза и борбата за нејзино оживотворување.

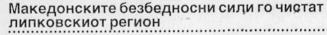
Влезно-излезните патишта кон селата се под целосна контрола на македонските безбедносни сили. Во текот на вчерашниот

ден, репортерската екипа на "Нова Македонија" го посети полицискиот пункт лоциран на два километра од Арачиново, при што не беше забележано никакво влегување во селото. Во претпладневните часови било регистрирано присуство на голема група Македонци од Арачиново кои сакале да влезат во селото, да го нахранат добитокот што го оставиле и да земат дел од покуќнината. Од безбедносни причини, полициските сили ги спречиле во нивната намера.

Вчера изутрина пак, околу 10 часот е забележно како албанските терористи поставуваат барикади од возила, а попладнето околу 14 часот група жители од селото Арачиново со возила тргнале пред Собранието на Република Македонија.

(Продолжува на стр. 2)





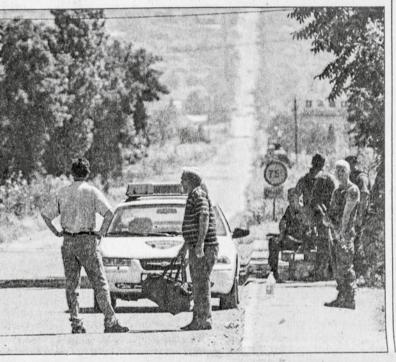
Се стеснува обрачот око селата Оризаре и Слупч

Во текот на вчерашните борбени дејства на македонските безбедносни сили кај Слупчане загина Синиша Стоилков, капетан на АРМ од Куманово, а ранети се војниците од резервниот состав Бранко Славковски, Слободан Тимковски и Стојче Ивановски

ВО текот на вчерашните бор на македонските безбедносни сил на терористичките банди во село загина Синиша Стоилков, капета Куманово, а ранети се војниците от состав Бранко Славковски, Слковски и Стојче Ивановски, офи врди Министерството за одбрана редените војници се префрлени болница во Скопје, но како што надвор од животна опасност. Во Липковскиот кризен регион вчетретиот ден на акцијата на макед бедносни сили за чистење на те банските терористички банди.

(Продолж

банските терористи



комениар

Арачиново ги освести ВМРО-ДПМНЕ и СДСМ

ТРЕБАШЕ да ни се "случи" Арачиново па раководствата на двете водечки партии во државата, ВМРО-ДПМНЕ и СДСМ, конечно да се освестат по десетгодишниот анимозитет и да ја одржат својата средба "лице в лице", според многумина "историска" во аналите на македонскиот политички плурализам.

Очигледно, куршумите и гранатите на албанските терористи и екстремисти во Танушевци и на тетовското кале, како и "механичкото" формирање на широката владина коалиција како нужност, а под притисок на меѓународната заедница, само по себе не беше доволна мотивација за "пеглање" на спротиставените ставови на овие две релевантни партиски формации.

(CTp. 2)

лу ане

обени дејства ди за чистење ото Слупчане ди на АРМ од од резервниободан Тимщјално пот-. Тешко повво Воената дознаваме се Кумановскора приврши онските безренот од ал-

ува на стр. 3)

Министерство за внатрешни работи

Преземени се неопходните мерки за заштита на граганите

Во врска со заканите упатени од претставници на таканаречената ОНА преку средствата за јавно информирање, дека имаат намера да ракетираат државни институции и други витални и стратешки објекти во Скопје и околината, Минстерството за внатрешни работи ги известува граѓаните на Република Македонија дека ги презема сите неопходни мерки и активности за максимално обезбедување на овој вид и други објекти во државата. Според МВР, не постои опасност за нивно загрозување, како и загрозување на имотот и сигурноста на граѓаните.

Средба на раководствата на ВМРО-ДПМНЕ и на СДСМ

Договорено заедничко дејствување до надминувањето на кризата

На средбата била постигната согласност и околу предлогот на претседателот Трајковски

ПО тричасовни преговори во Владата на Република Македонија, раководствата на ВМРО-ДП-МНЕ и на СДСМ, успеаја да ги отстранат недоразбирањата околу начинот за излегување од воената криза со која во изминатиов период се соочува нашава земја. На состанокот била разгледана вкупната состојба во државата, посебно во кризните региони, при што посебно станало збор за воено-политичките, дипломатските и другите мерки што треба да се преземат за постапен и целосен излез од кризата.

(Продолжува на стр. 2)

rmed attacks in bordering areas with Serbia became more frequent (Kosovo and Preshevo Valley). Paramilitary organization called the National Liberation Army (NLA), under command of Ali Ahmeti, announced its presence by issuing several communiques. By late March, when village Arachinovo near Skopje fell into the hands of NLA, Secretary General of NATO George Robertson came to Skopje with an ultimatum for initiation of peace talks. On April 5th, leaders of the two biggest Macedonian parties and the two biggest Albanian parties agreed to form a wide coalition government. On April 9th, Macedonia signed the Stabilization and Association Agreement with the EU in Luxemburg. On May 13th, the Parliament approved the new government of political unity, whereas on May 22nd leaders of political parties PDP and DPA signed the so-called Prizren Platform with Ali Ahmeti. On July 5th, Army of the Republic of Macedonia and NLA signed separate cease-fire agreements with NATO. Black tally from eight months of combatant actions, which some referred to as civil war and others as armed conflict and in the course of which one quarter of Macedonia's territory was beyond the control of security forces, amounted to more than 70 casualties, around 10 persons missing or abducted, hundreds of homes burnt and demolished, tens of thousands of internally displaced persons, and complete loss of trust between Macedonians and Albanians. The Framework Agreement, signed on August 13th

The 2001 armed conflict erupted and changed many things. Among them, one must note emergence of first divisions in the non-governmental sector, whose consequences are felt to the present day. I believe that was the moment when the Foundation promoted itself as relevant actor with true positive influence on political processes.

in Ohrid, represented compromise solution to end the armed conflict, but it did not immediately stop the chain of violent actions, including demolition of several religious buildings. Only after Ali Ahmeti dissolved NLA, the government declared amnesty for NLA fighters and on November 17th the Parliament approved the constitutional amendments.

"My engagement in management of FOSIM, first as member and later as chair of the Executive Board, lasted from 1996 to 2004. My term of office started with typical decisions to support projects arising from the Foundation's mission: promotion of the civil society, democracy, tolerance... Unfortunately, periods of political tediousness in Macedonia are impermanent. The 2001 armed conflict erupted and changed many things. Among them, one must note emergence of first divisions in the nongovernmental sector, whose consequences are felt to the present day. I believe that was the moment when the Foundation promoted itself as relevant actor with true positive influence on political processes. I do not refer to this period without purpose. In the midst of that delicate moment, we witnessed formation of groups around the Open Society Institute comprised not only of NGOs, but also of informal groups and individuals. These were all entities that spontaneously came to their office, almost on daily basis, not to seek financial support for their ideas, but to offer assistance, each in their respective area of operation, to calm the situation in the society and to prevent further escalation of interethnic tensions. Numerous activities and projects followed which, in hindsight, had measureable positive effects. Most importantly, under the pressure of developments in that context, many have come to understand the true meaning of open society. At that moment, many of us 'from the inside' were reassured that we are not few in number and that that we have the power to influence developments in the society. Unfortunately, those who at that time distanced themselves from this idea actually paved the road for all future hostile campaigns against the Foundation", says Emilija Simovska.

The armed conflict proved to be a dramatic challenge. Nobody had any dilemma that escalation of this conflict into interethnic war would jeopardize the survival of Macedonia. Hence, our first step was to break the silence among horrified citizens who had access to limited information. Open telephone lines were set up as part of the project Civic Response to the Crisis, which we implemented with support from King Baudouin Foundation. Citizens were able to call two telephone numbers (in Macedonian and Albanian language) and answer the question: "What frightens you the most these days?" 420 non-governmental organizations, institutions and public personas from the county and abroad endorsed the Appeal for Peace, followed by the Appeal against Insanity: "We condemn terrorism and aggression on Macedonia and we protest against instigators of vandalism, and ethnic and religious hatred. We will not allow to be manipulated and to be threatened by people with



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fascist ideas and criminal motives." Appeal against Insanity featured the poem "False Prophets" by Blaze Koneski, the bard of Macedonian poetry: "The time of false prophets will come / That will, alas, in my name / Summon you in the squares / And clamor will arise up to heavens / From their fisticuff chesty blares. / Do not believe them! / They think only of themselves. / What good is their proclamation / Of your salvation! / Rage is ripping inside like moles / They want to rapture your souls. / Such white-washed graves! / Do not become their slaves!"

Civic Newsletter prepared by Macedonian NGO Youth Information Centre from Tetovo and Albanian NGO Association for Democratic Initiatives from Gostivar was distributed in Tetovo, Gostivar, Skopje, Veles and Shtip. EuroBalkan Institute prepared daily briefings based on Macedonian and foreign press coverage. In the midst of combatant actions, the antenna tower hosting transmitters of several national and regional TV channels in the Polog region was bombed. To prevent information darkness in that region, through the International Media Fund, we organized urgent procurement and secured transmitters and new antenna tower for TV channels Sitel from Skopje and Art, KISS, Koha and Plus Forte Radio from Tetovo.

In June, 120 non-governmental organizations held a joint meeting in Ohrid which resulted in the birth of the Civic Council of Macedonia, followed by creation of website VoxPopuli as independent, uncensored forum for discussion among citizens

Official signing of the Framework Agreement in Ohrid \downarrow



"We condemn terrorism and aggression on Macedonia and we protest against instigators of vandalism, and ethnic and religious hatred. We will not allow to be manipulated and to be threatened by people with fascist ideas and criminal motives."

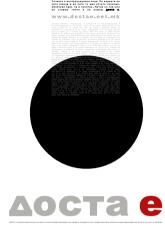
and non-governmental organizations. All these activities culminated with the civic campaign Enough is Enough!, organized in protest to threats and intimidation of citizens. Black dot featured on the campaign logo served as warning about the demise looming over all of us.

Peace vs. War: It is Up to Us was a project supported by USAID. The Framework Agreement was originally written in English language, whereby citizens were deprived of genuine and comprehensive knowledge of its content, making them susceptible to misinformation. We translated the agreement in Macedonian language and distributed it as brochure, in circulation of 100,000 copies. Preface to this brochure titled Perspectives of the Framework Agreement: A View on the Eventual Platform for Civic Action of the NGO Sector in Macedonia, written by Gjorge Ivanov who served as member of FOSIM's Executive Board and today holds the office of President of the Republic of Macedonia, was also translated in Albanian, Roma and English language. Grants were awarded to non-governmental organizations - members of the platform Enough is Enough! to distribute the brochure and to familiarize citizens with the Framework Agreement.

Several activities under the program East-East were postponed due the armed conflict. Nevertheless, Ohrid Summer University on the topic History, Historiography, Political Issues did take place and was organized by Euro-Balkan Institute and Transeuropèenne from France. At this event, 36 young participants from the Balkans were presented with alternative history, free of nationalistic distortions.

Rebirth of the Balkan History was implemented as partnership project with the Centre for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe from Thessaloniki and included production of audiovisual material titled Re-Teaching the Balkan Wars to Promote Regional Pluralism, intended for history teachers, students and academics, non-governmental organizations, government institutions and the general public. The Exodus of the Macedonians from Greece: Women's Narratives about WWII and Their Exodus was the book published as result of voluminous research and oral history documentation conducted by the Research Centre for Gender Studies.

Childhood and Secondary Education Program distributed books to internally displaced children from areas affected by the armed conflict. A total of 6,000 pupils attended the Junior Achievement Program and 89 primary schools accepted this program as extracurricular activity. Romaversitas was established to serve as center for informal education of Roma students and their de-marginalization. It targeted Roma students in their first year of undergraduate studies in humanities, social science and arts at the university in Skopje. Moreover, it was the first and only center of this kind on the Balkan, conceptualized according to the example of "invisible colleges". In the first year of operation, Romaversitas was joined by the first group of 15 students who, in addition to scholarships, also benefited from training on non-governmental sector and project management, participated in debates and discussions with professors from the Faculty of Law, attended theatre plays and cinema shows and literary courses in their mother tongue.



In the following years, the number of scholarship students increased, in parallel with training events which included essay writing, learning strategies and debate. Romaversitas was awarded office premises, as well as library fund and computers with Internet access.

Living Heritage was new partnership effort of King Baudouin Foundation from Belgium and FOSIM, envisaged as support to conservatory projects and initiatives for local development of small communities based on their authentic cultural resources. Involvement of local population and compliance with the concept of sustainable development were underlying principles of the program Living Heritage.

Under the open call for translation of classical works, grants were awarded to translators of works by Ancient authors such as: Ovid, Apuleius, Euripides, Plautus and Seneca.

In November, the first NGO Fair was held in Skopje and we supported participation of 19 non-governmental organizations from towns across Macedonia.

Van from the campaign Enough is Enough! ↓



2002: POWER OF THE CITIZENS

Петковски Тони Arlinda Ismaili Крстевска Оливера Diana Alili Emine Limani Талеска Љупка Drita Limani Параскева Lulzime Ramizi Зафироски Ст<mark>о</mark>ле 🛛 Зафировски МаркоNevrije Selami Јаховиќ Азра Melide Mal Ramani Rexher Ismaili Rejhan Qailovska <mark>Sel</mark>vie Sulejmani Sherimet Murati Sermajete Pajaziti Shpresa Vese Rabie Mustafa Mirie Ali Xhejlan Bakija Ацковска Кети Адровиќ Ема Бинова Стефанија Irfan Ismaili Анге Марта Витанова Биљана Vlora Biti Д<mark>одевск</mark>а Моника Јанков Нино Selmani Albina Ивановски Марко 3 Христина Beluli Rejhan Крстевска <mark>Елена Met</mark>aj Arben Ливриниќ Соња Sabaedin Fejzullau Лозаноска Мицкоска Bacи<mark>лкa Islami R</mark>ejhan Стефановска Бојана Bexh<mark>eti Sev</mark>im Поп-Кочева Александра Ajten Nu Jashari Eluiza Ism<mark>aili Florin</mark>da Iseni Ilir Maliqi Gzim Is<mark>mani Fuat D</mark>emiri Jeton Shaqiri Hamede Jusufi Krena Kadrievska Xhemil Saliu Vjolca Xheladini Edita Sakipi Bukurij Kalisi Qenan Feta <mark>Shefki</mark> Rushiti.S Matixhe Zegiri Marigona Dolomuhasije Rexheptoran Berisha Qefajet Musli Nurhan Mubliu Shefije Xhon Alili Nermine Islami Selja <mark>z Selami Rukije Murtezani s</mark>aniha Bushi Xhevrije Стојковска Снежана Valdete I Елена Asipi Selma Бик <mark>вска Катерина Далипоски Елв</mark>а Гајиќ Санда Босилковска Билјана Димовска Иј Sefa Ajdari <mark>Nefiz</mark>e Ил <mark>Ревска Андријана Meser Veseli Ил</mark> Реска Емилија Emini Leonora Јованова Алексан Is<mark>mani Карамазо</mark>в Т**ијче Baftije Illisami Јова Говска Мајш**ина <mark>Gjulsev Qorori Марковска Марија Маида В</mark> Avdiji Harun Muoвска Емилија Петковска Ана Avni Esati Наколовска Бранка Искра Гешоска Стоилковска Ibraimi Трајаноска имоза кова Нана B<mark>raimi Art</mark>a Трајчев Зоран Хаџи-Наумов Алексовска Татјана urtish Ана Kami Rejhan Ангеловски Александар Ameti X Георгиевска Данијел Видес мела Дуковски Никола Lumani Nermie Гешков Јанкоска Ана Јаневска 'Ajdari Jetmire Каракашова Биљана Nebahat Al Марковиќ Александар Ма re Mojcoва Нина Tahiri Hilja Миленов Даниел Abazi Fejzulah Mejreme Петреска еоновска Јулијана Ристеска Стојна Симоновска Кри Брњарчевски Драган Божи еловска Светлана Вељановска Катерина Боцевска Рос Маја Димовска Јана Димитр имовски Дарко Томовска Ева Калемџиевска Александ Наташа Мирчевска Валентин гица Крстевска Павлина Дуковски Борче Митевски Ми Татјана Огненоски Владимир Саздановска Даниела Стојановски Николче Тричков Даниела Трипунова Аница Ца еловска Кристина Блажевска Марина Биберовиќ Бобан Марина Грговска Фрковиќ Тања Давидовска Даниела Гуровска Елена Јованова Јованка Илијеска ска Маруја Мешко всна Боја ја Крстевска Жаклина Крстевски Дејан Мил Трајковска Ма 🚜 ленъ Кобич Михајловски Бладо Митковск<mark>и Сп се Митева Сан</mark>ија Михајлоска Лепосава Михајловска Габриела Нај, Ризвановиќ Амела Пампурова Сузана Ристевска Сашка Станојевска Бојана Стојковска Дубравка Стој

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its powers to avoid fulfilment of one of the commitments assumed by signing the Framework Agreement - organization of early, free and democratic parliamentary elections. Ratings of the government led by Georgievski and Xhaferi were plummeting and the dominant public opinion gave weight to the fact that the government itself was responsible for the armed conflict that had brought Macedonia on the brink of civil war. Authorities attempted to undermine importance of the elections. The government-controlled media launched a campaign that was supposed to assure domestic and international public that citizens are equally disappointed with government and opposition, and that the voter turnout would not be sufficient to guarantee formation of stable government that will implement the Framework Agreement. Claims made as part of this campaign to demotivate voter turnout implied that all consequences of the armed conflict should be removed before elections are organized, and featured threats that the fragile peace would be disrupted if governing parties lose the elections. This strategy might have yielded success if the non-governmental sector did not step up and took responsibility to articulate needs of and to advocate for free expression of the will of citizens.

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official promotion of the

In March, FOSIM and the Institute for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe from Thessaloniki conducted the public survey titled Peace, Stability, Elections which showed that, irrespective of ethnic differences, 80 percent of citizens are prepared to turn out and vote under guarantees that the elections will be free and democratic. Vast majority of surveyed population expressed disbelief that the incumbent government wants to organize violence-free elections, primarily due to its corruption and involvement in organized crime. Survey results were supported with the press release issued by the International Crisis Group on corrupted authorities in Macedonia, which was distributed at the Donor Conference held on March 13th, in Brussels. At the forum held in late March, 111 non-governmental organizations were united under the Platform for Civic Action: Enough is Enough!, defined and publicly announced their priorities: free and democratic elections, fight against corruption, demilitarization of the society, development of local democracy and brain-drain prevention.

In April, we organized the conference on corruption in Macedonia, which included official promotion of the report The Calm before the Storm by Robert Hislope, whose contents could be summarized in the following sentence: "Every country has a mafia. Only, in Macedonia, the mafia has a country". Hysterical reactions came from the government that was shaken to its core. Unannounced, Prime Minister Georgievski arrived and interrupted the conference that had already started, accusing FOSIM and Enough is Enough! of "acting as fifth column of the international conspiracy against Macedonia's integrity and sovereignty" and pointed to NATO, the United States,

George Soros, The New York Times and "certain Jewish circles" as instigators of this conspiracy. These labels were later used in several-month fierce persecution against the foundation and the non-governmental sector, featured in pro-governmental media and promoted by high government officials, even by the Parliament Speaker. This anti-West campaign culminated in absurd accusations made by the Minister of Interior that election defeat of the governing coalition had been a result of "magic paper and invisible ink produced by Soros in Denmark and illegally brought to Macedonia by the Danish KFOR battalion".

The civil society continued to pursue its priorities. We supported establishment of the coalition Corruption-Free Macedonia, while Platform for Civic Action: Enough is Enough! launched the campaign Power is in the People. It was a nation-wide media campaign to motivate voter turnout, designed by group of civic activists, leaders of non-governmental organizations, intellectuals, journalists and businessmen. The campaign was joined by non-governmental organizations implementing own local projects to mobilize voter turnout, educate the constituency and monitor the elections. These projects were also funded by other donors that, albeit joining the effort late, still supported pre-election activities of the non-governmental sector.

Power is in the People responded to government's attacks with establishment of NGO Info-Centre, funded by FOSIM and the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, which was accommodated at popular café "Medium" in close vicinity to the Parliament. Activities of this center included organization of several dozen press conferences,

Press of the campaign Enough is Enough!, at the NGO Information Center \downarrow promotions and debates, at which the non-governmental sector addressed citizens through the media, and direct contacts with those visiting the center. VMRO-DPMNE enhanced its attacks by using biweekly magazine Manifesto, which featured strong

nationalistic, xenophobic, anti-West, anti-NGO and anti-Soros rhetoric. In response to these attacks, Power is in the People started printing namesake weekly insertions, distributed together with the respectable newspaper Utrinski vesnik. "Macedonia





must not lose these elections" was one of the slogans used in this campaign.

The government's campaign that should have persuaded citizens that they are living in "the best of all worlds" was implemented with budget funds. The media were flooded with paid advertisements wherein different ministries manipulated official figures to convince citizens in the economic successes of their government and to obviate the fact that Macedonia is on the verge of financial collapse and has record-high unemployment in Europe. The foundation organized and financially supported 2002 Economic Forum which included presentations comparing government's claims against the reality. Forum sessions were directly streamed by private television channels.

At that time, some settlements across Macedonia had access only to electronic and printed media controlled by the government. In order to ensure pluralism of information, USAID and FOSIM jointly funded the project for free distribution of four private daily newspapers (in Macedonian and Albanian language) to these remote areas.

All in all, the foundation served as initiator, coordinator and one of many donors of this immensely successful civic action for free and democratic elections.

On September 15th, the voter turnout exceeded all expectations: 73.4 percent of voters used their right to vote and punished the government, i.e. parties led by Georgievski and Xhaferi,

who attempted to relativize their endorsement of the Framework Agreement.

Contribution of the non-governmental sector in mobilizing citizens and the key role played by FOSIM in empowerment and growth of the civil society were recognized both at home and abroad. British Foreign Office and its Department for International Development decided to finance two projects implemented by the foundation. School for Democracy was an education project that applied innovative methods to introduce citizens to the principles and values of democracy. A total of ten entertaining and educational booklets were developed in all seven languages spoken in Macedonia. Civic Platform for Peace and Stability aimed to turn the attention of governing structures towards citizens' views and priorities important to them. We organized debates and analyses in ten towns countrywide, while the still-active platform Enough is Enough! distributed citizens' views and needs to the widest public possible.

In the pre-election period, Women's Information Centre joined the activities of NGO Info-Centre by providing information on [un]equitable participation of women in the election process. In cooperation with Transeuropèennes from France, the foundation's Women Program joined the project Cross-Border Activities of Women Activists. Over period of two weeks, a caravan comprised of 50 women from all former Yugoslav Republics and Albania visited the places



VMRO-DPMNE enhanced its attacks by using biweekly magazine Manifesto, which featured strong nationalistic, xenophobic, anti-West, anti-NGO and anti-Soros rhetoric. In response to these attacks, Power is in the People started printing namesake weekly insertions, distributed together with the respectable newspaper Utrinski vesnik. "Macedonia must not lose these elections" was one of the slogans used in this campaign.

affected by the conflict that had brought about blood-shedding dissolution of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, facing the reality, the past and perspectives for the future. Seven women from Macedonia participated in this caravan. An important component of this post-conflict project was the traveling photo exhibition of places visited by the caravan.

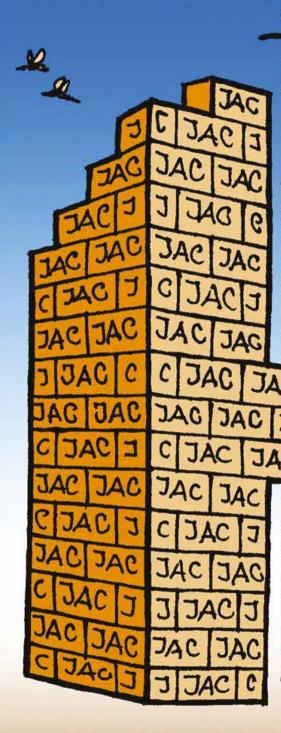
The Other in Higher Education Curricula built upon the research we had conducted after the 2001 conflict and research results were published in the publication Do We Know Each Other Enough? This project contributed to overcoming shortfalls related to presentation of "the Other" and "the Otherness" in ethnical, religious and language terms.

