

Dominika MIKUCKA-WÓJTOWICZ  
Jagiellonian University in Krakov

## Legitimacy without legitimization of the lopsided parliament. The snap parliamentary elections in Macedonia 2014\*

**Abstract:** This paper is devoted to the snap parliamentary elections in Macedonia, which took place on 27 April 2014. The main initiator of the early elections was the DUI, which represents the interests of the Albanian minority and was the junior coalition partner in the government led by Nikola Gruevski from the VMRO–DPMNE. The DUI’s activists did not want to advocate the candidacy of the incumbent head of state, Gjorge Ivanov, who was seeking re-election. After the elections the SDSM, the main rival of the ruling VMRO–DPMNE, has not recognised the result and refused to take up their parliamentary seats.

**Key words:** Macedonia, parliamentary elections, early elections

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On 27 April 2014, the second round of the presidential election in Macedonia was accompanied by early parliamentary elections. This was the eighth electoral cycle in the country since the first free and competitive elections (1990), as well as the third snap election in succession (2008, 2011). The initiative for the parliament (Sobranje) to pass a dissolution resolution was taken by one of the coalition partners, the Albanian Democratic Union for Integration (DUI). The DUI opposed the plans of the other coalition party, Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (VMRO–DPMNE) for the incumbent president to again represent it in the presidential election, and urged its supporters to boycott the election. The DUI saw VMRO–DPMNE’s action as a violation of the gentlemen’s agreement from the previous presidential election, when the former party had agreed to support Ivanov’s candidature in exchange for a promise that in the next

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cycle they would put forward a jointly agreed candidate.<sup>1</sup> They also accused the other parties represented in the Sobranje of not taking seriously their proposal for all parliamentary powers to put forward a common, non-party candidate for the office of president. The prime minister and VMRO-DPMNE leader Nikola Gruevski regarded this proposal as a form of blackmail from his coalition partner, claiming that if he were to yield, the DUI would then begin to demand an amendment to the constitution with the aim of bringing an end to direct elections of the head of state (Kuzmanovski, 2014).

The DUI's proposal to dissolve the Sobranje was supported by 117 of 123 deputies in a vote on 5 March, with no votes against. A day later, parliamentary speaker Trajko Veljanovski announced new elections. In agreeing to snap elections – with surprisingly little resistance – VMRO-DPMNE was counting on increasing its majority over its coalition partner, thus making discipline easier.

### Background

The previous (also early) parliamentary election was held on 5 June 2011, announced as a result of the opposition's boycott of parliament. The then opposition parties, with the exception of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), were protesting against the government's decision to freeze the accounts of the private television channel A1 and three daily newspapers (*Shpic*, *Vreme*, *Koha e Re*), which were owned by Velja Ramkovski, a businessman arrested in 2010. Among the charges Ramkovski faced were money laundering, connections with the criminal world and tax evasion. Yet the closing of the accounts of the media channels associated with him, although supposedly a response to irregularities in their funding, was viewed above all as a punishment for their critical attitude to the government. Representatives of the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) also expressed this view (Marušić, 2011; Grozdanovska Dimishovska, 2012). The greatest pressure for snap elections was exerted by the then leader of the Social Democratic Union of Macedonia

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<sup>1</sup> In an interview for Alsat Albanian television, the DUI leader Ali Ahmeti said that in exchange for supporting Ivanov's candidature his party expected that in the next electoral cycle VMRO-DPMNE would support an Albanian candidate (Stanković, 2009).

(SDSM), Branko Crvenkovski.<sup>2</sup> However, he made his party's participation in the election conditional on the accounts of the media associated with Ramkovski being unblocked. The June elections were once again (for the third time running) won by the conservative VMRO-DPMNE, which won 47 of a total of 56 seats with its coalition partners. The largest opposition party, the SDSM, won 29 seats of a total of 42 with its coalition partners. The DUI was again successful among parties representing the Albanian minority, winning 15 seats in the Sobranje. Its rival, the Democratic Party of the Albanians (DPA), gained just 8 seats. The new government was once again headed by Nikola Gruevski, and VMRO-DPMNE's coalition partner was again the DUI.