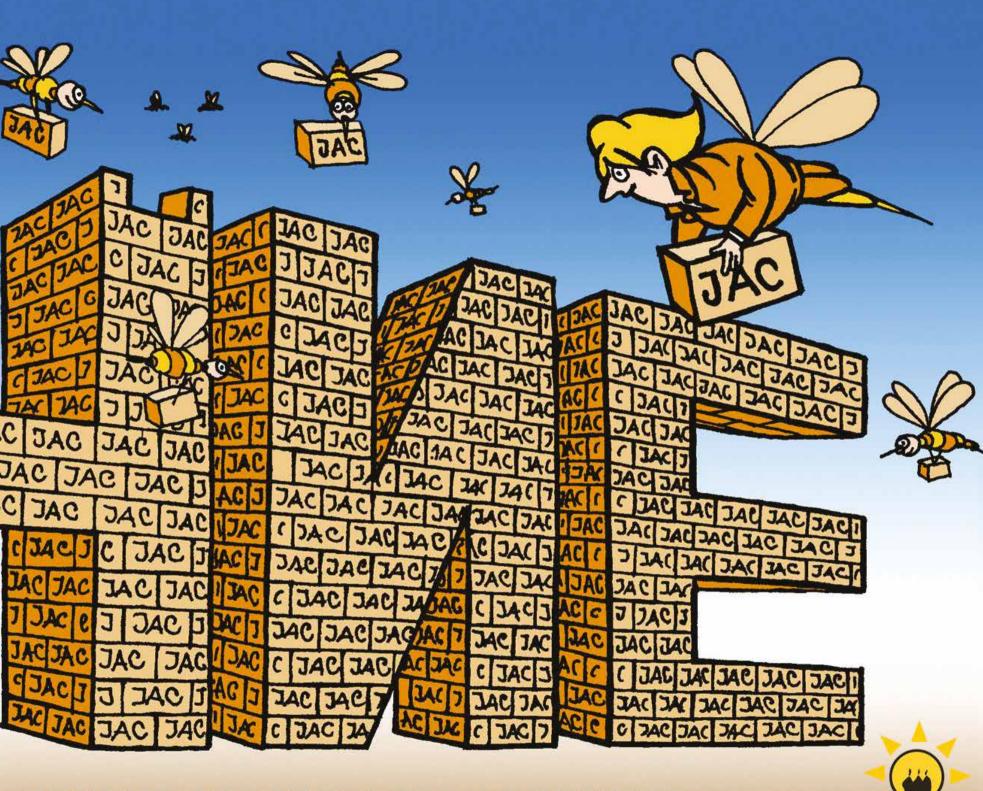
We helped the Bureau for Development of Education with foreign expert assistance to implement already initiated secondary education reforms. With financial assistance from USAID we started the project Creative Teaching and Learning which, in the first three years, was implemented in 18 high-schools and 45 primary schools. Overall goal of project activities was to help schools shape and implement their development plans by provision of adequate training for teachers and other school staff. USAID provided financial support for implementation of another initiative: Providing Formal Education for Children from the Sub-Standard Settlement Klanica.

In cooperation with the Swiss Foundation Pro Helvetia, the program Arts & Culture implemented the project called MultiKulti, which promoted the wealth of different cultural values in Macedonia and how they are intertwined. The subprogram Cultural Decontamination aimed to promote antimilitary vision of Macedonia as open and integrated society, by debunking nationalist myths created during and after the 2001 armed conflict. Four independent two-year research studies were supported.

Translations of classical works by Aristotle, Petronius, Seneca, Cicero and Terentius were made available to readers in Macedonia. Printing costs were covered by the Ministry of Culture.

In the period 2002-2008, we established credit line of 300,000 euros aimed to bridge lack of turnover assets among small businesses. In 2008, this credit line was repurposed for start-up business loans.





Мокта е во НАРОДОТ 2003: COOPERATION WITH THE CENTRAL AND THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT





n March, we organized the first National Conference on Open Government in cooperation with the Ministry of Local Self-Government, focusing on freedom of information, consultations, participation, accountability and responsibility of governing authorities. To promote the information technology and make it more accessible, we founded digital clubs in Debar, Resen and Kochani. They were accommodated within public libraries and each of them offered use of four computers, Internet access, printer and scanner. Promotion of the information technology in the non-governmental sector was pursued as part of the project e-Riders, designed to assist civil society organizations to create and maintain websites, improve Internet and electronic communication skills to attain their respective missions. Free Internet connection was granted to 35 non-governmental organizations.

FOSIM and the Macedonian Centre for International Cooperation (MCIC) supported the three-year project of Roma NGO "Mesecina" to open six regional citizen advisory centers. The purpose of these centers was to monitor respect for Roma rights, to educate Roma people and to promote Roma culture in the society.

Under the program Living Heritage, Smolare Waterfalls were made accessible to visitors, children discovered Mariovo and its picturesque wilderness, in-laws attending the Galichnik wedding were secured new sets of traditional clothes, vivacity was brought back to the Old Bazaar in Skopje, traditions were revived in the village Malovishta situated on the mountain Pelister, and Yuruks living in the vicinity of Radovish were supported to handcraft folk costumes and jewelry. Support was granted to promote artisan skills of potters from Vraneshtica, persons accommodated at the Institute for Rehabilitation in Banja Bansko were trained in woodcarving, and the Museum in Gevgelija was supported to relocate the sculpture

Campaign on freedom of information, I Have the Right to Know

"Freedom" by academic sculptor Jordan Grabul to another location that became place for gathering and socialization. The program Arts & Culture supported creation of woodcarving workshop at the Monastery "Zrze" in Prilep and organized the forum Cultural Decontamination that attracted attention of

the expert public, the media and politicians. At this event, a dozen experts, intellectuals and politicians – including then incumbent Prime Minister Crvenkovski - presented their views on and interpretations of nationalist myths and multiculturalism. Demetropolization of culture was supported with grants



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for culture projects implemented at 12 community centers. Cooperation with the Ministry of Culture enabled publication of translated works by Apollodorus, Cicero, Aesop, Strabo, Plato, Plutarch, Tacitus and Aristophanes.

We adopted three-year strategy for education programs, based on the principle of equitable access to education for all, especially for marginalized groups, development of knowledge and competences for democratic and open society of the 21st century and better governance, more effective management and greater transparency in education. First external evaluation of the universities, conducted by the European University Association, was supported by FOSIM and the German Rectors' Conference, After Macedonia signed the Bologna Declaration in October, we organized national workshop on importance and principles of the declaration, in cooperation with the Ministry of Education and Science. By the year's end and due to successful cooperation, the government decided to cooperate with the foundation at expert, consultative and financial level, for adoption of the National Program on Education Development.

Results of the survey conducted among 2,500 students from the three universities in the state showed that the academic world is not immune to corruption and that corruption is widespread at all levels in the higher education. In December, we announced the call for anti-corruption projects, which was open for applications from universities, students and youth organizations. Main topics of interest under the Law Program included freedom of information, approximation of national legislation with the EU acquis, and civil rights and freedoms. In October, on the initiative from the Open Society Justice Initiative we organized the conference on freedom of information. Furthermore, we supported the Ministry of Justice to draft new procedural laws, in line with EU standards. The new Law on Criminal Proceedings entered parliamentary procedure. We organized a campaign aimed to better inform and introduce citizens to Ombudsman's role. Public Administration Reform Program continued to organize training events for local government representatives, in compliance with the new Law on Local Self-Government adopted the previous year. In particular, this program focused on public services provided by local governments, capacity building for local officers and education on EU programs and funds.

In addition to the loan program administered by Export & Credit Bank, farmers were given new opportunity to take loans at very favorable interest rates. Funds for this credit line were secured from the Soros's Small Enterprises Development Fund.

2004: TOWARDS EUROPE: ONE STEP FORWARD, ONE STEP BACK





n February 16th, the second President of the Republic of Macedonia, Boris Trajkovski, died in airplane crash near Mostar and would be remembered for his personal contribution to ending the 2001 armed conflict and signing the Framework Agreement. The early presidential elections were scheduled for April 14th.

FOSIM's Executive Board assessed that failed elections on the account of low voter turnout, such as those organized in neighboring states, would slow down the country's accession in the EU, and therefore it approved support to several projects aimed to stimulate civic responsibility for fair and democratic elections.

The constituency was deeply divided. The elections declared a winner only after the second round of balloting. Branko Crvenkovski was elected the third President of the Republic of Macedonia. From the position of Prime Minister and SDSM leader, he won 62.5 percent of votes from citizens that turned out, but voter turnout in the second round of balloting stood at 53.6 percent, which was unusually low for Macedonia. The office of Prime Minister was assumed by banker Hari Kostov, while Vlado Buchkovski became the leader of SDSM.

lowards Europe: one step forward, one step back

The foundation earned recognition for its engagement in building modern. EU-oriented policies, by providing financial, but also expert assistance. We were involved in development of several strategic documents, such as: National Strategy on **Education Development,** National Youth Strategy, and National Strategy on Information Society Development, as well as the Law on Free Access to **Public Information.**

2002 legislation on increased competences of local governments and the right to official use of languages spoken by minority communities in municipalities where members of ethnic minorities account for at least 20 percent of local population were among instruments envisaged under the Framework Agreement. Macedonia's accession to the EU implied resolution of Macedonian-Albanian tensions, but the new Law on Territorial Organization of the Republic of Macedonia reinvigorated discords.

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Activities in support of EU integration included the campaign Europe: Now or Never and the round table End of the Western Balkan and Chances for the Republic of Macedonia to Join the EU. The round table was organized in partnership with the European Stability Initiative (ESI). The speech delivered by Gerald Knaus, director of ESI, and the round table in general, attracted unusually great interest in the media and among the general public.

Goodbye FYROM, Welcome Macedonia! and Don't You FYROM Me! are memorable slogans used in the campaign we organized in cooperation with MCIC. The campaign lobbied with EU structures and member-states for recognition of Macedonia under its constitutional name and had an excellent resonance

in the public. Post stamps bearing these slogans arrived in overwhelming numbers at offices of the European Commission and the European Parliament.

On November 4th, immediately after being elected for second term of office, President Bush signed the document by means of which the United States recognized FYRM under the constitutional name Republic of Macedonia. Greece reacted fiercely by sending demarche note to the United States. FOSIM, MCIC and other non-governmental organization joined the initiative of the Union of Women Organizations in Macedonia and organized grand celebration on Skopje square "Macedonia", attended by the President of State, Prime Minister, Ministers and Members of Parliament. This gathering was boycotted by VMRO-DPMNE's leader Georgievski and other officials from his political party. Albeit welcoming this recognition, they claimed that the timing thereof has been selected to throw shadow on the already scheduled referendum against the new territorial organization by means of which some municipalities with Macedonian majority population have become municipalities with Albanian majority population. The referendum organized on November 8th failed due to the low voter turnout of only 26.58 percent, way below the law-stipulated minimum.

The foundation formally assumed the leadership role in Roma integration, acting as coordinator of the donor community that will support the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015. Encouraged by success achieved under the project Roma Education Centre in settlement Shuto Orizari, we replicated this model in Prilep and Kumanovo, translating lessons learned

Joint campaign with MCIC for recognition of Macedonia under its constitutional name \downarrow

and experiences gained into three-year Roma Education Program which pooled funds from several donors: FOSIM, USAID, Swiss Pestalozzi Children's

Foundation, OSCE and the Hungarian Embassy. Overall goal was to keep Roma pupils in the education system, by assisting them to improve their

YOU F.Y.R.O.M.

school performance. We worked with children from preschool to higher education. Under its preschool and primary education component, we cooperated with NGOs "Dendo Vas" and "Sonchogledi" - in Skopje settlements Dame Gruev and Klanica, NGOs "Vrama si" and KHAM - in Kumanovo settlements Lozja and



Goodbye FYROM, Welcome Macedonia! and Don't You FYROM Me!

Sredorek, and NGO Assistance for Handicapped and Poor - in Prilep settlement Trizla.

To support decentralization process, in partnership with UNDP and in cooperation with the Association of Local Self-Government Units (ZELS) we initiated the project Model of Macedonian Municipality that was implemented in six municipalities. We organized workshops on new competences of local governments and study visits to Slovenia and Estonia for mayors, local administration officers and representatives from ZELS and from the Ministry of Local Self-Government.

In addition to already secured funds under the credit line for agriculture and small businesses, together with our partner Export & Credit Bank, we opened new credit line for start-up businesses.

Law Program organized the second conference Macedonia and Corruption: Situation and Challenges. In addition to the booklet including conclusions adopted at this conference we published Guide on Anti-Corruption Laws, leaflet on administration duties and principles in combating corruption, as well as brochure for public administration employees.

Lustration was another important issue raised by the Law Program. Introducing this term and theme, considered as novelty by large sections in the Macedonian society, FOSIM ensured participation of 12 representatives from Macedonia in three thematic workshops held in Belgrade, Zagreb and Tirana and organized by non-governmental organizations from the region (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Greece, Serbia and Croatia). The project titled Disclosing Hidden History: Lustration in the Western Balkans aimed

to improve lustration legislation and procedures, and encourage public discussion about the past. Publication on lustration and manual on lustration were published.

Participants in the forum Multiculturalism in Macedonia: An Emerging Model included Yiannis Boutaris from Greece, Zarko Puhovski from Croatia, Avital Bloch from Mexico, Lidija Basta Fleiner from Switzerland and Peter Krasztev from Hungary.

FOSIM was active participant in establishment and development of Civic Platform of Macedonia, network of non-governmental organizations that facilitated exchange of views and ideas, democratic dialogue, transfer of experience and enhanced connections and cooperation within the civil society. We signed cooperation agreement with the General Secretariat of the Government of Republic of Macedonia to open Office for Cooperation with NGOs.

Information Program, whose implementation was entrusted to spin-off Foundation Metamorphosis, started preparations for compilation of the Macedonian Dictionary of Information Technology. They organized the so-called "Translation Marathon" at which young IT experts contributed to translation of relevant terminology. Metamorphosis organized the conference Copyrights in the Digital Era, at which main topics discussed included digital technology, copyrights and pirating.

Building of the Children Theatre Centre was officially opened on September 29th. The old and ruined cinema "Napredok", awarded by the Ministry of Culture to the Children Theatre Centre, was completely refurbished and equipped with financial assistance from

FOSIM, the Swiss Agency for Cooperation and Development, SIDA, USAID and other smaller donors.

We organized the debate Is There Hate Speech in the Media in Macedonia together with the Association of Journalists of Macedonia, Broadcasting Council and Media Development Centre. Renowned journalists from Zagreb, Sarajevo and Belgrade shared their experience with hate speech in their countries at times of conflict and spoke about consequences from this trend on journalist professionalism, stability of the countries and interethnic relations. Presentations included recommendations related to hate speech of the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers, as well as analyses of hate speech in the media in Macedonia, developed on the basis of monitoring activities conducted prior and during the referendum by the Broadcasting Council (for broadcasting media) and materials from the Electronic News Archive (for printed media).

In cooperation with the Directorate for Execution of Sanctions at the Ministry of Justice, under the project Alternative Sanctions in November we organized three two-day workshops with three appeal court jurisdictions on the topic Alternative Measures Home Detention and Community Service Work and Their Application in Practice. Lecturers at these events were experts form Macedonia, the Netherlands and Hungary.

In December, NGO Info-Centre celebrated its first anniversary with presentation on though-provoking subject: Why Macedonia Needs a Non-Governmental Sector? This event included presentation of monitoring results related to media coverage of the Fourth Civil Society Forum in Macedonia held as part of the second NGO Fair.





2005:

AT LAST, STATUS
OF CANDIDATECOUNTRY AND
THEN RUNNING
IN THE SPOT





n January 31st, the Government of the Republic of Macedonia finalized answers to the European Commission's questionnaire for the country's EU membership application.

On September 29th and 30th, during the United Kingdom's EU Presidency, the Secretariat of European Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia hosted the conference Preparing Southeast Europe for EU Accession, held in Skopje and organized by Wilton Park.

"To boost motivation and accelerate the country's accession in the EU, we joined forces with the British and Norwegian Ministries of Foreign Affairs and provided financial support to influential advocates for the idea of SEE countries to join the EU to attend this conference, and also participated in coordination and ensuring conference attendance of 14 influential public opinion makers. Government officials from the region, representatives of relevant EU bodies and the civil society from the region and from the EU had the opportunity to make critical overview of opportunities and challenges under the accession process. Throughout the debate, conference participants criticized resistance to and enlargement fears on part of some member-states, which have emerged in the aftermath of failed referenda in France and the Netherlands and the failure to reach agreement on EU financial framework 2007-2013. In particular, conference participants viewed 'Europeanisation of SEE countries' as opportunity for economic and institutional development of countries in this region, in line with their aspirations for EU membership", recalls program director Slavica Indjevska.

Europe Now was the foundation's new campaign. On the day when the European Council discussed Macedonia's candidate status, we covered the streets in Skopje and other towns with billboards carrying the message that Macedonia belongs in the European Union. Cards, t-shirts and other promotional materials were distributed to all foreign embassies, government institutions and numerous visitors at the NGO Fair.

On November 9th, the European Commission published its opinion on the Republic of Macedonia's membership application, whereby the country was granted status of candidate-country for EU membership.

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On December 17th, Presidency of the European Council granted the Republic of Macedonia the status of candidate-country for EU membership.

In cooperation with the World Bank Office in Skopje, we supported 12 local projects related to the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015. They were aimed to expand knowledge and information about the Roma Decade priorities and increased civic participation in that process. In the next four years, we implemented a new large-scale education initiative Alliance for Roma Inclusion in Education together with the Directorate for Promotion and Development of Education in Languages Spoken by Ethnic Communities. A total of 657 Roma students from 77 secondary schools across 27 towns were awarded scholarships and mentor assistance to continue their education and to improve their school performance. The project was supported by the Roma Education Fund from Budapest.

In 2005, the program Creative Teaching and Learning - financed in partnership with USAID and already introduced at 18 high-schools and 45 primary schools in the first three years of implementation - was introduced at teacher training faculties in order to improve instruction and ensure more successful preparation of future teachers. This project targeted three Faculties of Pedagogy in Skopje, Shtip and Bitola, Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics in Skopje, Faculty of Philosophy and Faculty of Philology in Skopje, as well as Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics and Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities within the Tetovo State University.

In September, National Strategy on Information Technology on whose development we worked with UNDP was adopted by the Parliament, together with the Strategy's Action Plan for Implementation. This implied major recognition for successful completion of our two-year engagement. The conference e-Society.mk, organized by Foundation Metamorphosis and supported by OSCE Spillover Mission, gathered a large number of domestic and foreign participants who delivered presentations on topics relevant to information society development. The second conference on information society organized in the same year, e-Macedonia 2005, was hosted by the Committee for Information Technology at the Government of the Republic of Macedonia, with support from FOSIM and UNDP. It featured discussion of the newly adopted Strategy on Information Society and Action Plan for Implementation, followed by discussions on how information and communication technologies (ICTs) can contribute to Macedonia's EU

integration and how information society can boost economic growth and employment in the country.

FOSIM and OSI Public Health Network Program awarded grant to palliative care department at the Hospice "Sue Ryder" and the association "MIA" to

create program on domiciliary palliative care targeting the most vulnerable and sensitive groups of citizens and patients in urgent need of such care. Grant was awarded to the association "Polio Plus" to implement the campaign for adoption of systemic

Europe Now at the NGO Fair \downarrow



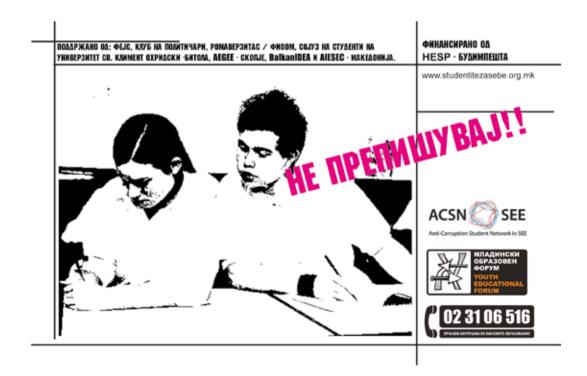
According to survey results, high 35 percent of university students in Macedonia do not believe in regularity of enrolment at the universities, while 30 percent of them claim that signatures can be obtained by means of "connections" and friends. The campaign titled KICK! for Corruption in the Higher Education was conducted by Students for Themselves, led by Youth **Educational Forum with** the support of several organizations, including **FOSIM.** This campaign was organized as part of the joint project of the Southeast European **Network on Anticorruption** in Higher Education.

law on protection of the rights and the dignity of persons with disabilities. These activities included series of public debates and round tables, collection of 10,000 signatures from citizens for adoption of the systemic law, as well as translation and publication of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.

The program Living Heritage increased its popularity with projects on promotion and use of authentic cultural heritage in small communities, contributing to increased number of tourist visits, revival of craftsmanship and creation of new jobs. We organized the international conference Living Heritage: Learning from Innovative Practices in Culture and Community Development in Southeast Europe with participation

of experts in this field from several European states. Furthermore, we organized the seminar Philanthropy and Sponsorship in Culture, in cooperation with the French Cultural Centre, which sparked major interest among culture workers. Francois Erlenbach from the French Ministry of Culture and Communications served as special guest at the seminar, sharing relevant experiences from his country.

Together with the Centre for Economic Analyses we organized the forum Improving the Municipality Budget Management that identified necessary local budgeting reforms and offered specific recommendations to representatives from municipal administrations.

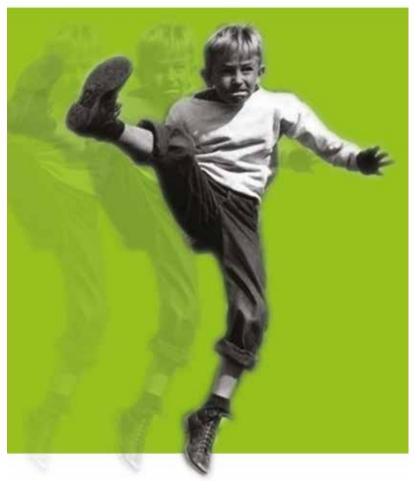


Poster from the campaign $KICK! \rightarrow$

Macedonian Harm Reduction Network was established on June 22nd by total of 13 citizens' associations, one healthcare institution, two newly-formed harm reduction teams and four individuals. It aimed to encourage cooperation, exchange of information, further development of existing and newly-formed harm reduction programs, involvement in development of national and local policy and strategy on harm reduction, as well as to strengthen advocacy capacity and more intensive engagement on the part of citizens' associations profiled in harm reduction from drug use in decision making and policy creating processes in the country. The Network was supported by the International Harm Reduction Development Program and FOSIM.

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КЛ0ЦП!



ЗЯ КОРУПЦИЈЯТЯ

во високото образование



2006:
UNCERTAIN
COOPERATION
WITH THE NEW
GOVERNMENT





opes that after being granted the status of candidate-country Macedonia would enhance its reform course to deliver requirements for EU and NATO membership proved to be overly optimistic. Issues such as police and judiciary reform, as well as fight against crime and corruption and growing unemployment were pushed to the bottom of pre-election agendas of political party leaderships.

However, in April the Parliament adopted National Program for Education Development 2005-2015 and accompanying program documents developed with support from the foundation. We signed cooperation agreement with the General Secretariat of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia for activities under the new three-year program Assessment of Macedonia's Good Governance Potential aimed to promote the concept of public interest.

Unexpectedly, the parliamentary elections scheduled for July 5th become uncertain after, in June, the Council of Europe withdrew the decision to finance training for

Uncertain cooperation with the new government

The project Creative **Teaching and Learning** brought about numerous positive changes at schools: active involvement of pupils in school reforms, creative and critical thinking in teaching and learning processes, and support for decentralization of instruction. Media labs and model classrooms were opened at Faculties of Pedagogy in Skopje, Bitola, Shtip and, later in Tetovo, equipped with computers, LCD projectors, scanners, printers, copiers, audio equipment, furniture, and we also enriched library funds.

all members of municipal election committees and election boards, as precondition for organization of regular elections. SDSM's government requested assistance and the foundation awarded grant to the State Election Commission, whose president at that time came from the opposition party VMRO-DPMNE, in the amount of 45,000 euros to cover costs related to training of all members of municipal election committees and election boards. In particular, the training targeted 100 trainers who later trained around 30.000 election administration staff. Manual with rules governing the election process, as well as instructions from the State Election Commission. was printed for the purpose of election administration training and successful organization of the elections.

Parliamentary elections were held on July 5th and were marked by voter turnout of only 56 percent. The opposition, led by VMRO-DPMNE, won the elections. On August 28th, Nikola Gruevski, leader of the winning party, was elected Prime Minister of the Government which also included ministers from the New Social Democratic Party and the Democratic Party of Albanians. Biggest political party from the Albanian block, Democratic Union for Integration, protested against formation of this government coalition on the account of not being included therein, claiming that government composition cancels the clearly expressed will of the Albanian constituency.

In his official letter congratulating the election victory to the Prime Minister, executive director Milchin, on behalf of FOSIM, offered cooperation in the EU

integration process. There was no official response to this letter, but the cooperation agreed with the previous government continued under the Education Program and the Information Program.

Our dedicated work on Roma de-marginalization under the projects Romaversitas and Educational Policy brought new donor to the foundation. Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherland secured financial support for the multi-year project Equal Educational Opportunities for Roma Children. Overall goal was to improve school achievements and to increase the share of Roma children with completed primary education. The project provided additional extracurricular support to more than 3,000 pupils, while project activities involved 250 teachers and 1,000 parents.

The project Creative Teaching and Learning brought about numerous positive changes at schools: active involvement of pupils in school reforms, creative and critical thinking in teaching and learning processes, and support for decentralization of instruction. Media labs and model classrooms were opened at Faculties of Pedagogy in Skopje, Bitola, Shtip and later in Tetovo, equipped with computers, LCD projectors, scanners, printers, copiers, audio equipment, furniture, and we also enriched library funds. Several seminars were organized on the issue of modernizing teacher education and training, introducing the instruction method Reading and Writing to Critical Thinking and the workshop Education for Social Justice. Around 50 deans, deputy deans, professors and assistant professors from the three Faculties of

Computer course for Romaversitas members at the Digital Club, in Skopje ψ Pedagogy attended three-day workshop on better understanding of the Bologna Process and curricula design for the vocational profiles they "produce".

Libraries and educational institutions were secured free access to EBSCO database of scholar papers and academic journals.



Uncertain cooperation with the new government

Digital Clubs of the Information Program were transformed into public points for Internet access, thus completing one segment of the National Strategy on Information Society Development, with the foundation playing an important role in its adoption. The disheartening fact that 70 percent of the entire population had never used the Internet was shadowed by election campaigns, but Foundation Metamorphosis and FOSIM cooperated to improve state-of-affairs in this regard. The second international conference e-Society.mk, organized by Foundation Metamorphosis, took place in Skopje on November 15th to 17th. Topics covered at this conference included best practices in developing legal and institutional framework on e-society, e-government and civic participation, free access to information and protection of personal data privacy. Moreover, with the support from OSCE and FOSIM, the conference gained regional dimension with participation of around 30 experts from the Balkan and Europe and sparked major interest in the public, among decision makers, international development agencies and experts.

We closed the program Arts & Culture because the Ministry of Culture under the government led by Gruevski refused to cooperate. However, we continued to pursue multiculturalism as idea and practice, making it cross-program initiative. The program Living Heritage continued its implementation as part of the Economic Reform Program.

Public Health Program implemented new subprogram called Sexual Health and Human Rights, aimed to improve sexual health of vulnerable groups. The regional conference Public Health Development in SEE Countries was held in Ohrid with participation of professors from Albania, Bulgaria, Germany, Israel, Macedonia, Romania, Slovenia, Serbia and Montenegro. Dictionary of Public Health, published by FOSIM and the Faculty of Medicine in Skopje, was promoted at this conference.

Economic Reform Program was focused on developing entrepreneurial skills among youth and Roma women. 450 Roma women were trained on how to improve their businesses. Training was also delivered to 120 young people, who submitted a total of 38 business plans on the open competition announced later. Youth Entrepreneurial Service, founded by Norwegian SINTEF and FOSIM, awarded the seven most original and perspective business plans. This competition was sponsored by Export & Credit Bank and four private companies.

Media Program supported several research studies, each accompanied with public debate. In cooperation with OSCE, we supported the research Information Needs of Citizens at Local Level in 15 small towns. Overall goal of this research was to identify ways in which citizens receive local community-specific information and to identify types, quantity, quality and regularity of information.

Together with NGOs
Article 19, ProMedia
and Transparency
Macedonia, we addressed
an open letter to the
President of State, the
Parliament Speaker
and the Prime Minister
expressing concerns
about shortcomings in
the Proposed Law on Free
Access to Information, as
well as absence of actual
progress in terms of its
adoption.

The report Transparency and Silence, prepared by the Open Society Justice Initiative, was promoted on December 22nd and included results from monitoring study conducted in 2003 and 2004, focused on how government services and institutions in 14 countries. Macedonia included, respond to information requests. In Macedonia, monitoring was conducted by citizens' association "ProMedia". Together with NGOs Article 19, ProMedia and Transparency Macedonia, we addressed an open letter to the President of State, the Parliament Speaker and the Prime Minister expressing concerns about shortcomings in the Proposed Law on Free Access to Information, as well as absence of actual progress in terms of its adoption. In the letter, endorsed by 126 citizens' associations, we urged for timely adoption of the Law on Free Access to Public Information, taking into consideration recommendations put forward by Article 19 and the Global Campaign for Free Expression, thus ensuring its alignment with international standards. As a result of this action, the government improved the law text by means of amendments.

FOSIM financially supported the Ministry of Justice to publish the new edition of the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia, which included all amendments thereto from 1992, 1998, 2001, and most recent amendments from 2005.

We started implementation of the program Community Forums, funded by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, together with the

municipalities Gjorche Petrov, Kichevo and Prilep. It aimed to contribute to municipal development by ensuring participation of all interested parties in forums that allow citizens to improve their lives with own ideas and participation in decision making, while ensuring municipal administrations are open, accountable and transparent. Priorities that emerged from these community forums included urban development in the case of Gjorche Petrov and Prilep, and local infrastructure in the case of Kichevo.

Youth in Action: Financial and Expert Support to Youth NGOs for Community-Oriented Projects was a new project, supported by the World Bank, Balkan Trust for Democracy and FOSIM, and aimed to support youth to actively engage in specific activities for policy changes. The project was comprised of three components, each enabling capacity building for youth NGOs and implementation of their projects.

FOSIM and NGO Support Centre in Strumica, on behalf of members of the Civic Platform of Macedonia, financed by the European Agency for Reconstruction, coordinated the organization of the first regional NGO Fair, held in Strumica. Around 50 organizations from around the country took part in the NGO Fair.

NGO Support Centers, operating in 12 municipalities, initiated their spin-off process. Some of them were registered as foundations and others as non-governmental organizations.

In November, the sixth international seminar Transitional Justice in the Former Yugoslavia: At the European Borders: Who are our Friends/ Enemies? was held in Skopje. Partners in seminar organization included the Centre for Cultural Decontamination and Belgrade Circle from Belgrade, Kontrapunkt and EuroBalkan Institute. Intellectuals, university professors, students and representatives from non-governmental organizations participated in debates at this event. The seminar was closed with lecture and promotion of the book The Jew, the Arab: A History of the Enemy by Gil Anidjar, professor at the Columbia University.



Equal Educational Opportunities for Roma Children \rightarrow



2007: POPULISM ANTE PORTA





t the year's start, the government renamed both airports in the state, whereby the Skopje Airport **1** "Petrovec" became "Alexander the Great" and the Ohrid Airport was named "St. Paul the Apostle", as combination of antics and orthodoxy. Nevertheless, placement of eight ancient sculptures outside the main entrance to the government building heralded the fact that orthodoxy would play second fiddle in the orchestra playing the march of populism. "We Accomplish" was the chorus repeated again and again to distract the citizens from the reality. Almost on daily basis, the entire government cabinet organized pompous press conferences to announce construction of roads, schools, sport halls, pools, playgrounds, bridges, museums, theatres... The authorities were praised and applauded for their declarative uncompromised fight against crime. But, spectacular arrests broadcasted live by television cameras alarmed the critical public, which condemned non-compliance with procedures and non-selective use of detention and special investigation measures. The government praised itself that court cases of 90 defendants resulted in imprisonment sentences with accumulative duration of 150 years.

Several days after the Council of Europe criticized Gruevski's government for complete partization of the public administration, 53 civil servants from the Government's Secretariat for European Affairs were demoted. MPs from DUI left the Parliament, accusing the government

Populism ante porta

The public debate The Other **Face of History was inspired** by collected works on the civil war in Greece titled After the War Was Over. edited by Mark Mazower, and Children of the Bird Goddess by Kita Sapurma and Pandora Petrovska, oral testimonies of Macedonian woman born in Aegean Macedonia and written down by her daughter. **Guest speakers at the** debate included Pavle Filipov Voskopulos, from the Rainbow Party of the Macedonians in Greece, and Dionysis Gousetis, columnist from Athens. The debate showed that the civil war in Greece 1946-1949 is still not over, which would later be confirmed by the Greek veto at the NATO Summit in Bucharest, held in April 2008.

of obstructing political dialogue and departing from the Framework Agreement. Gruevski was forced to meet and negotiate with Ahmeti. Initially, Gruevski claimed there the so-called May Accord does not exist, but later admitted its existence, albeit not on paper. Ahmeti claimed the opposite.

With the approaching date for publication of the European Commission's Progress Report for Macedonia, unresolved issues for which the country was continuously criticized surfaced in the public. In the year that should have been of crucial importance for judicial reforms, for months the political elites in Macedonia were unable to agree on composition of the Judicial Council, establishment of the Administrative Court and new concept for the Public Prosecution. Macedonia was continuously criticized for lack of political dialogue and poor cohabitation between the President of State and the Prime Minister. Political parties in government were mainly focused on their party interests. It did not surprise that EC's Progress Report, published on November 7th, contained negative assessments.

In November, the Foundation Open Society Institute – Macedonia celebrated the 15-year jubilee by organizing 11 events that attracted great interest in the public. The concept for our jubilee celebration was developed around five words, all of which start with the letter "i" in Macedonian language: integration, inclusion, identity, history and information. Events took place at different venues in Skopje, on both sides of the River Vardar.

Exhibition and book promotion Revealed Testimonies: Letters of Soldiers from the Great War 1914-1918 were true discovery. Letters written by soldiers in the First World War, unknown to that date, had been buried near Kyustendil, Bulgaria. The foundation decided to buy them from the man who did not want to destroy them, in spite of being ordered to do so in 1945. These letters prove that back in 1915 the Austro-Hungarian administration was not unfamiliar with the fact that home country of captured soldiers, recruited in the Army of the Kingdom of Serbia, is called Macedonia.

Book promotion The Bubble of American Supremacy by George Soros was another revelation for the Macedonian public. Author's criticism for military policy pursued by the Bush administration weakened prejudices that Soros and his foundation are "promoters of the American Imperialism". Later, this book was published as feuilleton in weekly newspaper Denes.

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The eight-hour event Youth and the Open Society was organized by Youth Educational Forum at the Children Theatre Centre. Exhibition of most influential youth actions, youth activism as main promoter of

From the exhibition Revealed Testimonies: Letters of Soldiers from the Great War 1914-1918, in Kratovo debate in the open society, promotion of the Directory (of Macedonian citizens who studied abroad with financial support from FOSIM, OSI - Budapest and OSI - New York) and round table on brain-drain were all concluded with parties, as befitting young people.

The campaign Under the Same Sun was promoted as part of the project Living in Multiethnic Environment: Citizens with Equal Rights, Opportunities and

Protection, funded by the European Commission. In his speech, Head of the EU Mission and EU Ambassador Erwan Fouere stressed the importance of activities taken by FOSIM and the civil sector.

Slobodanka Markovska, chair of the foundation's Executive Board, promoted the four workbooks from the edition Theories of Otherness (ethnology,



One Year Later was the title of the presentation of monitoring findings related to implementation of the Law on Free Access to Public Information. The report Wall of Silence underlined the fact that the Government of the Republic of Macedonia was the most closed institution in the monitoring period. FOSIM was among loudest advocates for adoption and implementation of this law, because without it citizens would not be able to exercise oversight on the government.

comparative literature, cultural and gender studies) in the big amphitheater at the Faculty of Philosophy and Philology in Skopje. Promotion of the four workbooks, published by EuroBalkan Press and publishing house "Magor", served as the crowning event for the foundation's multiannual project on introducing the notions of Other and Otherness in the curricula at several higher education institutions.

Subtle camera lenses of photographer Damir Fabijanic from Croatia displayed happiness and love of an intellectually disabled married couple at the exhibition Life: All Inclusive, staged at multimedia center "Mala Stanica". Thanks to the deinstitutionalization project in Croatia, supported by OSI Mental Health Initiative from New York, Božo and Milica escaped spending their lives trapped within the walls of institutions (asylums) for socially undesired.

This exhibition was accompanied with debate How Inclusive is the Macedonian Society?, which was encouraged by research survey commissioned by FOSIM. Both the research survey and the debate pointed out the fact that inclusiveness of the Macedonian society is far from what is desired. Discrepancy between what is proclaimed and practiced is so dramatic that it reached the level of almost systemic discrimination of ethnic (Roma) and non-ethnic (sexual) minorities.

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The international conference Inclusive e-Governance, hosted by Foundation Metamorphosis served as the final event in the jubilee celebration program. It featured presentation of recommendations for ICT standards in the public service, based on findings from the project Assessment of Good Governance Potential in Macedonia.

Celebration of FOSIM's 15-year jubilee did not only serve as occasion to reflect on the past, but as opportunity to advance our mission and emphasize strategic priorities for the current and following years.

Two anonymous, handwritten letters abounding in insults and death threats arrived to the official addresses of George Soros and Vladimir Milchin. They had been sent from post office in Gevgelija, town located only 5 km from the Macedonian-Greek border.

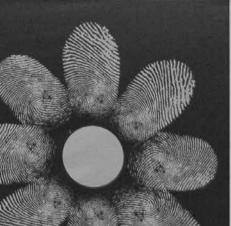


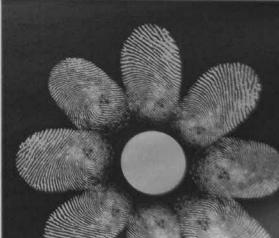
2008: NATO DOORS ARE CLOSED





nı güneş altında Под истим сунцем





n April 3rd, at the NATO Summit in Bucharest Greece vetoed the invitation for the Republic of Macedonia to join NATO. In the months and years that followed, critical-minded intellectuals, journalists and civic activists, especially those advocating for compromise solution to the name dispute, were subject to attacks and defamatory labels such as "traitors, enemies, Greek hirelings, fifth columnists, homosexuals, Sorosoids, viruses that should be annihilated". In continuity, fierce attacks, hate speech and death threats were launched by pro-government media and VMRO-DPMNE's spokesperson, and were later joined by MPs and ministers, and finally by Prime Minister Gruevski. Attacks did not stop by the end of 2017.

The public debate Macedonia: Before and After Bucharest that we organized on April 23rd sparked major interest on the account of its currency. In addition, we published 100,000 copies of the transcript with speeches and discussions, and distributed it as special insertion to three printed media. Ten speakers - politicians, intellectuals and journalists - were later targeted with e-mails containing death threats.

VMRO-DPMNE won the early parliamentary elections held on June 1st and proceeded to form coalition government with DUI. At first glance, that coalition appeared unnatural, given that Gruevski capitalized on the post-Bucharest rise of anti-West sentiments among the Macedonians, while Ahmeti rode on the back of pro-NATO feelings among the Albanians. However, it soon became evident that the coalition will be functional because of financial interests of both parties therein and their respective clientele.

We responded to the campaign against Soros and "Sorosoids" with presence across the country. At 59 public events, program debates and workshops, organized throughout the year in partnership with domestic and foreign non-governmental

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organizations, as well as with domestic institutions, we reminded citizens of the open society values and the foundation's goals. We were not alone and therefore we were not vulnerable. We had 52 partners from the domestic non-governmental sector, cooperated with 15 municipalities, 12 higher education institutions and even with several line ministries which, truth to be told, by the year's end started to obstruct this cooperation.

This year as well, our main beneficiaries were the most vulnerable, the Roma, targeted with many projects, almost all of them implemented as multiannual programs. In that, we were aware that de-marginalization, i.e. Roma inclusion, could not be achieved in the short run. Roma Education Project (REP) entered its fifth year of implementation. It was implemented in five primary schools in Skopje, Kumanovo and Prilep, in partnership with five Roma NGOs. This project targeted Roma children and youth in all levels of education and significantly increased the number of young Roma children with completed secondary vocational or higher education. Roma Education Project - Pestalozzi Children's Foundation was implemented in three primary schools in abovementioned towns, but its beneficiaries, in addition to 410 Roma children and 123 pupils from different ethnic groups, also included the three Roma NGOs, which had their strategic and organizational capacity strengthened. Alliance for Roma Inclusion in Education entered its fourth year of implementation. It aimed to increase the number of young Roma with completed secondary education and the number of Roma students enrolled at universities. Equal Educational Opportunities for Roma Children targeted 12 primary schools in places not covered by previous projects, implemented in partnership with nine Roma NGOs and Foundation Step by Step. Project activities in the school year 2007/08 included 1,657 Roma children, 94 percent of which successfully continued their education in the next grade. The multiannual program Roma Health was also implemented in partnership with non-governmental organizations, mainly Roma NGOs. They conducted a research to determine specific needs and problems faced by Roma people when obtaining health insurance and getting access to affordable and quality healthcare services. Special attention was put on the gender aspect of access to health. Legal advice and support was provided to more than 200 Roma members to obtain personal identity cards and documents necessary to obtain health insurance. Training against racial profiling of Roma was delivered to over 200 policemen and 30 police stations. They were introduced to Roma culture, history and tradition, as well as techniques to recognize and address prejudice and stereotypes. Ten young Roma completed five-module general training on economic development and entrepreneurship, and five of them successfully attended and completed training of trainers. Together with Soros Economic Development Fund, we financed the project Financial Literacy for Low-Income Roma Households. Two local Roma radio stations, Radio Cherenja in Shtip and Radio Ternipe in Prilep, were awarded grants to cover their operational costs. Roma Cultural Centre "Darhija" was supported to achieve its mission focused on standardization and affirmation of Roma language and Roma culture.



Под исто сонце Nën të njëjtin diell Aynı güneş altında Telo jekh kham Под истим сунцем Sum idghu soari Under the same sun

All twelve spin-off NGO Support Centers were supported with institutional grants, while program activities implemented by eight of them were supported by other donors. Priorities of former NGO Support Centers were to support the civil sector in their respective regions, to achieve sustainable community development through mobilization of local resources, to initiate cross-border cooperation that can be financed by EU funds and to develop European values and standards. We supported spin-offs

Akcija Zdruzenska, Common Values and Contemporary Art Centre. In the years that followed, all those who did not succumb to pressures exerted by the autocratic regime remained our active and creative partners, all the way to the regime's ultimate defeat.

This marked the final year of implementation for the project Creative Teaching and Learning. Professors at the Faculties of Pedagogy were trained in interactive teaching methodologies, principles of the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS), student competences

Erwan Fouere, Philip Reeker and Vladimir Milchin, Under the Same Sun ↓



and learning outcomes in compliance with ECTS principles, curricula revision, and integration of ICTs in instruction. Model classrooms and media labs were opened. USAID, as the project donor, approved budget increase for organization of training on Intercultural Education for high-school students and Education for Social Justice for teachers. Overall goal was to decrease ethnic divisions in ethnically-mixed primary and secondary schools.

On January 11th, four history workbooks (The Ottoman Empire, Nations and States in Southeast Europe, The Balkan Wars and The Second World War) were translated and printed in Macedonian and Albanian language, followed by official promotion. They were intended to enrich and modernize history lessons in secondary education. History Teacher Training was the second part of the regional project Joint History in SEE, where we served as one of partners to the Centre for Democracy and Reconciliation in South East Europe from Thessaloniki. We organized four training sessions for 90 history teachers from secondary schools.

EU integration, environment protection, effective use of energy, abuse of children and local partnerships between civil society organizations and local authorities were issues that attracted significant interest for participation in events supported under the program East-East. Impact of the EU Accession Process on Human Rights was bilateral initiative of FOSIM and the Human Rights Centre from Zagreb. At the first workshop, participants were focused on

best practices to increase their impact on respect and protection of human rights as precondition for EU integration. The second round was structured into four thematic workshops (anti-discrimination policies, legal aid system, environment protection policies and asylum). Platform for Social and Cultural Development of Rural Regions in the Western Balkans was a regional initiative led by the Contemporary Art Centre from Skopje. It aimed to establish an informal network of communications among profiled non-governmental organizations, artists and art teachers for exchange of experience and best practices on social and cultural development of rural regions in the Western Balkans.

Priorities of the Public Administration Reform Program included training on research-based policy development for government institutions and non-governmental organizations, support for decentralization process, improved performance of municipal administrations and better utilization of IPA funds. In November, following publication of the third consecutive annual Progress Report without recommendation to open accession negotiations, we organized the conference Quo Vadis, Macedonia? to spark a public debate on Macedonia's perspectives to join the EU.

Operational and grant-based projects of the Law Program complemented those implemented by the Public Administration Reform Program and played an important role in the foundation's overall efforts to accelerate the country's accession in the EU.



2009: CITIZENS ARE AWAKENING





he fourth presidential elections were held on March 22nd, together with the local elections. Gjorge Ivanov, candidate of VMRO-DPMNE, won the presidential race.

On March 28th, acting on the call made by MP from VMRO-DPMNE, several hundreds of religious observers and members and supporters of this political party, carrying church flags and uttering curses, ascended with punches and kicks on the group of more than hundred students from the Faculty of Architecture organized into the informal initiative "ArchiBrigade". The police did nothing to prevent this violence. At their duly reported and peaceful protest, students wished to express their disapproval for announced construction of religious building on the central square. VMRO-DPMNE's idea was to build an orthodox church amidst the square. On the other hand, the Islamic Religious Community requested construction of mosque on the same location.

Macedonia was not the only state overshadowed by threat to democracy and to open society under the surge of nationalism, clericalism, anti-Semitism and neo-nationalism that was becoming more vociferous even in countries that had fallen victims to Nazism. Europe, let alone Macedonia, was not prepared for Nazi-Bolshevism, a two-headed hydra that was feeding on further deepening of the economic downturn. Autocratic tendencies grew in strength, hence closing perspectives for open society. Populism disposed with powerful propaganda machine that attacked the idea of open society as "international conspiracy of the Jews, Masons and Illuminati, bankrolled by Soros".

Where to start from, how to strengthen the still weak and insufficiently numbered groups of resistance to the government, which did not event attempt to hide its tendencies to grow into regime that would govern for hundred years? Institutionalized non-governmental organizations perceiving the urgent need for active civic engagement that would fight for justice,

Freedom Square against the mayor's intention to replace cobblestone on the square ψ



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freedom and democracy were few in number and the few groups of activists were falling victims to defamation and harassment. To stimulate civic activism, the foundation supported the volunteer initiative Citizens for European Macedonia (CEM) of six intellectuals and columnists who on February 1st translated their views into the European Macedonia Manifesto. "Our struggle is to restore dignity of the citizen. Our struggle is against politicians who talk about Europeanisation and the fight against corruption, but in fact enforce 'Bucephalization' and corruption of the media, judges, academics and rectors. Our struggle is against the alleged democrats that decide behind closed doors. Our struggle is against those who are paid by the people and who transformed the template of democracy into the shame of democracy. Our struggle is against the powerholders who abuse the name Macedonia for personal, family and party interests on daily basis!" The first attempt to silence the civil sector happened on February 19th, when group of VMRO-DPMNE interrupted CEM's debate at the Culture Centre in Struga. CEM initiators were not silenced and they continued to critically analyze government policies as part of 23 debates organized in 19 towns, together with citizens concerned and threatened by undemocratic methods applied by the autocrat Gruevski and the opposition's powerlessness to stand in defense of democracy and freedom. Only non-governmental organizations and informal civic initiatives had the energy to resist the government.

Youth initiative "Freedom Square" was a reaction to violent interruption of ArchiBrigade's protest. Survey research conducted in the Skopje-based Municipality of Centar showed that 70 percent of citizens are against construction of religious buildings on the city square. "Freedom Square" and CEM collected signatures from 1,059 citizens and demanded organization of municipal referendum for citizens to express their will for or against construction of religious buildings on the square. Municipal authorities which at that time were in the hands of VMRO-DPMNE obstructed the request for organization of referendum, but ruling coalition parties forborne their idea to build church or mosque on the square.

To encourage critical debate in the public on topics of importance to Macedonia, we published two books on the 2001 conflict: Preventing War in Macedonia by Mark Laity and Conflict Prevention and Management: Macedonia Case by group of domestic and foreign authors. Furthermore, we supported publication of the book Ancient Present by Anastas Vangeli, as the first study of the so-called antiquization.

Together with the Swiss Culture Program for the Western Balkans, we supported the three-year project Rural Communities Culture implemented by Contemporary Art Centre. Project activities were implemented in rural areas in Macedonia, Kosovo, Serbia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, including organization of seven community culture initiatives, fifteen mobile cinema projections, six exhibitions, three theatre plays, one theatre workshop, eight capacity building workshops and 35 consultation meetings.

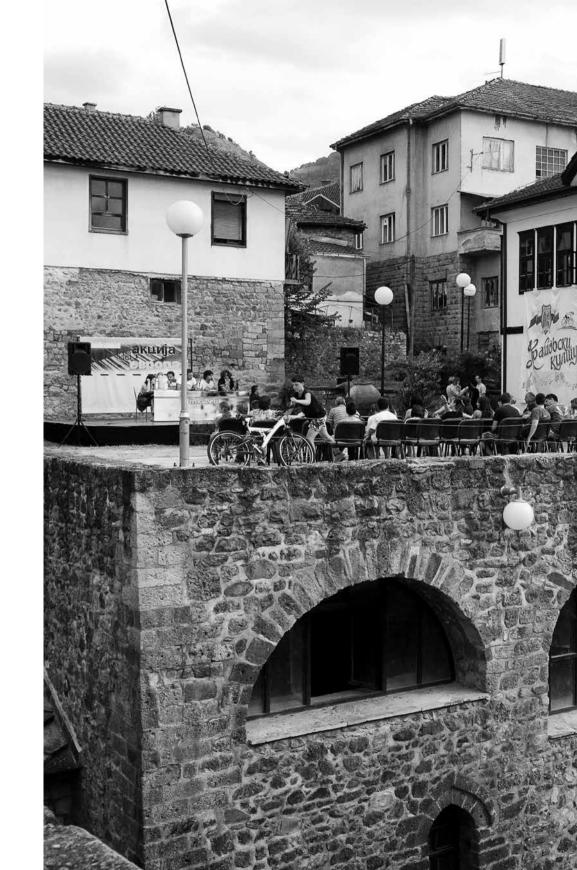
In the third year of implementation, the project living in Multiethnic Environment: Citizens with Equal Rights, Opportunities and Protection, financed by EIDHR and implemented by the foundation in partnership with Common Values and the network of 12 spin-off NGO Support Centers, delivered training on various aspects of minority issues to 164 representatives from non-governmental organizations, local authorities and public institutions. Relations were established between Ombudsman's regional offices, committees on inter-community relations, municipal councils and non-governmental organizations, for active involvement in protection of minority rights. Two publications for wider promotion of the rights of ethnic minorities (Guidebook on National Legislation on Use of Languages Spoken by Ethnic Communities and Manual on Elimination of Ethnicity-Based Discrimination) were published in all seven languages spoken in Macedonia and were presented on 12 workshops. The campaign Under the Same Sun promoted multiethnic values and mutual respect among ethnic communities. More than 6,000 visitors attended the multiethnic happening in Struga and had the opportunity to learn about culture and tradition of different ethnic communities represented by 1,500 participants from different towns.

Nën t soari

Folk dancers at the multiethnic happening Under the Same Sun, in Struga →



2010:
BRUSSELS
TURNS A
BLIND EYE TO
GRUEVSKI'S
TRUE FACE





n May, we opened CEM Club in the Skopje Old Bazaar. By the year's end, this club hosted 97 public events. Every Thursday, CEM initiators organized debates, inviting guests to discuss the most burning issues in the Macedonian society. Declaration for Macedonia in EU and NATO, drafted by CEM initiators in the wake of the EU Summit in June, signed by 58 civil society organizations, was also endorsed by leaders of 17 political parties at CEM Club's premises.

Priorities of the foundation concerned increasing public pressure to accelerate EU accession, strengthening municipal capacity and improving utilization of EU funds, as well as greater transparency and accountability in public spending by central authorities, although it was already clear that Brussels prioritized stabilization before democracy.

Action for Europe offered citizens knowledge about EU and the accession process. Ten public events organized in cooperation with fourteen embassies of EU member-states mobilized more than 2,500 citizens in 26 towns. More than 1,500 high-school students across the country participated in 86 public events (training, debates, summer schools, quizzes and role plays). Four brochures on EU policies and financial instruments, EU manual for high-school students and MK@EU Guide were printed in circulation of 4,200 copies each. Ten editions of television magazine Europe Now were aired by private TV channel Alfa. Seven young journalists, insightful in EU-related matters, were engaged at seven printed and electronic media under as

Brussels turns a blind eye to Gruevski's true face

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the foundation's fellows. NGO Info-Centre trained journalists on treatment of EU-related topics and monitored daily contents aired by TV channels with national concessions and the manner in which they cover EU themes and the name dispute with Greece.

Open State Budget, as partnership project with the Center for Civil Communications, monitored 160 public procurement procedures at central and local level. The project Transparent and Efficient Decentralization, implemented together with the Centre for Local Democracy Development, targeted 12 municipalities. It aimed to support transparent, efficient and effective decentralization of competences in finances, urban planning and education. Better Use of IPA Funds, partner project with the Macedonian Centre for European Training, aimed to strengthen capacity of municipalities for better utilization of EU funds.

In October, the European Commission recommended start of accession negotiations, in spite of absence of any visible progress in Macedonia for promotion of democracy and improved administrative capacity of institutions and the failure to find solution to the name dispute with Greece. Prime Minister Gruevski hurried to take advantage of EU Commissioners' inertness and deployed special police forces to raid the building of A1, TV channel with highest viewer ratings. Spontaneously gathered citizens protested against the raid outside the television building, coming face-to-face with the police cordon. Owner of this TV channel and of newspapers Spic, Vreme and Koha, Velija Ramkovski, and several members of his family were detained for more than one year.

It became obvious that media outlets refusing to succumb to the government's propaganda machine would be under attack and that once again we would have to stand in defense of journalists and the media.

It also became obvious that we would need to re-engage in promotion and advocacy for open society values, primarily among the youth. We expanded the network of youth clubs. More than 3,000 young people participated in 15 public events organized across Macedonia. Survey research conducted by Youth Educational Forum and Reactor - Research in Action targeted 3,607 high-school students from 13 towns and inquired about their trust in institutions, social inclusion, civic participation and extracurricular activities. Alarming survey findings were presented in the publication Capitulation, Confusion or Resistance: Social Capital among Macedonian High-School Students. NGO Info-Centre conducted the project Media Literacy, co-financed by the US Embassy, aimed to increase skills of young activists to recognize propaganda and political marketing and develop critical approach to information.

Information Program was dedicated to enabling active civic participation by using new technologies. Training sessions organized as part of this program included Internet activism, use of social media and blogs, and digital storytelling. We provided expert assistance to the Parliament to draft Declaration on Safer Internet. International conference E-Government for Increased Efficiency and Transparency was focused on the role of the systems in increasing public administration's efficiency and transparency,

raising awareness with the public, but also among decision holders and public opinion makers from mainstream and new media.

In cooperation with Foundation Metamorphosis we conducted two research studies Presence and Effective Use of ICTs and e-Contents in Education.

Research findings showed many inconsistencies and deficiencies in computerization of the schools, insufficient and inadequate use of ICTs and open educational resources, as well as lack of inclusive and transparent policies and strategies on use of ICTs at schools. The analysis Quality of Higher

Campaign Action for Europe \downarrow



Debate organized by Citizens for European Macedonia, in Rostushe \downarrow Education in Question: Dispersed Study Programs as the Macedonian Phenomena brought to the surface all negative effects of this government project. Given that these studies were imposed on the universities without adequate analysis and assessment of labor market needs and without broader analysis and discussion, the government project started and was implemented without relevant financial, infrastructural and human resources and raised serious questions about the quality of higher education in Macedonia.



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Public Health Program worked on attainment of previously established goals: to enrich educational process and practices of health and legal professionals by implementing integrated law and health concepts that promote non-discriminatory services and protection of the rights of socially marginalized communities; to strengthen capacity of human rights advocates for monitoring and reporting on implementation of laws, policies and practices, including capacity building for strategic litigation in cases of human rights violation aimed to hold institutions accountable; to build capacity of civil

society organizations for monitoring and reporting on public health budget spending, aimed to reduce mismanagement and encourage transparency and accountability of institutions. We continued to support the Coalition "Sexual and Health Rights of Marginalized Communities" that worked on documentation, reporting and legal protection in cases of violence that imply violation of the health rights of socially marginalized groups. As member of the National Anti-Discrimination Council, the Coalition actively participated in the three-year process on drafting the Anti-Discrimination Law and strongly reacted to the law's final version which did not recognize discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. 48 non-governmental organizations demanded the law to be withdrawn. Their efforts did not yield any results and this discriminating Anti-Discrimination Law was enacted. In spite of this disappointing outcome, the debate turned the public's attention towards the rights of LGBTI population.

The project Youth Entrepreneurial Service implemented by YES Foundation, Norwegian SINTEF and FOSIM and co-financed by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stimulated young people to start up their own businesses. Ten new companies joined YES Incubator and additional 22 businesses became virtual tenants, both creating new jobs. To support start-up businesses, credit line under favorable conditions was established in cooperation with Export & Credit Bank. Start-up credits were coupled with monitoring and education for new entrepreneurs. A total of 53 credits were approved.

The new Law on Associations and Foundations was expected to liberalize the right to association, to regulate the status of public benefit organizations, to introduce economic activities and fiscal benefits for associations and foundations. FOSIM presented the Parliament with amendments to the Draft Law

through the Standing Inquiry Committee on Protection of Civil Rights and Freedoms, thus ensuring significant improvements to this piece of legislation with full integration of 13 amendments and partial integration of 12 amendments in the law's final text.

Debate of Citizens for European Macedonia, in Prilep ψ



As member of the National **Anti-Discrimination** Council, the Coalition actively participated in the three-year process on drafting the Anti-**Discrimination Law and** strongly reacted to the law's final version which did not recognize discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. 48 non-governmental organizations demanded the law to be withdrawn. Their efforts did not yield any results and this discriminating Anti-**Discrimination Law was** enacted. In spite of this disappointing outcome, the debate turned the public's attention towards the rights of LGBTI population.

When a group of MPs from the ruling majority proposed the Daft-Law on Amending the Law on Denationalization in fast-tracked and non-transparent procedure, which was expeditiously adopted, the Law Program identified unconstitutional provisions contained therein and motioned a petition to the Constitutional Court to protect the right to property and the principle of equal application of the laws. The Constitutional Court fully approved this motion and revoked two unconstitutional provisions from amendments to the Law on Denationalization. Changes to the Law on Electronic Communications granted the Ministry of Interior unrestricted and continuous access to all forms of electronic communications. Together with Foundation Metamorphosis and Transparency Macedonia, we challenged violation of the right to privacy, constitutionally-guaranteed inviolability of the home and constitutional amendment that guarantees inviolability of all forms of communications. The Constitutional Court fully approved arguments provided by petitioners and revoked unconstitutional provisions embedded in amendments to the Law on Electronic Communications. We supported development of the third package of amendments to the Law on Personal Data Protection. deemed necessary to fully align it with EU Directives and to strengthen capacity for full implementation of new and enhanced competences. To raise awareness and improve enforcement of legislation related to respect for the right to privacy, the Law Program

supported development and publication of Comments on the Law on Personal Data Protection and Guide on Practical Implementation of the Rulebook on Technical and Organizational Measures to Ensure Secrecy and Protection in Personal Data Processing.

The Coalition "All for Fair Trials" was supported to monitor court cases in which journalists had been accused of defamation and libel by politicians. Increased number of registered cases amounted to alarming evidence on violation of the right to freedom of speech and pressure on independent media. The Criminal Court in Skopje alone had logged 89 cases against journalists, representing an increase by 300 percent compared to 2009, when only 30 defamation cases against journalists were reported. By the year's end, 47 out of 170 cases were monitored.

Together with 47 non-governmental organizations we motioned for withdrawal of the Draft-Law on Anti-Discrimination. We drafted comments to the Draft Law and submitted them to the Parliament, followed by press conference at which we indicated shortcomings contained in this law.

"In the absence of official state strategy on reconciliation with the past, we opened the first public debate on the armed conflict in Macedonia. The two-day conference 'History gathered at the same place around hundred participants from both sides of the conflict, including victims, witnesses and analysts. Ten books about the 2001 conflict were translated from Albanian into Macedonian language and vice versa, and from English into Macedonian and Albanian language, to facilitate an argument-based debate on this painful topic. I remember many other initiatives and events that marked this period with unhidden pleasure and feeling of pride, as they broke the cycle of silence and opened series of democratic windows in the governing system that was increasingly becoming authoritative and undemocratic", says Gordana Duvnjak, chair of the Executive Board at that time.

and Apocrypha: Demythologization of 2001'

We supported publication of books Macedonia and the Macedonians: A History by Andrew Rossos (professor at the Toronto University) and The Past in

Question: Modern Macedonia and the Uncertainties of Nation by Keith Brown (professor at the Brown University in Providence, the United States). Promotions of these books were turned into debates among intellectuals and historians. Even the promotion of the digitalized collection containing all editions of youth magazine Focus, which had created waves in the Macedonian public after events of 1968 until its cancellation, triggered a heated discussion about extent of freedom allowed under self-governing socialism in Yugoslavia. Discussions at the debate organized to promote the inventory What Orwell Didn't Know were published and distributed as insertion in the printed media. We supported the publication of three books on the project "Skopje 2014", by means of which the government declared war to the city's post-earthquake revival, covering the so-called "communist modernism" with pseudo-classical and pseudo-baroque buildings, facades and sculptures.



2011: SURGE OF POPULISM AGAINST THE RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS





n September 8th, as part of the 20-year celebration from the declaration of independence, an enormous bronze sculpture of Alexander the Great or Alexander the Macedon was erected in the midst of the central square in Skopje. Gruevski promoted himself into exclusive defender of the Macedonian name and identity. This act served as the culmination of his manipulative populist politics that threatened Macedonia's accession in the EU and NATO and distanced all friends of the country. Previously, Gruevski's government was criticized by the US administration and the European Commission for backslide in key areas under the EU agenda: political dialogue, public administration reform, judiciary, anticorruption, freedom of speech, and media freedoms. Nevertheless, VMRO-DPMNE won and SDSM lost the second early parliamentary elections held on June 5th. The combination of corrupting impoverished voters, pressures on civil servants and robust propaganda secured Gruevski another, albeit fragile term of office, as he failed to win two-third majority seats he had under the previous parliament composition. On the question what will the future bring, journalist and connoisseur of matters in the Balkan, Tim Judah, said: "More of the same. VMRO-DPMNE is populist party riding on the horse of Macedonian nationalism".

Surge of populism against the rights and freedoms

In the period 2004-2011, a total of 787 Roma highschool and 59 Roma university students completed their secondary or higher education with financial and mentor support secured by the **Roma Education Program.** Almost half of already graduated students found employment in state and local administration, some of them recruited as agency directors, cabinet chiefs and advisors. Total of 855 Roma children from 7 schools benefited from daily support at the four informal centers for Roma education support in Kumanovo, Prilep and Skopje.

Tim Judah's prognosis was confirmed on the first morning after the elections. Not far from the place where Gruevski celebrated the election victory. member of the special police unit had battered to death young man, member of VMRO-DPMNE. Aided by his colleagues, the murderer attempted to conceal his crime, leaving the victim's body on a nearby bench. "My son was killed by the state. VMRO members are threatening us to keep silent", said the victim's mother in front of TV cameras. Even the Minister of Interior was part of schemes to hide this atrocity. However, witness statements, pressure exerted by the free media and hundreds of young people organizing daily protests forced the Ministry of Interior to arrest the murderer. Later that day, leader of the opposition party United for Macedonia and former interior minister in the first government of VMRO-DPMNE, Ljube Boshkovski, was degradingly arrested in front of television cameras.

From that day, the hammer in the hands of Gruevski and his cousin, the head of state security services, was frequently used against critics and opponents of the regime. In spite of that, more and more citizens took to the streets to express their dissatisfaction.

European Commission's 2011 Progress Report included large number of research findings presented by the foundation in its quarterly Accession Watch Reports, which were submitted as part of formal consultations with the civil society. Moreover, we drafted two policy briefs advocating for EU accession as tool for stability and security, but also instrument to address poverty. Updated version of MK@EU Guide was intended to be used by MPs,

journalists, non-governmental organizations and students, to ensure easier understanding of the EU accession process.

Two public debates titled Where are the European funds? gathered more than 250 representatives from local authorities, civil society and the media.

Monitoring of municipal performance in the areas of education, urban planning, fiscal decentralization and local economic development in the period 2008–2010 secured important information for the advocacy effort on efficient decentralization and improved service delivery by the municipalities. Monitoring findings from 160 public procurement procedures showed insufficient transparency and accountability among state institutions, major differences in price at which different public institutions purchase goods and services, and broad space for malpractice and corruption.

Law Program was dedicated to promoting transparency and accountability of institutions, respect for human rights and support to justice system reforms. Team of lawyers from the Macedonian Young Lawyers Association, trained by domestic and foreign experts on the right to free access to information, submitted a total of 120 appeals and motioned 78 lawsuits on the grounds of denied right to free access to public information. The foundation submitted 814 information requests to obtain responses on questions related to: political party financing, approximation of the national legislation with the EU acquis, employments in the public administration and prevention of discrimination.

Campaign Tolerate, Don't Discriminate, to promote implementation of the Law on Prevention and Protection against Discrimination ψ

In March, we motioned a petition challenging constitutionality of the Lustration Law. With the critical analysis of the Draft Law on General Administrative Procedure we indicated that the reform action

called "administration is not silent" does not guarantee response from institutions and introduces new administrative labyrinth for citizens.



Performance of the campaign Vote!, in Struga \downarrow

We started development of legal analyses to assess implementation of key reform laws adopted for approximation of national legislation with the EU acquis. To assess readiness for ratification of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities,

in cooperation with the Centre for Human Rights and Conflict Resolution we conducted an analysis of domestic legislation in the areas of employment, health, education and law. Invisible to the Society is the analysis that identified series of inconsistencies



Advocacy activities of the YEF-led network comprised of around 50 youth organizations under the slogan In Defense of Participation persuaded the government to withdraw the Draft Law on Youth, developed in non-transparent procedure and without participation of youth.

in domestic legislation that would need to be eliminated and laws that would need to be aligned with standards imposed by the Convention.

We submitted 72 information requests to the Commission for Protection against Discrimination inquiring about all aspects of its operation. Responses obtained thereto were integrated in the publication Shadow Report that focused on performance track record of the Commission for Protection against Discrimination and enforcement of the Anti-Discrimination Law in its first year of implementation.

In cooperation with six partner organizations, we submitted 35 information requests inquiring about the number of submitted, approved and rejected applications for free legal aid, budgeted and spent funds for the system of free legal aid, copies of decisions on approving free legal aid, reasons for rejection of applications for free legal aid, list of attorneys-at-law who have worked on cases in which free legal aid is approved, amount of funds paid as reward to attorneys-at-law for provision of free legal aid. Moreover, we analyzed the Law on Free Legal Aid, its weaknesses and its limited application only to small number of citizens in need of such assistance.

Media Program developed analysis of the legal framework that regulates media environment, which served as food-for-thought at the discussion organized around the announced Draft Law on Media, amended the Rulebook on Political Presentation Prior to the Election Campaign's Start and intervened in some clauses that previously limited

the freedom of expression, which were approved by the Broadcasting Council, developed the report on state-of-affairs related to freedom of expression and the report from monitored court cases against journalists criminally charged with defamation and libel. Information on endangered media freedoms, endorsed by 17 domestic and foreign organizations, was presented to the European Commission.

The foundation continued to support informal civic initiatives and non-governmental organizations that publicly and argumentatively criticized the autocratic regime. Freedom of expression was supported with provision of legal aid to intellectuals, journalists and civil activists who were exposed to attacks, libels and hate speech in pro-governmental media and by government officials.

Citizens for European Macedonia geared major interest in the public (5,376 supporters, 254 media announcements, 2,538 website visits per month). By means of 26 public debates organized across the country with total of 3,135 participants, CEM facilitated public expression of citizens' concerns about state-of-affairs and perspectives in the country. The manifesto This Time You Don't! and columns written by CEM initiators encouraged critical thinking about government policies and practices. CEM Club provided an alternative space for organization of 207 public events with 4,845 participants.

Results from monitoring government policies and practices conducted in the 14 weeks prior to the elections were published in 4 newspapers announcements. Public events organized in 10 towns and the

At one of the informal Roma Education Support Centers \downarrow

on-line campaign I'm Voting facilitated direct communication and interaction with more than 30,000 citizens. As a result, voter turnout was increased by 7 percent compared to the previous elections.

Blogging for Democracy and Active Civic Participation were focused on further capacity building of activists who are already advocating for particular causes within their respective communities and at national



level. The public was given access to educational and technical resources, hence increasing opportunities for on-line activism of members of non-governmental organizations and individual citizens.

In its 2011 Progress Report for the Republic of Macedonia, the European Commission underlined that education benchmarks for progress by 2020 remain a challenge for Macedonia, concluding that "progress is inadequate" and that the country "partially meets its education objectives". To influence alignment of national education policies with the EU, we strengthened capacity of a group of 25 education professionals. Together with the Centre for Educational Policy Studies at the Faculty of Education in Ljubljana we worked on designing and implementing nine-module training on educational policies.

In the period 2004-2011, a total of 787 Roma highschool and 59 Roma university students completed their secondary or higher education with financial and mentor support secured by the Roma Education Program. Almost half of already graduated students found employment in state and local administration, some of them recruited as agency directors, cabinet chiefs and advisors. Total of 855 Roma children from 7 schools benefited from daily support at the four informal centers for Roma education support in Kumanovo, Prilep and Skopje. Beneficiaries of these centers demonstrated higher grade completion rate by 26 percent compared to Roma pupils who did not visit the centers. Moreover, they demonstrated higher school performance by the end of the school year. All pupils who completed primary education were enrolled in secondary schools. Twenty-two training

events on the rights of children were organized for more than 300 children, parents and teachers. 76 out of 82 university students, all beneficiaries of Romaversitas, successfully completed the academic year and 10 graduated from university.

Research survey conducted by Youth Educational Forum showed that large share of young people do not see their future in their homeland, believe that their participation in decision making is almost non-existent and that they cannot influence the work of institutions. This underlines the importance of the Youth Program, which attracted large numbers of young people who attended various training events (debate, street law, youth rights, youth activism, freedom of expression) and participated in vast number of local, regional and international events. Advocacy activities of the YEF-led network comprised of around 50 youth organizations under the slogan In Defense of Participation persuaded the government to withdraw the Draft Law on Youth, developed in non-transparent procedure and without participation of youth.

The foundation was the single donor supporting protection of human rights of marginalized communities. Annual Report on Sexual and Health Rights of Socially Marginalized Groups documented a high number of violations of the rights of members of these communities, who were later provided legal aid. However, positive changes at individual and at group level would not be sufficient in the absence of systemic changes at institutional level. The foundation made significant contribution to increased involvement of Roma NGOs working on public health

Western Balkans, where the Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis" from Skopje appeared as the project holder, together with partner researchers from Serbia, Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro; and 2. Development in Albanian and Macedonia: Effects of Remittances on Education and Health of Family Members Left Behind, where the project holder was "Analytica" from Skopje, in partnership with the Albanian Centre for Social and Economic Research from Tirana.

through Implementation of the Rule of Law in the

On April 19th 2011, the Foundation Open Society Institute – Macedonia was enlisted in the Central Register under the name Foundation Open Society – Macedonia, abbreviated as FOSM.

The population census started on October 1st and was to be completed by October 15th, but was stopped on October 10th by means of collective and irreversible resignation by the State Census Commission. Reasons thereof were never explained in public and they remained a secret known only to top leadership at VMRO-DPMNE and DUI.

issues that affect the Roma population. The government accepted the Macedonian model of Roma Health Mediators, developed with our support, as innovative approach to improve delivery of health and social services for Roma people. We expected the first group of 16 trained Roma Health Mediators to be employed in selected municipalities. We promoted the Roma Health Scholarship Program by awarding 75 scholarships and engaging 34 mentors.

Two additional publications were developed and published, focusing on sexual and health rights of socially marginalized communities: Media, Non-Discrimination and Marginalized Communities and (Homo)Sexuality in the Education Process in the Republic of Macedonia. Continuous free legal aid was secured to sex workers who were victims of the police raid in November 2008, and organized training for the Association of Sex Workers.

Two project proposals in the field of social science and humanities were selected on the open call for applications under the Regional Research Promotion Program in Western Balkans: 1. Europeanization



2012: MACEDONIA: CAPTURED STATE





n January, the government organized pompous ceremony to open the concrete-made pseudo-classic Arch Macedonia. In March, Velija Ramkovski was sentenced to 13 years of imprisonment. In April, five people were killed at Smilkovsko Lake. In June, the Parliament adopted the third Law on Setting Additional Conditions for Performance of Public Office, Access to Documents and Disclosure of Cooperation with State Security Services. August marked the start of protests organized by AMAN against electricity price increase by 10 percent and cancellation of in-day cheap tariff. On December 24th, journalists were first forcefully removed from the Parliament, followed by brutal eviction of opposition MPs. That day is remembered as BLACK MONDAY.

We decided to celebrate the 20-year jubilee of the Foundation Open Society – Macedonia by organizing 15 public events to present our efforts and activities on alerting the public and controlling damages inflicted on the society by undemocratic rule of VMRO-DPMNE and DUI. Arguments based on European Commission's annual reports, as well as analyses, findings and recommendations from monitoring projects conducted by the foundation and its partners and grantees were used to present the current state-of-affairs. Having in mind that the negative campaign against FOSM and the civil society was gaining in strength, some of these events were dedicated to promotion of our publishing activity in response to politicized and limited public discourse. On the account of obvious media blockades, all events were streamed live on the Internet to ensure our messages reach the broader public.

On November 2nd, at the conference Chance or Challenge - Macedonia's Perspectives: Full Speed Ahead to December 2012, we presented and commented the European Commission's recent progress report for the Republic of Macedonia. This report raised our expectations for obtaining date to open accession talks that would serve as additional wind in the back of reforms, unlocking the standstill.

On November 5th, we promoted the phototype edition Grammar of the Macedonian Literary Language by Horace Lunt, American-born Slavic

Macedonia: captured state

On November 5th, we promoted the phototype edition Grammar of the **Macedonian Literary** Language by Horace Lunt, American-born Slavic linguist and professor at the Harvard University, first published in 1952. Publication of this already forgotten capital work on the 60th anniversary from its first edition served as our response to attacks alleging that "Soros and his foundation are dismantling the Macedonian identity".

linguist and professor at the Harvard University, first published in 1952. Publication of this already forgotten capital work on the 60th anniversary from its first edition served as our response to attacks alleging that "Soros and his foundation are dismantling the Macedonian identity".

On November 9th, we promoted the Macedonian edition of the book God Is Not Great by Christopher Hitchens, wherein he fiercely criticizes organized religions, in particular Christianity, Islam and Judaism. Throughout the first two decades of the 21st century, the context in Macedonia was characterized by lever between politics and religion, i.e. political parties and the clergy.

The international conference e-Society.mk titled Open Education for Open Society: Share Knowledge! took place on November 14th and 15th. The central topic at this conference was exceptionally important and in tune with ongoing issues, as the government was closing the Macedonian society by imposing ideological, ethnic and religious dogmas in all levels of education.

On November 16th, we promoted Macedonian edition of the book Children of the Greek Civil War: Refugees and the Politics of Memory by L.M. Danforth and R.V. Boeschoten. The politics of memory pursued by governing parties also included the politics of oblivion imposed through the media, textbooks and books, and aimed to instigate one and absolute truth about the territory, the nation and the faith. Such truth does not allow space neither for minorities nor for individuals. Direct participants and their descendants spoke about their traumas from the Civil War, ethnic cleansing and displacement.

The conference Regional and Local Development: Potential or Deception was held on November 20th. It

was a result of our efforts for true decentralization that was hindered by the government coalition. Monitoring of decentralization process and performance track records of 12 municipalities in the fields of education, urban planning, fiscal decentralization and local economic development during 2009–2012 showed small progress in delivery of services by the municipalities.

On November 21st, we presented the analysis Parliamentary Oversight of the Government in Macedonia, which showed that parliamentary democracy has been reduced to voting machine wherein MPs obediently comply with orders issued by the executive branch of government, i.e. their party leaderships.

On November 22nd, the Roma group Shutka Roma Rap held its concert at the Havana Club. Their CD was titled "Me sijum underground/I Am Underground" and its production was supported by FOSM and made immediate breakthrough on European radio stations.

On November 23rd, we organized documentary film screening about criminalization of HIV and STD transmission among sex workers, followed by debate on the rights of sex workers. This documentary film and debate supported efforts of the Anti-Discrimination Network which motioned 16 discrimination cases before the Commission for Protection against Discrimination. Part and parcel of these efforts are Annual Reports on Sexual and Health Rights of Socially Marginalized Communities and strategic litigation in 4 cases, including court representation for various socially marginalized groups (people using drugs, transgender persons and people living with HIV).

On November 26th, we organized the conference Who owns our money? or How to manage public funds? Aimed to increase accountability of central and local

authorities in public spending, the foundation and the Center for Civil Communications developed comparative analysis and four Indices of Rationality. Findings presented therein provided reliable source of information for journalists, especially those investigating corruption.

Music performance by Shutka Roma Rap ↓

On November 27th, we promoted Macedonian edition of the book Macedonia's Child-Grandfathers: The

Transnational Politics of Memory, Exile and Return 1948–1998 by Keith Brown, American scholar of Macedonian studies, who also served as key note speaker at the promotion.

On November 28th, we organized promotion of the inventory Macedonian Lustration (1999–2012): Events, Statements, Headlines; Chronology of Macedonian Lustration by F. Remenski, V. Pivovarov and Z. Trajanoski.



Several months earlier, on April 9th, the Constitutional Court revoked several provisions from the Lustration Law on the basis of petition motioned by FOSM. VMRO-DPMNE immediately announced adoption of new law, which would later enable an even fiercer "street-based" lustration.

On November 29th, we promoted Battle for Macedonian Identity 1870–1912, doctoral thesis by Nick Anastasovski.

Protest against construction of

dams in National Park Mavrovo,

led by Ekosvest ↓

This was yet another effort in response to those from the Australia-based Macedonian diaspora giving their trust to defamatory campaigns by means of which, for years, VMRO-DPMNE accused the Foundation Open Society - Macedonia and George Soros himself of staging anti-Macedonian conspiracy.

The round table Roma and Implementation of the Law on Treatment of Illegally Constructed Buildings was held



on November 30th. The project Legalization of Roma Housing, implemented with financial support from George Soros's Emergency Fund, used the rare and time-bound opportunity to assist poor Roma house-holds in obtaining legal tenure of their homes, thereby making their recuperation from consequences of the economic crisis more bearable.

Multiple successes of the Roma Education Programs strengthened the foundation's strategic partnerships with other donors. Additional grants by USAID and Pestalozzi Children's Foundation allowed activities to continue by May 2014, while activities of Romaversistas in the academic year 2012/13 were supported by grant from the Roma Education Program. Ministry of Education and Science continued implementation of the project Scholarships and Mentor Assistance for Roma High-School Students, which it assumed from the Roma Education Program in 2008. Successful implementation of the Roma Health Scholarship Program increased the number of students enrolled at the Faculties of Medicine (72 students) in the academic year 2012/13 and contributed to development of Roma leadership in the health sector. Additional 106 scholarships in the academic year 2011/12 were secured through the Roma Memorial University Scholarship Program.

As a result of our efforts, 2011 National Program for Active Health Protection of Mothers and Children included specific budget allocations for Roma immunization. Significant progress was made in increasing capacity and engagement of Roma CSOs to advance the health rights of Roma. The program Community-Based Paralegal Assistance started its successful implementation in two municipalities.

NGO "Ekosvest" was granted supported through the East-East Program: Partnership Beyond Borders, to strengthen capacity of the national network of civil society organizations aimed at preventing the plan for construction of hydro power plants that would threaten flora and fauna at the National Park "Mavrovo". Worrying findings from their monitoring were presented before the Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning and the World Bank Office in Skopje.

Citizens for European Macedonia organized 31 debates countrywide, with a total of 3,505 participants. Total of 62 civil society organizations, informal groups and publishing houses organized 181 events at CEM Club with 3,834 participants on topics such as human rights, youth, marginalized groups, gender equality, identity and history, reform of institutions, civic activism, EU accession, etc. Thirty-three debates were streamed live, thus attracting additional 2,650 viewers.

USAID recognized our efforts and signed the cooperation agreement for USAID Civil Society Project in the period February 2012 - August 2014. Twenty-six grants were awarded to civil society organizations for projects related to civic activism, monitoring, advocacy, cooperation and networking, while capacity building activities for civic engagement targeted 640 representatives from youth and civic organizations. Importance of this project in growth and development of the civil society and its great contribution to changes that would follow is undeniable.

2013:
BRUSSELS STILL
PUTS ITS TRUST
IN GRUEVSKI





n December 25th 2012, the opposition led by SDSM started its parliamentary boycott. On February 13th, the Parliament rejected the initiative motioned by AMAN for restoration of in-day cheap tariff for electricity. On February 15th, EU Commissioner Štefan Füle cancelled his visit to Macedonia due to the political crisis. Second round of balloting for the local elections was held on April 8th, with VMRO-DPMNE and DUI declaring victory. On September 12th, the police conducted night raid on Park Defenders. On October 23rd, the protest FREE-DOM FOR KEZO was organized in front of the VMRO Museum. On December 5th, Gruevski's tutor Victor Orban was awarded the medal "8 September".

Progress in EU accession was blocked due to lack of political will among parties in the government. Many areas were marked by slow or no progress at all: reforms of the Electoral Code, freedom of information, the rule of law, public administration reforms. Analysis on utilization of EU funds showed an evident lack of absorption capacity, and brought to the surface indications that funds under the Youth in Action Program had been abused, of which the European Commission and the European Parliament were duly alerted.

As part of the edition Law Watch Analyses: A Closer Look at Implementation of the Laws we developed and published the analyses: Six Years Later: Is the

Efforts to improve access to iustice, especially for poor and marginalized groups, resulted in registration and support for six associations authorized for provision of free legal aid, which provided legal advice and legal aid to 1,288 citizens. **FOSM** secured financial assistance from the EU to continue efforts on equal access to justice for citizens and to strengthen capacity of domestic associations working in the field of human rights.

Wall of Silence Cracking?; Legal Needs and Path to Justice in the Republic of Macedonia; and Judgements Ought to be Implemented. Subject matters analyzed included implementation of several key reform laws adopted to approximate the national legislation with the EU acquis.

Monitoring of 240 public procurement procedure organized by central and local authorities indicated to serious problems in the system of public procurements that undermine the principles of transparency, competition, accountability and responsibility in public spending.

Semi-annual reports showed small progress in terms of fiscal decentralization and delivery of municipal services in the field of education. Macedonia dramatically lagged behind and would need a long period of time to achieve commitments for greater financial independence of municipalities.

Efforts to improve access to justice, especially for poor and marginalized groups, resulted in registration and support for six associations authorized for provision of free legal aid, which provided legal advice and legal aid to 1,288 citizens. FOSM secured financial assistance from the EU to continue efforts on equal access to justice for citizens and to strengthen capacity of domestic associations working in the field of human rights.

Anti-Discrimination Network motioned criminal changes before the Public Prosecution to establish discrimination in seven cases. Four of them concerned motions for establishment of criminal responsibility for attacks on the LGBTI Support Centre in Skopje.

We continued to support activities of the Association for Emancipation, Solidary and Equality of Women – ESE to monitor budgets of two preventive health programs: Program for Active Health Protection of Mothers and Children and Program on Early Detection of Malignant Diseases. Their monitoring activities were focused on budget funds allocated for Roma immunization and screenings for early detection of breast and cervical cancer.

By extending financial support to 11 online media, two daily newspapers (in Macedonian and Albanian language) and weekly newspaper Fokus, we secured alternative and independent information for citizens. Monitoring reports Media Mirror prepared by NGO Info-Centre were distributed to all media and to relevant domestic and foreign institutions. We organized debate on self-censorship in the media, especially at times when the freedom of information was subjected to continuous restraints.

Cooperation with the International Centre for Educational Studies at the Faculty of Education in Ljubljana continued with development of new training modules that encourage participation in schools. Two guidebooks were published in Macedonian and Albanian language: Creative Approach to Teaching and Social Justice in Education. To facilitate students' access to mandatory literature in the field of gender studies, the third volume from A History of Women in the West: Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes was translated in Macedonian language.

NGO "Faculty of Things That Can't Be Learned" hosted regional conference, supported by the East-East Program: Partnership Beyond Borders, to

My Body, My Decision – protest against restriction of the right to abortion $\ensuremath{\downarrow}$

encourage dialogue between the expert and the general public on issues pertaining to the public space, role of the individual in the public space, and

personal responsibility of the individual in the process of democratization of the state and the society. Creative projects that treat the public space as open



Brussels still puts its trust in Gruevski

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platform for civic action and public expression of political views, as well as promotion of the concept of social justice, were presented at this conference.

CEM Club continued to serve as incubator and distributor of critical thought. Total of 84 civil society organizations, informal groups and publishing houses organized 205 public events with 4,582 participants. Their premises hosted the promotion of the inventory comprised of texts, documents and photos, titled Black Monday.

USAID Civil Society Project, implemented by FOSM in partnership with Youth Educational Forum, FORUM Centre for Strategic Research and Documentation, Center for Civil Communications and Reactor -Research in Action, allowed us to award 43 grants to civil society organizations and informal groups acting as democracy hubs in their communities or conducting oversight of public institutions and research-based advocacy. Before the year's end, we awarded additional 21 grants to strengthen cooperation and networking among civil society organizations and engagement of fellows in research projects, which would be implemented in 2014. More than 400 representatives from civil society organizations and initiatives advanced their knowledge on monitoring public procurements, implementation of decentralization and EU integration, writing effective policy documents and advocacy. School for Active Citizenship hosted 54 participants, while 257 youth from 12 towns were trained to use new media and tools for Internet activism. A total of 878 participants from civil society organizations and informal initiatives took part in three civic forums and five debates, aimed to allow exchange of experience and

discussion about civil society, volunteering, voting, the role of civil society in democratic processes, challenges and opportunities for greater engagement of the civil society.

In its ninth year of implementation, the Roma Education Project provided comprehensive support to more than 190 preschool children, 863 Roma pupils and 173 pupils from other ethnic groups. More than 100 teachers from the seven project schools attended training on interactive teaching methods and children's rights. 76 Roma students were awarded scholarships for the academic year 2012/13. Their number increased to 105 in the academic year 2013/14.

Twenty-two Debate Clubs and twelve Street Law Clubs gathered around 600 high-school students, attending lectures on debate, argumentation, rule of law, civil and political rights. We organized several dozen debates, including the debate Argument: Organized Expression, an event that gathered a great number of public figures and audience of around 400 people attending the debate about the elections. Most active members had the opportunity to attend advanced training, such as Street Law: EU Training (70 participants) and YEF Academy (80 participants). Over 100 members of Media/Art Clusters in five towns took part in workshops on digital activism, street activism and alternative forms of public expression. After introduction of external testing reforms, Youth Educational Forum motioned an initiative, signed by 25,378 citizens, to declare the external testing in 2013 as pilot project, and later analyzed its implementation.

CEM Club: promotion of the digital edition of youth magazine Fokus ↓ FOSM continued to support legal representation for members of socially marginalized groups (sex workers, people using drugs, transgender persons and people living with HIV). Eight out of 17 strategic litigation cases were followed up with applications before the European Court of Human Rights. Research survey on the health status, exercise of health-related rights and access to health services for Roma showed that unlike other ethnic groups Roma are more affected by negative influence of social



determinants. Roma are also faced with greater discrimination and inadequate treatment at healthcare institutions. We continued the support to paralegal assistance provided by Roma NGOs, which extended paralegal assistance and support to 1,162 people in three Roma communities. Legal aid was provided to 1,653 persons for exercise of health and social rights and entitlements. Drafting process of the National Strategy on Roma Integration, led by the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, was used by the Advocacy Group for Health Rights of Roma, initiated by FOSM, to submit document with proposed recommendations and measures.

Roma Housing Legalization Fund (2011 – 2016) secured 1,500 interest-free micro loans to cover costs related to legal and administrative procedures on house legalization. More than 1,500 Roma families benefited from legal and expert assistance in obtaining legal tenure over their homes. By the end of 2017, 700 homes were legalized, and other procedures are underway.

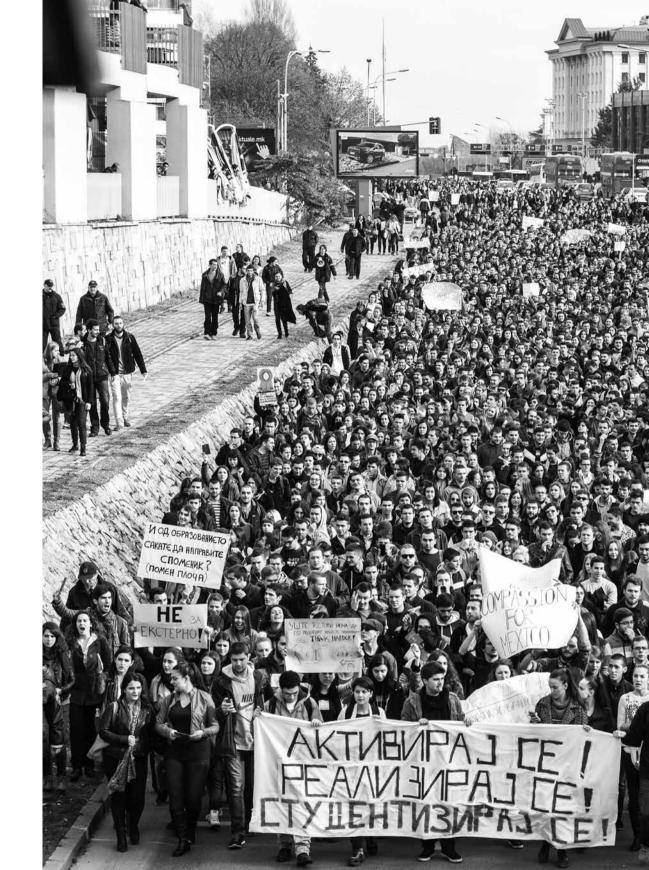


Youth Academy in Struga, USAID Civil Society Project →



2014:
PROTESTS
AT HOME,
CRITICISM
ABROAD, THE
GOVERNMENT

IS DEAF





rotests were organized in and outside the capital Skopje. In Gevgelija, the civic initiative "Arsena" protested against arsenic in drinking water. In Tetovo, people protested against pollution. On April 27th, Gjorge Ivanov was granted second term of office as President of State, while VMRO-DPMNE declared another victory at the early parliamentary elections. SDSM contested the elections and boycotted the Parliament. In August and September, protests were organized to protect River Radika and National Park "Mavrovo". In November, protests were organized in front of the Public Prosecution, after stampede of masked man had demolished the LGBTI Support Center and had injured activists inside during the first anniversary celebration. In November, as part its progress report, the European Commission criticized the government for backslide in key reform areas and, handling the matter without gloves, assessed that the EU accession process is at impasse. Furthermore, EC recommended the government to take decisive measures against increasing politicization of institutions and threats to judiciary independence and freedom of speech, unless it wishes to have the recommendation to open accession negotiations withdrawn. On November 17th, more than 3,000 university students, organized under informal initiative called Student Plenum, marched the streets of Skopje in protest against external assessment. Urging students to wake up and

Protests at home, criticism abroad, the government is deaf

Ready to again take to the streets, the Student Plenum announced: "Massive attendance at the march shows that critical mass of students and youth want changes". defy party influences, this protest received broad public support. Ready to again take to the streets, the Student Plenum announced: "Massive attendance at the march shows that critical mass of students and youth want changes". On December 23rd, on the street in front of the Parliament, 123 civic activists promoted the volunteer Platform for Citizen-Oriented Politics "Ajde!". "Our goal is to strengthen and to unite the fragmented democratic forces in the country. We do not intent to monopolize the space for action. We call for broad mobilization to incite hope and courage among people. They cannot silence all of us! They cannot chain all of us!" read the announcement issued by "Ajde!".

The foundation's resources and efforts were focused on restoring democracy and defending open society values. We supported 12 civil society organizations holding relevant expertise, access to adequate target groups and well-developed coalitions, and enabled them to articulate their strategies and to respond to current circumstances and challenges. They were supported to advance work in seven fields identified by FOSM's Executive Board as most endangered: freedom of expression, advancement of human rights in health, youth engagement for social change, combating corruption, human rights monitoring and documentation, and budget transparency. The second dimension of our strategy concerned implementation of three concepts: Civic Empowerment and Mobilization, Model of Citizen-Centric Municipality, and Roma Integration.

Freedom of Expression: online news media Alon.mk, Plusinfo.mk, Portalb.mk and Okno.mk informed about events and topics that were broadly ignored or marginalized in mainstream media controlled by the government. Media Development Center promoted its policy brief From MRT to Independent Public Broadcasting Service in Macedonia and organized the public debate Freedom of Expression Evicted from the Parliament and Left on the Doorstep of the Constitutional Court. Foundation Metamorphosis developed the system of content production and promotion aimed at breaking the media blockage in Macedonia. Articles on the political situation in Macedonia published on Global Voices were of great importance. Activities were implemented to strengthen capacity for use of new technology among critically-minded non-governmental organizations, activists and intellectuals.

Advancing Human Rights in Health: activities were geared towards increased promotion of sexual and health rights of people who use drugs and LGBTI population. Coalition "Sexual and Health Rights of Marginalized Communities", in partnership with the National Network against Xenophobia and Transphobia, succeeded in deleting paragraph 2 under Amendment 33 to the Constitution, whereby out-of-wedlock partnership, as well as other forms of civil partnership that produce legal action, should be defined exclusively as community between a man and a woman. Three textbooks on psychiatry and medical psychology used at the Faculties of Medicine

Members of Ajde! Platform for Civic Action on their way to the Ministry of Health ψ

were withdrawn, as they contained homophobic statements. In its annual report, the Commission for Protection against Discrimination referred to discrimination based on sexual orientation as societal problem and established that discrimination is most often intentional and motivated by hatred towards certain ethnic groups, marginalized groups, LGBTI

population, etc. HOPS - Healthy Options Project Skopje organized National Conference on Drug Policies with participation of representatives from line ministries, institutions, faculties, citizens' associations and persons who use drugs; provided legal assistance and court representation to 16 sex workers and legal assistance for protection of the rights of people



Protests at home, criticism abroad, the government is deaf

using drugs in six cases of denied access to treatment and discrimination.

Youth Engagement for Social Change: Youth Educational Forum worked on strengthening forms of high-school organization at eight schools and encouraged creation of local youth councils and local youth policies in 12 municipalities. Nearly 200 young people attended 80 training events on capacity building. Third Conference for Social Activism ENGAGE was attended by 3,000 participants and 500 online viewers, while key topics discussed included civic activism, media freedoms, investigative journalism, art and satire as political tools.

Combating Corruption: Macedonian Center for European Training published five research studies: Fitting in the European Frame for Protection of Human Rights; Refashioning: Macedonia's New European Story – Europeanization of the Macedonian Political Parties; Freedom of Roma Movement in the Light of Visa Liberalization; Political Culture, Europeanization and Fears in Macedonia; and Detour Europe: Research on Absorption of Community Program Funds in Macedonia 2007–2013. MCET delivered training to more than 150 people (municipal authorities, civil society organizations, journalists, lawyers and students) on topics such as: history of EU, EU institutions and decision-making processes, utilization of EU funds, and studying EU framework on human rights.

Human Rights Monitoring and Documentation: Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in the Republic of Macedonia was focused on monitoring the situation with human rights and their protection, and provision

of legal aid in cases of human rights violations, especially in the field of freedom of expression, discrimination, fair trial, freedom and security, exercise of the right to public assembly and social protection. Helsinki Committee raised the issue of political prisoners and discrimination on the ground of political affiliation. Results from screening discrimination of Roma people at border crossings confirmed systemic discrimination of Roma by the Ministry of Interior, and was followed up with lawsuit motions. Helsinki Committee was recognized as provider of free legal aid for exercise of the right to public assembly/protest by citizens or groups that appear as organizers.

Budget Transparency: Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equality of Women - ESE initiated budget monitoring and analysis for three 2013 preventive programs implemented by the Ministry of Health: Program for Active Health Protection of Mothers and Children, Program for Systematic Check-Ups of Pupils and Students, and Program for Early Detection of Malignant Diseases. Implementing entities of all three programs were addressed with 891 information requests. Moreover, ESE published the document Coverage of Roma Children with Immunization and Preventive Health Services and organized public debate during the European Immunization Week. ESE continued to provide paralegal assistance for health protection of Roma people. Paralegals helped around 800 Roma, visited more than 300 Roma families and educated 300 Roma on various issues related to health rights. Reactive and proactive transparency of more than 100 public institutions and bodies was monitored. ESE delivered

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capacity building training to 20 representatives from 10 civil society organizations on the right to health, organization and financing of the healthcare system, local and national budgeting process, methodologies on budget monitoring, community monitoring and social audit.

The concept Civic Empowerment and Mobilization aimed to train interested individuals, informal groups and civil society organizations, coordinated into open inclusive and non-partisan platforms, about possible ways to counteract democracy backsliding in the state capture by autocratic regime.

Ajde! Platform for Citizen-Oriented Politics was founded by 150 activists. Ajde! organized three street performances to alert the public about unconstitutional superiority of the executive before the legislative branch of government, abuse of the public service broadcaster MRT by governing authorities, and irresponsible behavior of the Ministry of Health that culminated with the death of young Tamara. Unfavorable solutions integrated in the law on precarious work taxes motivated the platform "Ajde!" to organize collection of endorsements for protection of constitutionality, which ended in success.

Capacity building training sessions were attended by 300 civic activities. They were focused on public relations, recognizing propaganda and manipulations, and effective use of tools for free access to public information.

To support civic response to undemocratic practices, we awarded grants to ten grass-root initiatives focused on protection of natural resources,

monitoring the early elections, youth and local policies, and solidarity actions to alleviate increasing poverty.

Poor governance practices and abuses of the incumbent government were disclosed as part of 15 ALARMS, announcements in printed and online media, in both Macedonian and Albanian language.

CEM Club continued to produce critical thought and uncensored speech at 215 public events with 4,616 participants. We promoted Macedonian translation of the books From Dictatorship to Democracy by Gene Sharp, Macedonian Question from 1944 to Present Day by Chavdar Marinov, Rules for Radicals: A Pragmatic Primer for Realistic Radicals by Saul D. Alinsky, The Origins of Totalitarianism by Hannah Arendt, and Enver Hoxha by Blendi Fevziu.

By the middle of 2014, we extended the cooperation agreement with USAID for implementation of USAID Civil Society Project until August 2016. We announced the call for applications to award grants to civil society organizations operating as democratic hubs in their communities and for civil society organizations engaged in monitoring and research-based advocacy, and awarded 27 grants. In cooperation with partners and grantees, we organized several debates: Word and Freedom for promotion of namesake inventory (together with Institute for Social Sciences and Humanities) and regional conference Safeguarding the Space for Peaceful Assembly in Southeast Europe (together with Reactor - Research in Action and European Center for Non-Profit Law). Under the fifth and sixth generation of the School

for Active Citizenship, partner organization FORUM - Center for Strategic Research and Documentation covered 51 participants, organized the school alumni meeting and supported three actions. Partner organization Center for Civil Communications published nine periodic reports from monitoring public procurements at central and local level.

The concept Model of Citizen-Centric Municipality aimed to introduce participatory local policy

development and promote services for citizens in three big multiethnic municipalities: Strumica, Centar and Struga, whose mayors come from different opposition political parties (both Macedonian and Albanian) and were elected to office at the 2013 local elections. We worked on capacity building for municipal administrations and municipal councils on strategic planning, participatory policy making, development of communication strategies and financing under EU programs available to Macedonia.

Ajde! on the protest for resignation by minister Todorov due to the death of young Tamara \downarrow



231 municipal administration officers and municipal council members attended training on local government competences, while 200 representatives from non-governmental organizations attended training on understanding local government competences and antidiscrimination. More than 250 representatives (school management, teachers, school boards and members of parent councils) in all three municipalities were trained in democratic governance, education for social justice and participatory development of multiannual school plans. Total of 632 participants attended public discussions, debates and workshops on local policy development. Local policies were developed in the field of social protection and education as municipal competences that are of greatest interest for local population, but also in the field of youth and cooperation with the civil sector, and were submitted for adoption by municipal councils. With support and contribution from municipalities, we established three Community Centers. These centers provided direct services to citizens, including informal education to youth and adults, including legal and administrative assistance. All municipalities were awarded grants to refurbish municipal council halls to accommodate presence and participation of citizens in decision-making processes. Tetovo and Krivogashtani were the last two out of 17 municipalities covered by the program Community Forums, implemented in the period 2006-2014. At twelve forums held in the two municipalities with active participation of 1,116 citizens, priority areas were identified and projects were developed, which were later co-financed with the municipalities.

This model proved as good practice for broad consultations and citizens' involvement in local policy shaping and decision making.

Committed to bridge the gap between policies and practices as precondition for Roma Integration, the third concept worked on empowering Roma to exercise their health rights, improve their school performance and hold the government accountable for development, budgeting and delivery of effective and fair education and healthcare systems. Total of 13 Roma and other civil society organizations were of crucial importance in attainment of this concept's main goals. Paralegal assistance was provided to 808 Roma in municipalities Shuto Orizari, Delchevo and Pehchevo; 744 Roma families in municipalities Prilep and Bitola benefited from free legal aid and logistic support to exercise their right to health protection, health insurance and other social rights; we initiated law amendments related to the right to health insurance (administrative barriers for unemployed people in obtaining health insurance). Roma Education Project, Roma Memorial University Scholarship Program and Roma Health Scholarship Program contributed to increased number of Roma high-school and university graduates. In the academic year 2013/14, thirteen beneficiaries of Romaversitas graduated, hence bringing the total number of graduates under Romaversitas to 108, and the total number of graduates under Roma Memorial University Scholarship Program to 100, in the period 2004-2014. Eleven Roma students graduated at Faculties of Medicine and found employment at state institutions. Additional components of the

Roma Health Scholarship Program (advocacy, media tools and mentorship) allowed 38 high-school and university students and 19 mentors to strengthen their knowledge and skills in advocacy for health policies, human rights in health and decision-making processes. The petition for gynecology practice in Shuto Orizari was signed by 1,570 citizens. The foundation organized seminar on improving healthcare services for Roma by changing the negative narratives, with participation of activists, university professors and general practitioners. The baseline study We Are All Humans: Health Care for All People Regardless of Their Ethnicity was published, together with research survey on how Roma people view progress in education today compared to the situation before the Roma Decade.



Ajde! against abuse of MRT by the government \rightarrow



2015: FALL OF THE REGIME IS WITHIN REACH





n February, the opposition initiated disclosure of wiretaps (known as "Zaev's bombs") from telephone conversations that have been illegally intercepted by the Fifth Division at the Administration for Security and Counterintelligence (UBK). The public was shocked to hear high government officials arranging corruptive deals, stomping on the rule of law and violating the constitutional principles. After disclosure of particular set of wiretaps, in the eve of May 5th, large number of angered citizens gathered outside the government to express their revolt with attempts to cover up the murder of Martin Neshkoski. On the account of excessive use of police powers, citizens continued to protest in the days that followed until May 17th, when a massive and non-violent rally was organized in front of the government building, in organization of Citizens for Macedonia as civic and non-partisan coalition to restore dignity of people and defend the Constitution. "Our joint action will continue and will last until the definite fall of the government that has robbed us of freedom, existence and future" were the words embodying determination of the people, without violence and at early democratic and free elections that would be organized by interim government, to end the ten-year rule that has left Macedonia in shambles. Later that

Fall of the regime is within reach

The zeitgeist necessitated work on restoring democracy and reviving freedom, as well as guarantees that restored values would be permanent.

evening, tents were erected outside the government called Freedom Camp, the atmosphere at which was dominated by optimism that nothing would ever be the same.

Camp tents erected by "Ajde!" Platform for Citizen-Oriented Politics served as place of gathering and overnight stay not only for members of this platform, but also for all people wishing to join discussions, protest marches on the streets of Skopje or take part in cultural events and political debates staged on the plateau outside the government and hosted by members of "Ajde!". Tents were visited by foreign correspondents. Belgrade-based correspondent for Putin's TV channel Russia Today looked for evidence that Soros and "Sorosoids" are engaged in preparations for armed revolution in Macedonia, following the examples of Ukraine and Georgia. Neither the Freedom Camp nor the camp tents hosted by "Ajde!" carried weapons, but the Macedonian media controlled by the government replayed this filthy lie as mantra. However, the media monopoly was already broken, not only by online news portals which at that time were financed by FOSM, but also by other independent media outlets marked by increasing circulation, readership and viewership. Readership of the news portal Portalb was increased to 9,786,367 visits. Alon registered 1,294,080 visits and 425,008 visitors. Plusinfo registered 21,882,232 visits (average of 59,951 visits per day), 3,909,572 users and 58,115,987 views (average of 159,221 views per day). The portal Okno remained truthful to its openness to regional, European and global topics, dominated by

culture contents. Visits to the portal Okno were continuously increasing, by 20 to 30 percent each year.

High priority was given to the fields Freedom of Expression, Youth Engagement for Social Change and Human Rights Monitoring and Documentation, and the concept Civic Empowerment and Mobilization. The zeitgeist necessitated work on restoring democracy and reviving freedom, as well as guarantees that restored values would be permanent.

In April, Media Development Center organized the debate What Kind of Media System Macedonia Needs?, and in June organized the regional conference Media and Public Interest with representatives from journalist and academic communities from the Western Balkans, including Hungary, governed by Orban in similar manner to Gruevski's rule in Macedonia. Metamorphosis Foundation for Internet and Society continued intensive activities on strengthening alternative infrastructure for information and mobilization of citizens by using new technologies. Enhanced activities were taken to increase interest of foreign media in the political crisis, civic protests, armed clashes in Kumanovo's Divo Naselje, the Przino Accord and its consequences. Donning masks with the face of journalist Kezarovski, "Ajde!" platform joined the protest organized by the Association of Journalists of Macedonia in front of the Appeal Court, and later in front of the government, demanding complete cancellation of his sentence to four and a half years imprisonment on the grounds of investigative journalist story published several vears before.

As part of the debate series Argument: Organized Expression, Youth Educational Forum organized two events, thus allowing argument-based public debate on important issues. February event was organized on the topic "This House Would (Not) Leave Macedonia Forever", and the December event, as the most visited event to that moment, was organized on the topic "This House Believes that Interparty

Negotiations (Don't) Lead to Crisis Resolution". Each of these debates hosted 700 to 5,000 online viewers and was aired on TV 24Vesti. YEF offered paralegal assistance, advocacy and action advice, and technical support to the High School Plenum. Protests of high-school and university students were intensively covered by Radio YEF.

Ajde! for liberation of journalist Kezarovski \downarrow



2015 was marked by mass violation of human rights. Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in the Republic of Macedonia was the first organization where citizens reported violation of their rights, while domestic and foreign media sought information, views and legal opinions. Helsinki Committee cooperated with representatives of international organizations, in

particular the UN, OSCE, Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International. Legal aid was provided to 15 participants in protests from May 5th, which reported violation of human rights to the Helsinki Committee, whereas additional ten people reported excessive use of police powers, but did not motion lawsuits against the police due to their distrust in the system.

Protest against the Law on Precariat Work Taxes ↓



Comprised of 75 civil society organizations, the coalition Citizens for Macedonia organized and implemented the campaign We Deserve Better, aimed to familiarize and mobilize citizens around problems noted in domestic and international reports developed in reaction to the political crisis.

As part of the concept Civic Empowerment and Mobilization, "Ajde!" Platform for Citizen-Oriented Politics organized series of actions, including We Fence Ourselves from the Government and Censorship is Prohibited. The first action concerned erection of iron-made fence around the government building. while the second was organized against censorship anticipated under the draft law prohibiting use of wiretapped materials. School of Culture and Politics was training program designed by FOSM to offer broader and in-depth knowledge to selected candidates from civil society organizations, informal groups and activists on controversies around mutual attraction and repulsion of arts and power, abuse of culture in authoritarian regimes, culture of resistance, and theatre as the most subversive form of art. Lecturers at this school included theoreticians and practitioners from Skopje and Belgrade, and held two sessions with 56 participants. FOSM published 7 ALARMS in printed and social media, addressing concerns related to economy and human rights. CEM Club hosted 225 events organized by FOSM and around 70 organizations, informal groups, civic initiatives or coalitions, independent applicants, embassies and publishing houses, attended by more than 5,000 visitors. Great public interest was triggered by promotion events for Macedonian editions of the books Loyal Unto Death by Keith Brown, The Origins of Albanian Nationalism by Nathalie Clayer, and Memoirs - Volume II (1912 - 1925) by Ekrem bey Vlora, all accompanied with public debates, as well as the lecture Is There Weak Nationalism and Is It A Useful Category? by professor Maria Todorova and

debates What Does the Future Hold for Europe? and European Policy Center's Report EU Member States and Enlargement Towards the Balkans. Comprised of 75 civil society organizations, the coalition Citizens for Macedonia organized and implemented the campaign We Deserve Better, aimed to familiarize and mobilize citizens around problems noted in domestic and international reports developed in reaction to the political crisis. Support was granted to 17 organizations and numerous activists to implement activities in various fields (youth issues, justice and freedom, honest government, environment, health care, education, living standards, etc.). Field-based communication with citizens and 20 interventions in public spaces allowed distribution of 52,000 brochures, 12,000 leaflets and 98,000 copies of three issues of newspaper That's Why. The campaign was massively promoted on social networks, where it gathered support from more than 20,000 citizens, while radio and video advertisements were aired by seven local, three regional and three national networks.

USAID Civil Society Project, implemented by FOSM, awarded 14 grants to civil society organizations acting as democracy hubs in their communities, 13 grants to civil society organizations engaged in government oversight and research-based advocacy, and 14 grants for joint actions of civil society organizations. Advocacy activities included organization of three public debates: Civic Engagement in Macedonia 2012-2014: Experiences and Challenges, promotion of the comparative analysis on civil engagement in the period 2012-2014 (together with Reactor – Research

in Action); Manual on Active Citizenship, promotion and debate (together with FORUM – Center for Strategic Research and Documentation) and Way Out from the Impasse!? (together with Macedonian Center for European Training).

Regional Research Promotion Program organized the round table Macedonia 2015: Between Authoritarian Temptations and Europeanization and the international conference Social, Political and Economic Changes in the Western Balkans with participation of 108 researchers.

I Love GTC \downarrow



Coalition "Sexual and Health Rights of Marginalized Communities" and HOPS - Healthy Options Project Skopje continued their work on advancing human rights in health settings. In cooperation with the Bureau of Social Affairs, the Coalition "Sexual and Health Rights of Marginalized Communities" developed the Manual on Working with Marginalized Communities/Groups at Risk, which was officially accepted by the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy. This manual became part of the official training program for continuous development of professionals in the social protection system. HOPS - Healthy Options Project Skopje provided 438 services to 42 persons who use drugs and to 8 family members of persons who use drugs. Furthermore, it provided continuous legal assistance to sex workers about violation of their rights during the police raid "Repression of Street Prostitution" organized by Mol in November 2008. HOPS raised the issue about problems that have arisen due to absence of adequate treatment program for underage drug users.

Macedonian Center for European Training developed the comparative analysis of EC progress reports for the years 2012, 2013, 2014 and 2015 titled Backslide - Checked! and the research study From Obedience to Occupation: 2014 Student Movement in Macedonia. EUROTALK sessions contributed to enhanced influence of civil society organizations on domestic political actors and international community in resolving the political crisis in the state.

Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equality of Women - ESE drafted five reports on financial and activity implementation of programs on preventive and curative health protection under the Ministry of Health's 2015 budget. It lodged six appeals in front of the Commission for Protection of the Right to Free Access to Public Information on the grounds of public administration silence, including against the Ministry of Health. Based on analysis findings, ESE proposed specific measures aimed to improve budget transparency of the Government, Ministry of Health and Ministry of Finance. Press conference was organized on the International Roma Day, in cooperation with partner Roma NGOs, to present key findings from community monitoring and budget monitoring related to Roma health. The guidebooks titled Detailed Overview of Priority-Based Budget Planning and Opening Government: Guide of Best Practice in Transparency, Accountability and Civic Participation in the Public Sector were translated and published.

Under the concept Model of Citizen-Centric Municipality, 244 municipal administration officers from Struga, Strumica and Centar, municipal council members, school staff and civil society representatives attended training on antidiscrimination and social justice, interdepartmental cooperation, children's rights and inclusion, monitoring public procurements and developing project applications for funding under EU programs. A total of 12 public

Fall of the regime is within reach

"Legis" distributed more than 100,000 food packages and almost equal number of clothing items on both border crossings. Helsinki Committee trained the teams that monitored performance of police officers and protection of the rights of victims of violence, and other human rights violations on both border crossings. Twenty-four incidents against refugees were documented and followed up with motions before Mol and charges against Mol officers. Macedonian **Young Lawyers Association** trained 30 attorneys and lawyers for representation and provision of legal aid to asylum seekers.

debates were organized to finalize drafting of action plans on youth, education, social protection and cooperation with the civil sector. Six project forums were organized to select activities for co-financing (FOSM and municipalities). After the citizens selected their priorities, four grants were awarded to co-finance projects with the municipalities. Local schools applied with project proposals for activities envisaged under their development plans, resulting in award of three co-financing grants. Six budget forums were organized for participatory planning of priority programs under municipal budgets. One of the best practices incentivized by the Community Centers concerned organization of Municipality Open Days that facilitate direct communication between municipal councilors and municipal administration staff with the citizens. Municipality Open Days are direct form of accountability and transparency, and they served the purpose of addressing marginalized role of municipal councils vis-a-vis mayors' role and influence. Community Centers actively supported the civic initiatives I Love GTC and referendum to save the City Trade Center, group petition to the Constitutional Court contesting the law on precariat work taxes, while the Community Center in Strumica supported the initiative for reactivation of student enrolment at the Institute of Gender Studies.

Experiences from FOSM's previous work on Roma Integration have shown that progress in this process depends on affected community's immediate and active involvement therein. We continued to support Roma organizations to work on legal empowerment

and literacy of Roma communities. Well-organized and evidence-based legal and media advocacy resulted in adoption of amendments to the Law on Health Insurance, whereby 20,000 insurance beneficiaries for which the Health Insurance Fund of Macedonia had motioned criminal charges were exempted from criminal prosecution. Unemployed and low-income people were relieved of the legal obligation to undergo re-registration for health insurance. Representatives of Roma CSOs working on improving transparency of public health institutions presented the Minister of Health with obstacles faced by Roma communities when accessing services from the Program on Systematic Check-Ups for Pupils and Students and the Program for Active Health Protection of Mothers and Children. Ministry of Health announced introduction of polyvalent vaccines pursuant to the regular immunization calendar. By the middle of 2015, Romaversitas was transformed into citizens' association, led by current students and former scholarship beneficiaries. Financial support was secured by the Roma Education Fund.

Forty teachers from four primary schools attended several-day training delivered by FOSM on How to Achieve More Inclusive Education? After completing this training, FOSM provided an opportunity for these schools to apply what they have learned and to improve their inclusive policies and practices with grants for small school initiatives. FOSM participated in the initiative raised by European Roma Rights Center and Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in the Republic of Macedonia to motion a lawsuit

against segregation of Roma pupils at schools for children with special needs and at special classes within regular schools. In cooperation with OSF Education Program from London, FOSM conducted a public opinion survey on education reforms. It was accompanied with analysis of contents and discourse promoted by curricula and eight textbooks for humanities subjects in primary education, in terms of social justice, respect for diversity, human rights of all members in the society, and respect for universal values.

Wiretaps revelations and the surge of awakened hope overshadowed the migrants from Asia and Africa transiting to EU states, who were visible not only in border areas, but also along south-north highway and railway tracks.

We responded to the newly emerged crisis by introducing the concept Humanitarian and Legal Assistance to Migrants, for which funding was secured from the Open Society Initiative for Europe's Reserve Fund. Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in the Republic of Macedonia, Macedonian Young Lawyers Association and Organization for Humanitarian Aid "Legis" joined our efforts to implement this concept, from August 2015 to January 2017. "Legis" distributed more than 100,000 food packages and almost equal number of clothing items on both border crossings. Helsinki Committee trained the teams that monitored performance of police officers and protection of the rights of victims of violence, and other human rights violations on both border crossings. Twenty-four incidents against refugees were

documented and followed up with motions before Mol and charges against Mol officers. Macedonian Young Lawyers Association trained 30 attorneys and lawyers for representation and provision of legal aid to asylum seekers. In September, we organized training for activists and civil society representatives from Macedonia, Serbia, Croatia, Greece and Hungary, to document violations of human rights in crisis conditions. Training participants established communication and cooperation along the so-called Balkan route, and contributed to exchange of accurate and timely information. The foundation and its partner organizations signed memorandum of cooperation with the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy and memorandum with the border teams deployed by Doctors Without Borders in Serbia and Greece to gather allegations on human rights violations against people transiting Macedonia and falling victims to violence. Our partner organizations, Macedonian Young Lawyers Association and Helsinki Committee for Human Rights, signed memorandum of cooperation with the Ministry of Interior to gain access to closed institutions such as detention center for foreigners who have irregularly entered the Republic of Macedonia. At two press conferences, FOSM and its partner organizations asked the transport utility enterprise "Macedonian Railways" to cancel its discriminatory policy on public transport fees for refugees. By means of individual public appearances, each in their field of work, partner organizations disseminated information to citizens which the public institutions refused to provide or distorted, contributing to inflammation of xenophobia. Activities were promoted on social media, together with messages about the urgent need for adequate protection of people on the road. The campaign against xenophobia Children of the Planet Earth highlighted links and differences of various social groups, addressed the negative public opinion and invited the public to reconsider its attitudes and behavior.

On July 1st, program director Fani Karanfilova-Panovska took office as executive director of FOSM.

On June 2nd, the Przino Accord was signed. On June 8th, the Parliament was presented with EC's Urgent Reform Priorities and Recommendations of the Senior Experts' Group led by Priebe. On August 28th, leader Zoran Zaev announced that SDSM steps down from the coalition Citizens for Macedonia and returns to the Parliament on September 1st. On September 15th, Katica Janeva was appointed Special Prosecutor.



 $\begin{array}{c} \text{Migrants from Asia and Africa} \\ \text{are not our enemies} \rightarrow \end{array}$



2016:

AGONY FOR THE REGIME, AGONY FOR MACEDONIA





n January 18th, Nikola Gruevski handed his resignation, thus opening the road to formation of interim government, wherein line ministries of internal affairs and social policy were entrusted to SDSM. The interim government was tasked with organization and implementation of early parliamentary elections. On February 12th, the Special Prosecution Office opened the case "Titanic" related to election frauds committed by top leadership at VMRO-DPMNE. On February 24th, the Constitutional Court admitted the petition for the President of State to be allowed to grant pardons to persons convicted of election frauds and other serious crimes. On the same day, "Ajde!" called the citizens to defend the Constitution from the Constitutional Court. Protests culminated on March 15th when "Ajde!" was joined by 10,000 citizens. However, by occupying the space in front of the Constitutional Court, authorities demonstrated their readiness to do everything to prevent rule of law and to stomp on fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens, while the police stood by as silent observer. On March 16th, the Constitutional Court enabled President Ivanov to pardon organizers of election frauds and perpetrators of serious crimes. Ivanov used this right as early as April 12th, when he granted blanket pardons to all persons investigated by the Special

Agony for the regime, agony for Macedonia

The civic action We Decide! aimed to inform and motivate citizens turnout at the early parliamentary elections. In the period leading to the elections, We Decide! monitored election campaign financing and reporting practices at current affairs programs aired by MTV, while the second component of this action was focused on promotion and protection of ballot secrecy and included toll-free line that was called by 140 citizens to report election irregularities.

Prosecution Office. Citizens' anger poured out onto the streets of Skopje. That marked the start of the Colorful Revolution.

The civic action We Decide! aimed to inform and motivate citizens turnout at the early parliamentary elections. In the period leading to the elections, We Decide! monitored election campaign financing and reporting practices at current affairs programs aired by MTV, while the second component of this action was focused on promotion and protection of ballot secrecy and included toll-free line that was called by 140 citizens to report election irregularities. Main campaign tools included field activities to inform citizens, by distributing the newsletter We Decide, flash mobs and audiovisual messages aired in mainstream media and on social networks. The youth campaign Vote for What you Want was organized as part of this action and aimed to encourage youth turnout at the elections. We published 9 ALARMS in printed and social media, focusing on the 2017 proposed budget and the early parliamentary elections. School of Culture and Politics organized five sessions with 134 participants, in total duration of 20 days. Implementation of USAID Civil Society Project was extended until December 2016. Capacity building on project implementation included delivery of training for 304 representatives from 39 civil society organizations that were awarded grants on the open call for applications announced in 2015. In cooperation with Reactor - Research in Action, we organized three social hackathons for development and implementation of campaigns

focused on Internet communication, creation of digital communication contents and open data, and data visualization, attended by 61 representatives from all grantee organizations. Youth Educational Forum implemented 15 activities (campaigns, debate tournaments, public actions and events) with more than 1,700 participants and promoted new textbook for its program Street Law. FORUM - Center for Strategic Research and Documentation covered 49 participants under the ninth and tenth generation of the School for Active Citizenship and organized three reflection workshops. Reactor - Research in Action conducted the survey on civic engagement in 2016 and drafted the comparative analysis of civic engagement surveys in the period 2012-2016. We drafted five analyses aimed to contribute towards improved practices under Chapter 23 from the EU accession process, focused on human rights and judiciary. Center for Civil Communications developed the summary edition with all monitoring reports on public procurements and published the Guide for Citizens on Understanding and Monitoring Public Procurements.

The Coalition "Sexual and Health Rights of Marginalized Communities" established cooperation with state institutions for capacity building of civil servants to work with members of marginalized communities. Monitoring activities related to the Strategy on Promotion of Sexual and Reproductive Health showed that budget funds had not been allocated for its implementation and that the strategy is not enforced. HOPS – Healthy Options Project

Ajdel defends the Constitution from the Constitutional Court ψ

Skopje organized workshops on topics such as: detecting violence, improving communication skills, information and education on sexual and reproductive health, discrimination and mechanism for protection against discrimination, domestic violence,

health care and exercise of rights in health and social protection. Engaged paralegals conducted 573 field visits to 178 sex workers, and provided paralegal assistance to identify violation of their rights in the field of social protection, health insurance,



Agony for the regime, agony for Macedonia

discrimination based on sex work and transgender identity. HOPS provided 720 services to 33 children, including information and advice related to addiction treatment, exercise of the right to health insurance and obtaining personal identification documents, reduction of HIV and Hepatitis C-related risks.

The most important achievement of Youth Educational Forum concerned package of recommendations for youth, education and other related policy reforms, which were integrated in the European Parliament's Resolution for the Republic of Macedonia. YEF participated in development of the Comprehensive Strategy on Education in the Republic of Macedonia and the civil society document Blueprint for Urgent Democratic Reforms.

Macedonian Center for European Training developed the comparative analysis of EC progress reports for Macedonia and presented it at the annual conference Urgent Reform Fails. MCET organized the School of European Policies dedicated to promotion of democracy and EU accession, Europeanization, populism and non-liberal regimes in Europe. This school was attended by civil society representatives, activists, as well as scholars from universities and research institutes in Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro, Albania and Kosovo.

Helsinki Committee for Human Rights provided free legal aid in 371 cases. It developed the shadow report to the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, indicating problems related to respect for rights of migrants and asylum seekers, unlawful cancellation of the right to social allowance and access to social services for LGBTI people,

non-enforcement of the Law on Elimination, Prevention and Protection against Domestic Violence, inefficient healthcare system and hindered access to health service, segregation of Roma children at public education institutions and access to education at iuvenile correction facilities.

Based on data from publicly available documents and those collected by means of free access to public information, the Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equality of Women – ESE developed reports on implementation of the Program for Early Detection of Malignant Diseases (cervical cancer) in the period 2012-2014 and the Program on Treatment of Rare Diseases in the period 2015-2016. On the occasion of 10th anniversary from adoption of the Law on Free Access to Public Information, ESE issued a press release to all media concerning transparency of public institutions, implementation of the law and its impact on transparency of public institutions.

Under the concept Model of Citizen-Centric Municipality we delivered training aimed to improve transparency and accountability of municipalities, attended by 36 local administration officers and municipal council members, focused on local budgeting, and training on the model of children-centric municipality, attended by 25 local administration officers and municipal council members. Representatives of civil society organizations from the three municipalities attended advanced training on monitoring public procurements, aimed to expand knowledge and skills acquired in 2015. Representatives of local schools were targeted with three-day training on creative teaching approach,

which included 32 participants from three project schools. Representatives from civil society organizations were trained on the monitoring methodology for action plans on implementation of local strategies. This training allowed them to advance their knowledge and apply on the open call for monitoring implementation of municipal strategies and action plans. Grants were awarded to three organizations in Strumica, four organizations in Centar and three organizations in Struga. In cooperation with Foundation for Local Community Development - Shtip, we organized civic project and budget forums, resulting in selection of four projects to be co-financed with municipalities. Priority projects to be financed under 2017 municipal budgets were selected at the budget forums organized in late 2016. In Municipality of Strumica, we published Manual on Municipal Competences, Procedures and Services. In Municipality of Struga, we organized info-day around announcement of municipality's open calls to finance projects of civil society organizations and sports clubs, including presentation of survey results related to performance of municipal enterprises "Komunalno" and "Proacqua". Eleven training events on different topics, delivered by the Community Centers, were attended by 223 participants from the civil society, students and teachers. Ten Open Days were organized with representatives of committees formed within municipal councils and local administration officers, with participation of 275 citizens. Community Centers joined the work on development of municipalities' social maps and drafting action plans in the field of culture. By the end of 2016, the Community Centers were registered as citizens' associations

and were provided operational grants for the first three months of 2017, aimed to complete municipalities' civic budgets and apply for support with other donors.

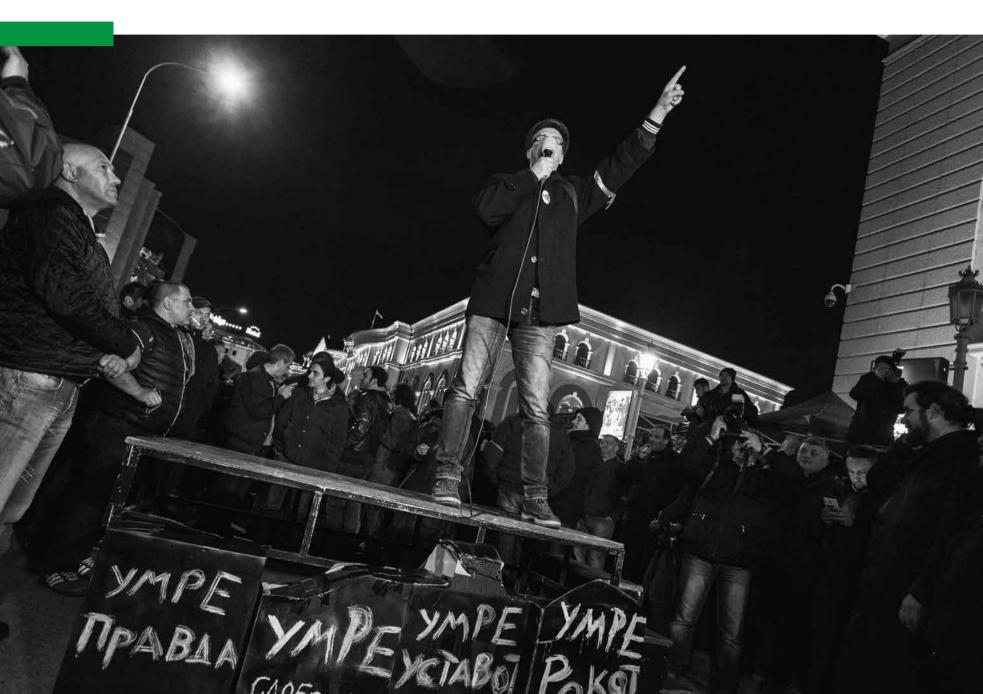
The project Civic Participation for Local Democracy started its activities with grant from the European Union (IPA II) and was implemented by FOSM and the Center for Local Democracy Development in three municipalities: Struga, Strumica and Centar. This project enabled participatory process for development and adoption of municipal strategies on culture in the period 2017-2022, accompanied with action plans.

Under the project Access to Justice in Macedonia, focused on poor and marginalized groups and financed by the EU (European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights), we supported five free legal aid associations which provided legal advice and preliminary legal aid to 979 citizens. Project activities included development of policy brief that identified weaknesses and shortcomings of the Law on Free Legal Aid and offered recommendations for improvement.

Our work on promoting health status of Roma was based on three approaches: 1) provision of legal protection and paralegal assistance in exercise of health rights; 2) social accountability for delivery of healthcare services affecting health status of Roma communities; and 3) changing the negative narratives for Roma at healthcare institutions. With our support, eight civil society organizations provided legal/paralegal assistance in 1,917 cases within ten

Night when the police prevented the citizens' vigilance in front of the Constitutional Court ψ

Roma communities. In addition to assistance and support provided in individual cases, activities implied joint initiatives of several organizations: petition to amend legal provisions whereby social allowance rights are revoked due to remittances; development of the shadow report on availability of gynecological



services for Roma women and unlawful charges and discrimination of Roma women, which was presented at the 58th session of the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in Geneva; petition to the Ministry of Health to address absence of gynecological services in municipality Shuto Orizari; submission of complaints to the Ombudsman by Roma women from Bitola and Prilep. Organization of meetings between Roma community members and local healthcare institutions ensured self-advocacy and direct engagement of Roma communities in discussing problems and possible solutions to improve the situation, but also in demanding accountability from competent institutions. This served as platform to change attitudes and behavior of health professionals towards Roma and to make them proactive in approaching the community and delivering healthcare services. To ensure sustainability of interventions on changing the negative narratives, group of professors of medicine drafted the subject curricula Cultural and Structural Competences of Health Professionals, which will be introduced in undergraduate studies at the Faculties of Medicine in Skopje, Bitola, Shtip and Tetovo.

Activities aimed to improve education achievements of Roma were pursued by means of: 1) provision of additional out-of-school support for Roma primary school pupils; 2) scholarships, mentorship and other assistance to Roma university students; and 3) advocacy for sustainability of results achieved under FOSM's previous education interventions. Total of 436 Roma primary school children from Skopje and Kumanovo received direct educational support by Roma CSOs "Dendo vas" and "KHAM". Majority of

these pupils were repatriated asylum seekers from European states who, after their return to Macedonia, remained outside the education system or have joined school instruction late. They were assisted to re-integrate in their school, comprehend instruction materials, prepare for external testing and successfully complete their grade. Roma Memorial University Scholarship Program and Roma Health Scholarship Program contributed to increased number of enrolled and graduated Roma high-school and university students. We organized the training What is Inclusive Quality Education and How to Achieve It? for representatives of five civil society organizations advocating for various issues related to education inclusion of Roma children. This training event aimed to discuss segregation forms in education, as well as benefits from inclusive quality education.

To relieve hardships of 31 Roma families that were left without homes after their improvised dwellings under the Kale Fortress had been demolished (including people without personal identification documents, pregnant women, ill persons and small children), we provided food, diapers and basic supplies through the Initiative for Development and Inclusion of Communities.

We started implementation of the four-year initiative whose ultimate goal is to create Framework on Legal Empowerment and Its Institutionalization by scaling up existing forms of access to justice services for target groups. This initiative is part of Open Society Foundations' global efforts to institutionalize basic legal services at state level. By the end of 2020, this initiative is expected to establish partnership

between relevant state institutions, local authorities and civil society organizations, providers of legal and paralegal assistance, to work jointly on advancing funding for different forms of legal/paralegal services. Under this initiative, we developed the concept of Legal Clinic for Vulnerable Groups at the Faculty of Law in Skopje. This legal clinic will strengthen practical competences of students and teaching staff to work with vulnerable groups (people at social risks, LGBTI, sex workers and Roma) on resolution of their legal problems and will contribute to institutional capacity building to advance mechanism of legal support. In the first implementation year of the legal empowerment initiative, we established the network of 19 organizations that provide free legal aid and paralegal assistance.

At the early parliamentary elections held on December 11th, Nikola Gruevski did not secure sufficient votes for desired majority of 61 MP seats. Six days

later, VMRO-DPMNE's leader Nikola Gruevski, speaking at event outside the State Election Commission, read the proclamation wherein he used the term "de-Sorosoization" for the first time: "We will fight for de-Sorosoization of Macedonia and for strengthening the independent civil sector that would not be controlled by anybody". This proclamation served as interlude to orchestrated institutional violence and political pressure on the Foundation Open Society -Macedonia and other 21 civil society organizations (all partners and grantees of the foundation), given that orders of prosecution authorities had been already prepared and sent to addresses of these associations and foundations. Such harassment by institutions of the "state capture", which lasted from December 2016 until formation of the new government led by SDSM on May 31st 2017, is unprecedented in the history of Macedonia.



2017:
THE NEW
GOVERNMENT
TO IMPLEMENT
URGENT
REFORMS





he so-called "de-Sorosoization" was also featured in Gruevski's mega-interview for the news portal Republika, published on January 3rd: "Yes, we had a tough opponent, and by opponent I don't think of SDSM, they were merely a smoke screen, an instrument... It would not have been so difficult without George Soros bankrolling millions to Macedonia and the entire network of non-governmental organizations, media and politicians on his payroll, both in the county and abroad, which allow him to influence the most powerful states in the world. Such decisive influence in the case of smaller countries, like our country, would not have been so strong, and the economy would have been more resilient, we would have created new jobs". Among other things, the media lynch that reached its peak in January, February and March implied publication of press releases by VMRO-DPMNE (sometimes several press releases in one day) which, featuring underlying threats, announced the inevitability of "de-Sorosoization" and aimed to prepare the public for Gruevski's plan to make the final blow against "Sorosoids". On January 17th, one month after VMRO-DPMNE announced the Proclamation on "De-Sorosoization", the media reported about formation of new citizens' association (later described as movement) called Stop Operation SOROS (SOS). Media controlled by VMRO-DPMNE

The new government to implement urgent reforms

FOSM supported the joint initiative Let's Protect the Civil Society!, organized by 127 civil society organizations, initiatives, communities, groups and trade unions, which stood in defense and protection of civil society and civic voice that were under attack, exposed to orchestrated harassment by institutions and government-controlled media.

carried the same news article: "We are witnessing usurpation of the entire civil sector and its abuse and indoctrination for the benefit of one political party, which is unallowable and beyond the principles of any civic organization. The Open Society Foundation, which is under control by SOROS, was directly behind all violent processes in the Republic of Macedonia, in terms of finances and personnel. The Open Society Foundation has created monopoly in the civil sector, which is occupied and does not allow space for organizations and movements that do not agree with Soros's ideology. Pluralism in the civil sector is destroyed and replaced with totalitarian single-mindedness." In parallel with the media lynch and formation of SOS, civil society organizations were faced with inspections conducted by the Financial Police, the Ministry of Interior and the Directorate for Financial Intelligence, all of which acted upon pre-investigation orders issued by the Basic Public Prosecution to scour operation of civil society organizations in the last five years, with special focus on activities financed by USAID. At the same time, the Public Revenue Office dispatched its inspectors to control overall financial operations of the same group of 22 civil society organizations in the period 2012-2017. On February 3rd, the news portal NovaTV reported: "Department on organized crime at the Public Prosecution initiated pre-investigation proceedings against non-governmental organizations financed by foreign donors, such as the US Government and other western governments, and the Foundation Open Society

Institute." Moreover, the same news portal informed that this case had been formed somewhere between December 20th and December 30th, immediately after the early parliamentary elections or three days after VMRO-DPMNE's proclamation, upon case files submitted to Mol and compiled by the Anti-Corruption Commission. This news outlet wrote that high security services within the police had been involved in pre-investigation activities, while the director of the Bureau for Public Security coordinated the team comprised of several institutions. Pro-governmental media did not report about inspection controls performed at non-governmental organizations.

Smear campaign against 22 civil society organizations and inspection controls of the Public Revenue Office and the Financial Police initiated in December 2016 did not only threaten work of civil society organizations and their plans for 2017, but had longterm negative consequences on their reputation in the public. FOSM supported the joint initiative Let's Protect the Civil Society!, organized by 127 civil society organizations, initiatives, communities, groups and trade unions, which stood in defense and protection of civil society and civic voice that were under attack, exposed to orchestrated harassment by institutions and government-controlled media. Civil society organizations requested authorities to stop daily pressure, to check validity of controls and to investigate abuse of official duty for political pressure and discrimination, as well as to revoke fines imposed and to cancel minutes from procedures

initiated. In sign of support and solidarity, then Vice President and currently President of Open Society Foundations Patrick Gaspard and regional director for Europe Jordi Vaquer, joined by colleagues from OSF Communications Office in New York and OSF Office in Washington, visited FOSM and had meetings with representatives of civil society organizations targeted with these attacks. FOSM secured additional funds from the Open Society Initiative for Europe's Reserve Fund to protect and maintain operation of these civil society organizations and to encourage their efforts to confirm their role in the society. Twenty grants were awarded for legal aid and representation, financial and communication consultancy, and community activities. With funds from the Open Society Foundations Communications Office in New York, FOSM supported NGO Info-Center to analyze contents of continuous media attacks on civil society organizations, activists, FOSM and George Soros, and dynamics of their publication. In its weekly reports, NGO Info-Center analyzed media response to this lynch against the civil sector and published the Report on Media Monitoring in the Period March-November 2017. Key findings presented therein confirm the tendency to discredit work performed by civil society organizations and FOSM.

The Macedonian St. Bartholomew's Night happened on April 27th. MPs from VMRO-DPMNE opened the doors for masked and unmasked brutes, armed and unarmed, to storm the Parliament in attempt to annul election of Talat Xhaferi as Parliament Speaker.

They failed to annul his election, but injured tens of MPs, including SDSM's leader Zoran Zaev. Most serious injuries were inflicted on Zijadin Sela from the Alliance of Albanians. This debauchery of hatred and violence was happening in plain sight of Mol officers, parliament security, while citizens stared at their TV screens watching uniformed and non-uniformed conspirators aiding and abating the groups of unruly brutes trying to prevent the inevitable - the fall of Gruevski regime.

The concepts Grassroots Mobilization and Community Activism, Civic Action for Urgent Reform Priorities, Inclusive and Transparent Education Policies, Shared Framework: Legal Empowerment and support in the fields Youth Engagement and Rights Based Health Policies served as pillars of the foundation's new strategy (2017-2020).

Overall goal of the concept Grassroots Mobilization and Community Activism was to mobilize communities for informed and effective civic engagement to advance local democracy in seven municipalities that act as regional centers (Prilep, Tetovo, Struga, Strumica, Skopje, Kumanovo and Shtip). FOSM awarded 11 institutional support grants to grassroots civil society organizations with relevant experience and credibility and motivated to strengthen their role within the community, to increase their constituencies, to develop their organizational capacity and management, and to work on promotion of local democracy and social cohesion at local level. In support of local synergies for more effective influence

The new government to implement urgent reforms

on local policy making and building constituencies, FOSM announced an open call to award grants to ad hoc initiatives of civil society organizations, informal groups, coalitions and local hubs of activists. Grants were awarded to 25 local initiatives that strengthened the civil society voice on issues related to interests of citizens at local, regional and national level.

Additional dimension of this concept is FOSM's participation in the five-year USAID Civic Engagement Project implemented by East West Management Institute. FOSM's role is to implement capacity building activities for grantees supported under the four project components: 1) strengthen alliances of civil society organizations; 2) strengthen civil society organizations; 3) strengthen youth engagement; and 4) strengthen youth activism.

Civic Action for Urgent Reform Priorities aimed to strengthen the civil society role in oversight and advocacy for implementation of Urgent Reform Priorities. Strategic partner for implementation of this concept is Eurothink – Center for European Strategies. In July 2017, FOSM and nine civil society organizations that drafted the document Blueprint for Urgent Democratic Reforms, published in July 2016, organized broad forum with 146 participants from 73 organizations and experts at which, having in mind new political circumstances, the initial document was revised and updated into new Blueprint for Urgent Democratic Reforms. This document serves as roadmap on most important and most necessary

issues that should be delivered in the next 12 months to restore democratic standards and values, achieve progress in public policies, and return citizens' confidence in key state institutions. The Blueprint was officially presented at press conference, together with the proposal for creation of consultations council at the government with participation of civil society organizations and appointment of contact persons at all line ministries. Requests were made for civil society organizations to participate in working bodies at the Parliament. The foundation supported formation of three networks of civil society organizations engaged in oversight and advocacy for implementation of Urgent Reform Priorities, especially in the fields of judiciary (Institute for Human Rights, Macedonian Young Lawyers Association and European Policy Institute), media Metamorphosis Foundation for Internet and Society, Agora - Center for Promotion of Civic Values, and PINA - Platform for Investigative Journalism and Analyses) and anti-corruption (Transparency Macedonia was responsible for strengthening the Platform for Fight Against Corruption). FOSM and the Ministry of Information Society and Administration signed cooperation agreement for provision of support to the ministry in developing the Strategy on Public Administration Reform 2018-2022. This support includes development of indicators to measure results and changes expected under planned reforms. FOSM participated in the working group comprised of active donors in the country to develop Roadmap for Civil Society Development 2018-2022,

which should contribute to promoting the role of civic society organizations. FOSM participated in working bodies at the Parliament and contributed in the debate on policy shaping related to adoption of the EU acquis. Our partner organization Eurothink organized education and debate sessions: Europe of Two Speeds, EU-Russia Relations and Their Influence on EU's Position as Global Player, Fulfilment of Urgent Reform Priorities as Precondition for Macedonia's Integration in the EU. The project Civic Alliance for Transparency - CSO Oversight of Public Administration Reform started in January 2017 with grant from the EU, and is implemented by FOSM and Eurothink - Center for European Strategies. This project should contribute to civil society's strengthened influence in policy shaping. Policy brief on the Draft Strategy on Public Administration Reform was developed and included systematic overview of comments made by four grantee organizations.

The concept Inclusive and Transparent Education Policies aims to strengthen the role of civil society in creation of quality, inclusive and accountable education policies. Activities included identification of citizens' associations active in the field of education, building their organizational capacity and awarding them small grants to promote their program portfolios. FOSM conducted organizational assessment of six associations, delivered four training events on organizational capacity building and supported five organizations with small grants for initiatives that will be completed by the end of March 2018. FOSM

invited experts from Slovenia to support development of proposed models for external assessment of student knowledge. They presented the Ministry of Education and Science with the model that would be part of broader systemic reforms to ensure quality through self-evaluation of schools and professional and carrier development of teachers. By the end of November, two research studies were already initiated. Education of Primary School Teachers in the Republic of Macedonia: Situation and Perspectives should analyze legal setup of initial education and practice of primary school teachers, including adopted, but non-enforced laws that govern performance of teacher profession (Academy of Teachers, Law on Teachers in Primary and Secondary Education). Students' Consumer Basket should secure information about actual costs of students at state universities and their living standard. The consultation process with students from four university centers about their preferences of student organization was completed with the round table organized in November, when students presented the proposed model and requested the line ministry to transform the Student Parliament into university body tasked with control of universities' financial operations, instead of perpetuating its current status and operation as non-governmental organization. Also, they requested change of the manner in which student elections are organized and expanded participation of students in all important bodies at the faculties. Fifty-three organizations applied on the open call to

award small grants for support of small initiatives on inclusive education. Six projects were selected in the first round.

FOSM continued implementation of the concept Shared Framework: Legal Empowerment, but the political situation, local elections and state institutions' idleness in 2017 prevented advocacy activities at local and state level. To achieve greater connectivity and coherence within the informal network of 19 civil society organizations established in 2016, they jointly developed the Strategy on Legal Empowerment 2017-2019. In addition to strategy development, organizations were actively involved in several training events and webinars, aimed to strengthen their capacity. Nine grants were awarded to civil society organizations providing legal aid or paralegal assistance to affected target groups, five grants were awarded to free legal aid associations operating in compliance with the Law on Free Legal Aid, and seven grants were awarded to implement other activities under the Shared Framework: Legal Empowerment.

Youth Educational Forum, grantee in the field Youth Engagement, received positive opinion from the Bureau for Development of Education and the Ministry of Education, to promote youth clubs (Debate, Street Law, Media/Arts) at secondary schools. YEF worked on cancellation of external assessment, provided comments and recommendations for forthcoming reforms in primary and secondary

Upon Gruevski's call for "de-Sorosoization", his supporters threw paint on the building where the Foundation has offices →





The new government to implement urgent reforms

education, the new Law on Higher Education and the Comprehensive Strategy on Education 2018-2025. Radio YEF intensively covered protests and guerilla actions, initiatives for clean air, problems and reforms in education, youth policies, attacks and pressures on civil society.

In the field Rights Based Health Policies, FOSM's longterm goal is to advance health policies and practices for marginalized communities (LGBTI, Roma, people using drugs, sex workers and people living with HIV) by means of: 1) health budget monitoring and analysis and holding the government accountable for allocation of maximum available funds that would ensure progressive and non-discriminatory exercise of health rights; 2) advocacy for health policy reforms related to specific communities; and 3) involvement and participation of affected communities in planning, monitoring and assessment of implementation of health policies. In this field, FOSM supports three grantees: Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equality of Women - ESE; HOPS - Healthy Options Project Skopje and Coalition "Sexual and Health Rights of Marginalized Communities". ESE continued to work on monitoring and analysis of indicators on the mortality of infants, mothers and pregnant women. Based on budget monitoring of preventive health programs, policy documents were drafted with recommendations for competent institutions to promote planning and implementation of four preventive health programs. Shadow report was developed on implementation of priority no. 3 (access to information) and priority no.5 (efficient

public resource management - fiscal transparency) from the Open Government Partnership Action Plan 2016-2018. As a result of active participation in this working group and continuous pressure, the Ministry of Finance published the 2017 civic budget and amendments to the 2017 state budget. The report titled Public Procurements: Grey Zone in the Public Health Sector identified main shortcomings in implementation of 7,054 public procurement procedures by 62 public health institutions in the period 2011-2015, including recommendations to address them. In 2017, aimed to identify progress/backslide in this area it was proposed to monitor public procurement procedures organized by same public health institutions in 2016 and 2017. Findings and recommendations were presented to 62 institutions monitored, as well as the government, Ministry of Finance, and Bureau of Public Procurements, while the Ministry of Justice was presented with proposals to amend the Law on Free Access to Public Information. HOPS - Healthy Options Project Skopje worked on advancing the status of minors using psychotropic substances, people using drugs and sex workers. Approval from the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy to work with minors at the public institution for children and youth with educational and social problems allowed organization of workshops to strengthen children's resistance to challenges related to use of drugs. Ministry of Health supported field activities with minors using psychotropic substances. This support concerns work of the day center for rehabilitation and resocialization of drug users and their families.

As regards activities of sex workers engaged as paralegals, in addition to training delivered as part of the Shared Framework: Legal Empowerment, workshops were organized on various matters that are useful in their daily field work (distinguishing between private and professional communications, activism among sex workers, discrimination and protection mechanisms, asylum and safety when travelling abroad and fieldwork experiences - problems faced by engaged paralegals). The Coalition "Sexual and Health Rights of Marginalized Communities" continued its cooperation with the Bureau of Social Affairs on implementation of Module 19 in work with marginalized communities as part of the comprehensive system on licensing expert workers in the system of social protection. Training was delivered to 50 social workers from inter-municipal social work centers. Requests were submitted to withdraw discriminating contents on marginalized communities from textbooks. The memorandum of cooperation was signed with the Ministry of Education and Science concerning participation in working groups tasked to revise textbooks.

In February, FOSM organized the Western Balkans Regional Research Promotion Program's closing conference titled Challenges and Possibilities to Financing Scientific Research in the Republic of Macedonia, together with promotion of the publication on the proposed model for financing scientific research activity.

We published translated editions of works that contribute towards understanding of political trends in the world and in the country: On the Political by Chantal Mouffe, On Populist Reason by Ernesto Laclau, Security, Territory, Population by Michel Foucault, and Subculture: The Meaning of Style by Dick Hebdige. We supported printing of the book Life in Box, prison memoirs by journalist Tomislav Kezarovski.

EMERGENCY FUND
TO ALLEVIATE
CONSEQUENCES OF
THE ECONOMIC CRISIS
(2009 - 2011)





By the middle of 2009, George Soros established the Emergency Fund of 100 million dollars to help vulnerable groups cope with the effects of the global financial crisis in the countries where Open Society Foundations are traditionally active. Over the period of two and a half years, this fund supported humanitarian projects that helped people deeply affected by the crisis, especially the most vulnerable groups, and supported civil society organizations to adjust to the sudden change of circumstances. By the end of November 2011, FOSM received 3,326,444 dollars from the Emergency Fund to implement 30 small-scale and eight large-scale projects.

Beneficiaries of small grants included farming families in three municipalities from Southeast and Vardar regions, milk producers from village Mogila, low-income families from village Istibanja, citizens in need of professional legal aid due to restricted or violated right to peaceful assembly and public protest, citizens facing difficulties in repayment of accumulated personal debt during times of unemployment and business

stagnation, unemployed marginalized citizens from Skopje to receive training for employment, women patients undergoing chemotherapy, victims of mobbing, pupils from social risk families in Shtip, craftsmen in Berovo, tobacco growers in Prilep and tobacco growers in the Pelagonija region, street children in Shuto Orizari, deaf and hardon-hearing children in Skopje, alternative culture, young amateurs from multiethnic theater group, culture managers.

Beneficiaries of the grant in the amount of 1,047,348 dollars for the two-year project Education Support for the Poor, which helped families with children in primary education by securing the most necessary didactic and other school materials and packages, were pupils whose parents had lost their jobs due to the economic crisis, pupils from families where both parents are unemployed, pupils of single parents, pupils without parents and other pupils facing difficulties in obtaining necessary school materials. In the first year, total of 19,714 pupils from 309 primary schools received packages with school materials. Additional 19,636 packages were

donated in the second year of implementation. Pupils from upper classes in primary education received packages which included 11,037 geography atlases. Additional packages with school materials were awarded to pupils with special education needs and pupils without parental care living at foster families or orphanage centers, i.e. 1,169 pupils in total.

Beneficiaries of the Youth Independence Project included low-income students from Skopje, Bitola, Tetovo and Struga who, deprived of opportunities for quality social and cultural life, were particularly vulnerable and exposed to political pressure and manipulation. Numerous events were organized at five Youth Centers to promote and strengthen freedom of expression, individualism, independence and youth activism, public discussions and conferences, art performances, festivals and online campaigns. The grant was awarded in the amount of 442,368 dollars.

Foundation for Microfinancing "Horizons" was awarded credit of 286,640 dollars to reprogram loans for small businesses at times of economic crisis, accompanied with expert assistance in the value of 36,546 dollars for staff and client education. "Horizons" enabled re-financing of current loans for 170-200

active clients. Credit debts of clients were refinanced by approving new loans, and allowed them to restore their status from unreliable to regular clients. They avoided legal procedures for enforced collection and penal interest and became more motivated and more dedicated to their businesses.

Roma Business Information Center was awarded grant of 217,098 dollars to implement the project Income Generation through Collecting Recyclable Plastics. Project activities included training for 350 people on waste collection and assortment, as well as education on health risks. In that, 180 mainly Roma households were secured means of regular income.

The project Day Centers for Adolescents and Youth implemented by the Republic Center for Support to Persons with Intellectual Disability "PORAKA", disposed with budget of 125,894 dollars, of which 61,473 dollars were secured from the Emergency Fund. The main goal was to maintain services at three daily centers for adolescents and adults with intellectual disabilities in Skopje (39 beneficiaries), Radovish (10 beneficiaries) and Ohrid (17 beneficiaries).

Bridge-financing in 2011, with total budget of 324,382 dollars, of which 119,445 dollars were secured from the Emergency Fund, was intended for the initiative

Community for All – Macedonia. This initiative aimed to establish community-based housing for residents at the Institution "Demir Kapija", as the single social protection institution for full residency and accommodation of people with intellectual disabilities, in order to transfer and accommodate them in the community – Macedonia.

In 2011, the Government of Macedonia adopted legislation that should have assisted legalization of illegally constructed buildings and provided an opportunity for many Roma families to legalize their homes. However, vast number of Roma families was unable to utilize benefits offered by the law due to low income, poor education and insufficient access to information related to the law and its enforcement. Main goal of the project Legalization of Roma Housing was to increase the share of legal tenures of homes among Roma people from six municipalities with predominantly Roma population. Direct project holders were Habitat for Humanity Macedonia from Skopje and National Roma Centrum from Kumanovo. This project was approved 405,995 dollars from the Emergency Fund, intended for interest-free micro loans to cover costs related to land purchase, geodesy studies and legalization fees.

The project Financial Literacy for Adults and Youth was approved 209,361 dollars and was intended to encourage proactive approach, at times of economic crisis, to future financial planning among middle-class citizens. Project activities included workshops, websites, brochures and other public events to improve understanding and utilization of available financial services and instruments. It covered 22 municipalities targeting Macedonia, Albanian and Roma population, and was implemented by the Foundation Euro Center from Sveti Nikole.

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- MACEDONIA
SPIN-OFFS





Adoption of the first Law on Citizens' Associations and Foundations in 1999 allowed start of spin-off processes by foundation programs and projects. It served as form of de-metropolization, i.e. decentralization of the Foundation Open Society - Macedonia. This process was our contribution to development of local government, which could not have been possible without development of the non-governmental sector outside of the capital Skopje. It was supposed to serve as catalyst for activation of citizens across Macedonia, distributor of parliament democracy values, political culture, pluralism and open society. The foundation was already recognized in the public not only as donor, but also as basin of knowledge and skills in the absence of which Europeanisation of Macedonia would not have been achieved. The foundation programs were already profiled and staff members possessed necessary expertise that could be further strengthened with expertise within and beyond the Soros Foundations Network. Many spin-off programs immediately caught the attention of donors interested to support the decentralization process, improve interethnic relations, de-marginalize Roma, youth, etc. Almost all spin-off programs, irrespective of their location and program specialty, continued to act as the foundation's partners, while building new partnerships with

national and international non-governmental organizations and networks, national and international government institutions.

Today, around twenty former programs are active and registered as legal entities (foundations, citizens' associations or independent cultural institutions).

Contemporary Art Center - Skopje started its work in 1994 as part of FOSM's program Arts & Culture and member of the Soros Centers for Contemporary Art Network., From 1999 it operates as independent institution active in the field of culture, regional cooperation, education and capacity building. It hosts the mobile art gallery in Skopje City Park.

Association HOPS – Healthy Options Project Skopje was established as legal entity in 1999. Previously, in the period 1997-1999, it operated as FOSM's program. Its mission is promotion, respect and protection of human rights and freedoms for advancement of health and socioeconomic status of all people, especially of people using drugs, sex workers and other marginalized communities, based on the principles of harm reduction, equal access to services, community empowerment, capacity building, research, analyses and advocacy.

Youth Educational Forum emerged from FOSM's programs Youth and Debate and was established in 1999 as youth community that creates space for debate, free expression and youth organization, encourages activism, protects and promotes youth rights and policies. Youth Educational Forum achieves its goals by means of information, education, discussion,

cooperation, and motivation and support to young people. In 2011, the first youth online radio in Macedonia, Radio YEF, started to operate as part of this organization and has more than million visits per year.

Children Theater Center initiated its activities in the camps accommodating refugees from Kosovo, in the summer of 1999. After the refugee crisis, in 2000, this center was transformed from project into independent cultural institution. That year, the Ministry of Culture awarded the Children Theater Center permission to use and refurbish/adapt into theatre space premises of cinema "Napredok" located in the Skopje Old Bazaar.

Foundation for Educational and Cultural Initiatives "Step by Step" - Macedonia was established in 2000 to continue activities of the regional education program "Step by Step" which FOSM started in 1994 on the initiative from the Open Society Institute - New York and Georgetown University from Washington DC. Its mission is to design, develop and implement programs that promote education and culture in the modern society as key factor for educational, cultural, economic and social development.

Sonet Ltd - Skopje is commercial internet provider founded in 2000. Previously, in the period 1996-2000, it operated as FOSM's program Internet. In 2001, Sonet Ltd joined Netcetera Group, international company for software development based in Switzerland, i.e. its regional office in Macedonia.

EUROTHINK - Center for European Strategies is non-government, non-partisan, non-profit and secular citizens' association that supports Macedonia's accession in the EU and Europeanization of the society through research and development of evidence-based policies, professional training and counseling, regional cooperation and advocacy for change. This organization was founded in 2002 as the Macedonian Center for European Training but changed its name in late 2016.

Metamorphosis - Foundation for Internet and Society is founded in 2004 in compliance with the Law on Citizens' Associations and Foundations. From 1999, it was part of FOSM's program Electronic Publishing. Metamorphosis is focused on institutions' openness and accountability, capacity building for active citizenship, protection of human rights in the digital environment and media development.

One of the twelve NGO Support Centers \downarrow



Conference e-Society organized by Foundation Metamorphosis \downarrow

Akcija Zdruzenska is non-governmental organization founded in 2004, which emerged as a result of strategic transformation of FOSM's Women Program. It promotes culture of gender equality

and non-discrimination; responsible, transparent and accountable governance in the field of gender equality and women rights; empowers and supports women activism.



Youth Entrepreneurial Service Foundation (YES Foundation), founded in 2005, directly contributes to increasing employment, especially among youth, and to creation of new jobs. YES Foundation manages the single ICT business incubator in Macedonia and supports micro, small and medium enterprises in the field of information and communication technologies, accommodated at premises of 600 m², with 25 offices and 2 training rooms.

Reactor - Research in Action is independent, non-profit think-tank organization founded in 2005 by participants in the project for training and development of think-tanks implemented by the European Stability Initiative and FOSM. Reactor is dedicated to supporting Macedonia's EU integration process by providing timely and relevant research, proposals for evidence-based policy alternatives, and active engagement with the community of policy actors.

Citizens' Association for Support of Interethnic Dialogue and Community Development "Common Values" was founded in 2005. Its mission is geared towards initiation and support of civic dialogue for equitable participation of ethnic communities in sustainable development at local and national level. This association emerged from FOSM's Civil Society Program.

Academy for Judges and Public Prosecutors emerged from the Center for Continuous Education of Judges, established as separate entity within the Association of Judges of the Republic of Macedonia in 1999. In 2006, the center was transformed into public legal institution that conducts inception and continuous training for the judiciary.

The next six spin-offs, all registered as legal entities in 2006, were established as result of re-registration of FOSM's NGO Support Centers, funded by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation and the European Agency for Reconstruction.

Association for Development and Activism "AQUA"

- Struga's mission is to contribute to local development, local democracy and civic engagement in the region of Struga, Ohrid and Vevchani.

Regional Center for Sustainable Development - Gevgelija is the single organization in the Gevgelija region that provides direct logistic, advisory and technical assistance to all interested non-governmental organization on their institutional and organizational development.

Center for Community Development - Kichevo's mission is to create functional multiethnic community, based on the principles of good governance and active citizenship. It is the leading civil society organization in the Kichevo region.

Foundation for Local Development and Democracy "FOCUS" – Veles promotes democracy and civil society, contributes to development of social and economic processes, develops and supports initiatives based on good governance and responsible citizens.

Association "Regional Center for Sustainable Development" - Kratovo defines its mission as mobilization and sustainable use of all available resources in local communities for greater contribution to regional socioeconomic development and integration of settlements in the region, thus enabling easier and faster integration of Macedonia in Euro-Atlantic associations.

Center for Sustainable Community Development - Debar defines its mission as regional sustainable development through mobilization of citizens for active participation, committed to European values in areas of good governance, improved quality of life, sustainable development and healthy environment.

Association for Local Democracy - Struga, Association for Local Democracy "Community Center - Strumica" and Association for Local Democracy "Community Center - Centar" served as components under FOSM's concept Model of Citizen-Centric Municipality launched in 2014. In 2016, all three community centers were registered as spin-off organizations. At present, all of them provide legal and administrative assistance to citizens, organize informal education for citizens, municipal administration officers and municipal council members, and work on capacity building for grass-root civil society organizations. Shared priorities in their respective missions imply participatory decision-making, transparency and accountability.



Step by Step at preschool class in Veles \Rightarrow



FOUNDATION OPEN SOCIETY - MACEDONIA EXECUTIVE BOARD CHAIRS

Ratka Kuljan

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Jovan Donev

(September 1996 – April 2002)

Emilija Simoska

(May 2002 - February 2005)

Slobodanka Markovska

(February 2005 - December 2007)

Gordana Duvnjak

(January 2008 - August 2013)

Maja Bojadjievska

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Iso Rusi

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Nafi Sarachini

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(August 2006 - August 2009 and

March 2012 - May 2013)

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(May 2009 - March 2011)

Redzep Ali Chupi

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Irena Cvetkovikj

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(May 2013 - November 2017)

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Biljana Sekulovska-Gaber

(May 2014 - September 2017)

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STAFF MEMBERS
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OPEN SOCIETY –
MACEDONIA IN THE
PERIOD 1992-2017/18



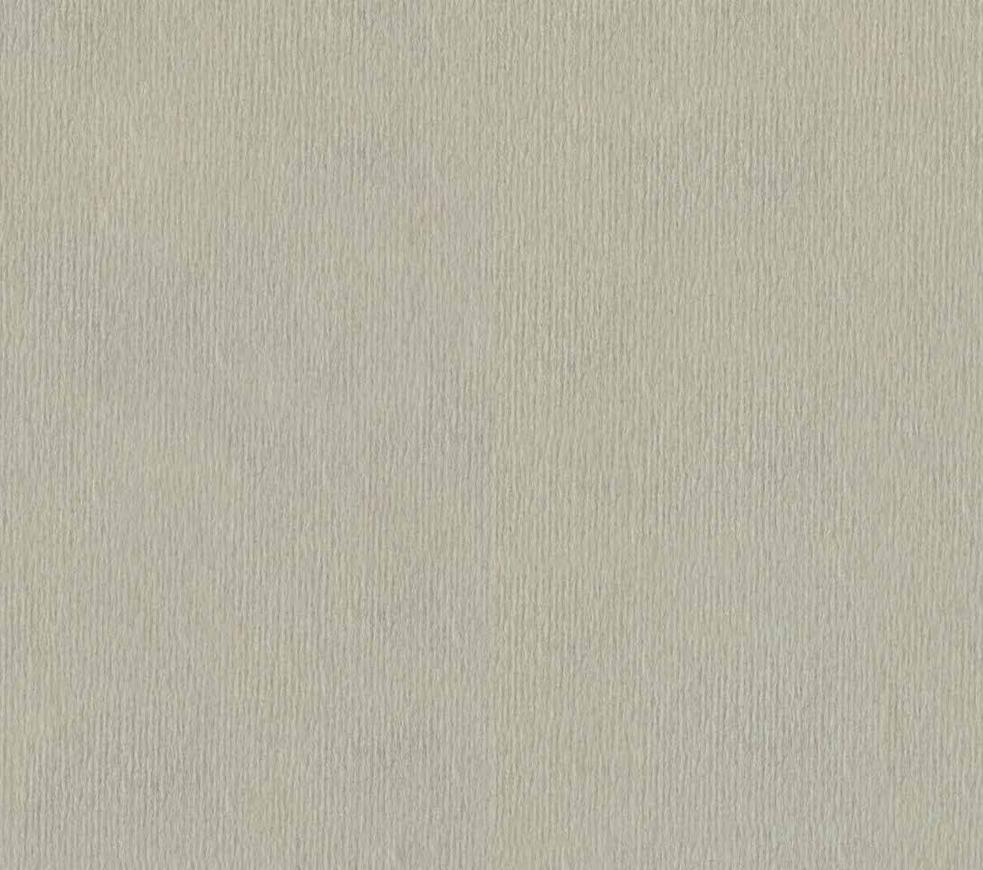


Adem Ademi (2007 – 2008), Adrijana Lavchiska (2003 -), Azdrijan Memedov (2008 - 2015), Ajet Osmanovski (2008 - 2011), Ajnur Sulejman (2008 - 2009), Ajsel Amet (2008 -), Albert Memeti (2009 - 2010), Aleksandar Markovski (2006 -), Aleksandar Radomiroviki (2010), Aleksandar Ribaroski (2007 - 2008), Aleksandar Stojanovski (2012 - 2015), Aleksandra Dimova-Manchevska (2011 -), Aljosha Rusi (1992 - 1995), Ana Andreeva (2017 -), Ana Jakimovska (2004), Ana Marija Brangjolica (2004 - 2009), Ana Medarska (2007 - 2011), Ana Mustafova (2009 - 2010), Ana Petrova (2017 -), Ana Tomovska (2004 - 2005), Anastazija Paneva-Pisareva-Nikolikj (1995 -), Aneta Starchevikj (1995 - 1996), Anilja Ziba (2014 - 2016), Anita Ivkovikj (1994 – 1999), Arbresha Vlasi (2004 - 2006), Arta Jusufi (2012 - 2015), Bardil Jashari (1997 - 2004), Beti Simjanoska-Trajchevska (1994 -), Blagoja Mitevski (2003 - 2006), Bojan Marichikj (2008 2010), Bojana Babunska (2005 – 2006), Boris Lazov (2007 - 2008), Boris Sharkovski (2004 - 2006, 2007) - 2008), Borjancho Micevski (2004 - 2006), Branko Zoksimovski (1995 - 2015), Branko Stojkovski (1995 -1999), Bujar Hodza (1995 – 1996), Valjon Sadiki (2016), Vancho Dzambaski (1997 -), Vaska Gjorgjievska (1996 - 1997), Vasko Lazarevski (2013 - 2015, 2016 - 2017), Vera Dimitrievska (2002 - 2007), Verica Puzderlieva (2002), Vesa Shkortova (2001 - 2006), Vesna Mihajlova-Kukovska (2014 - 2016), Violeta Gligoroska (1996 2015), Vladimir Petkov (1993 – 1996), Vladimir Todorovski (1993 - 1998), Vlatko Petrushevski (2007 - 2017), Gazmend Ilazi (1997 – 1998), Goran Karapeevski (2001 - 2006), Goran Sachevski (2015 - 2016), Gordana Milojevikj (2005 – 2006), Gordana Mirchikj (2016), Gordana

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Marijana Ivanova (2004 – 2008), Marjan Zabrchanec (2017), Marin Aleksoski [2015 - 2016], Martin Popov [2014 - 2016], Melentie Pandilovski [1994 - 1999]. Melita Ivanova (2003 - 2006), Merziha Idrizi (2006 - 2007), Milan Mihajlov [2006 - 2008], Milica Filipovska (2008 - 2011), Mimi Tabanova (2014 - 2016), Miodraga Stefanovska (2006 - 2009), Mirjana Polazarevska (1993 - 1997), Miroslav Stojanovikj (1994 - 1999), Mitko Nikolov (2004 - 2006), Mihaela Ristovska (2005 – 2006), Monika Bozhinovska (2017), Nada Naumovska (2006 -), Nadezhda Serafimovska (1996 - 1999), Nadica Stamboldijoska (2006 -), Natasha Angjeleska (2001 -), Natasha Davcheva (2008 - 2015), Natasha Zoksimovska (2017), Natasha Ilijeva Acevska (2017), Natasha Nikolovska-Stankovikj (2016), Nahida Zekirova (2008), Nevenka Longurova Girova [2002 - 2006], Nevenka Rosomanova (2006 - 2009), Nevsija Demir (2006 - 2009), Neda Zdraveva (2001 - 2003), Neda Korunovska (2004 - 2012), Nikolina Mikeska (2005 - 2006), Olivera Docevska (2005 - 2007), Olimpija Hristova (2014 - 2015), Orhan Usein (2008 - 2009), Pakize Banusheva (2006 - 2008), Petar Veljanov (2009 - 2010), Petar Kurjak (2004 - 2006), Radmila Shekerinska (1995 - 1996), Ramadan Berat (2006), Risto Stevanov [2004 - 2006], Roza Janevska (2004 - 2006), Roska Ilijevska (2004 - 2006), Sabina Mustafa (2006 - 2008), Sanja Bozhoviki Stojkoska (2017 -), Sara Osmani (2004 - 2012), Senad Mustafov (2004 - 2008), Simona Palchevska (1996 – 1999), Slavica Indjevska-Stojanoviki (1992 –), Slagjana Marjanoviki [2004 - 2005], Solunka Zoksimovska [1994 -], Spomenka Lazarevska [1993 -), Stana Filipovska (1996 - 2015), Stefan Stankovski (2010), Stefan Stefanov (2003 - 2011), Stojna Ali (2010 - 2013), Suzana Velkovska (2007 -), Suzana Pecakovska (1996 -), Sunchica Kostovska-Petrovska (2000 -), Tamara Bushtrevska (2003 - 2004), Tamara Kjortosheva (2007 - 2009), Tankica Taukova (2014 – 2016), Tanja Kikerekova (1996), Tanja Tasheva (2004 – 2006), Tatjana Petrova (2004 - 2005), Teodora Ajanovska (2004 - 2011), Tereza Filibok (2004 – 2006), Tome Dimovski (2006 – 2008), Toni Stoimenovski (2004 - 2006), Fani Karanfilova-Panovska (1998 -), Ferki Demirovski (2005), Filip Blazhevski (2017), Filip Trifunovski (2010), Flaka Polozhani (2014 – 2016), Hajrije Ahmed (2002 - 2005), Hristina Vasilevska (2016 -), Cvetanka Shaurek (2012 - 2014), Shuip Marku (2004 - 2006).







25 YEARS OF DEDICATION