Although the 2011 elections – unlike the previous ones, which had seen an escalation in violence between the supporters of the Albanian parties – were generally assessed favourably by international observers, the conservatives victory was overshadowed by two events that took place immediately afterwards. First, security guards beat a supporter of Prime Minister Gruevski to death during a rally at which the conservatives were celebrating their latest election victory. Second, a day after the elections came the arrest of Ljube Boškoski, leader of the opposition party United for Macedonia, who was accused of unlawful election campaign funding. Boškoski had previously been a prominent VMRO-DPMNE activist (including a stint as interior minister during the Tetovo conflict in 2001), leaving the party before the 2009 presidential election after Gruevski had refused to assure him the party's support (Marković, 2011).

### **Electoral system**

Since 2002, a proportional voting system has operated in Macedonia using the D'Hondt method. The state territory was divided into six electoral constituencies, with 20 deputies being elected in each. A caveat in the statute stipulates that the difference in the number of eligible voters in the various constituencies may vary up to a maximum of +/-5%. Furthermore, in 2011 three additional constituencies were introduced (encompassing the whole world) in which a majority voting formula is used for Macedo-

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<sup>2</sup> Crvenkovski was the leader of the SDSM from its inception in 1991 until becoming head of state in 2004. He took over at the helm again at the 2009 congress. Despite the Social Democrats' election defeat in 2011, he only resigned from this position in 2013.

nian emigrants to elect three deputies to the Sobranje. In order to register a list in elections, parties must present the signatures of 1000 voters. Closed lists are employed, meaning that voters are unable to back specific candidates (Aziri, 2012). The right to run for office is available to all citizens of Macedonia aged 18 or over, except for people who have been sentenced by a court for crimes for which a prison sentence of over six months is servable as well as those who after 2 August 1944 were secret collaborators of the security services. Changes to the election law in 2002 scrapped the election threshold, meaning that parties must only clear the so-called effective threshold in order to participate in the division of seats.

The most recent amendment to the electoral statute was implemented in January 2014. Among its contents was a guarantee of the division of state from party (although the OSCE's post-election report unfortunately accused the ruling coalition of not having fulfilled this criterion), clarification in accordance with the previous OSCE recommendations of the rules on election campaign funding, post-election party reporting and anti-corruption procedures. In addition, parties were now to be permitted to inspect and make changes to their declared electoral lists before the final registration date (*Izboren zakonik*, 2014; *OBSE preporačuva*).

A significant shortcoming in the Macedonian electoral system is the fact that the electoral list is based on outdated information from 2002, when the last general census was carried out. The next census was planned for 2012, but postponed over fears of ethnic tensions. According to the World Bank's 2014 estimates, the current census included over 400,000 so-called dead souls, which, with an estimated total population of just over 2 million, represents some 20% of Macedonians (*Census*, 2002; Stan-ković, 2014).

### **Parties and coalitions**

Some 14 committees, mostly coalitions, registered candidates for the April elections. Of these, as many as six were led by new parties. Interestingly, two of these – the Citizens' Alliance for Macedonia (GROM) and the Alliance for Positive Macedonia (APM) – were founded shortly before the elections following conflicts and splits with the SDSM in the social democrat camp. The leader of GROM is Stevče Jakimovski, current mayor of the district of Karpoš (one of ten districts into which Skopje is divided). Until 2013 Jakimovski was the leader of the SDSM city organisa-

tion in the capital (previously he had been minister of the economy as well as labour and social policy for the SDSM). However, he took issue with the Social Democrats' insistence on boycotting the 2013 local elections, and decided to run for re-election as mayor, which resulted in his removal from the party in February 2013. In September, though, he formed his own party, and was successful in defeating both the SDSM candidate (after removing him the party had decided to participate in the elections) and the VMRO-DPMNE candidate. GROM not only registered electoral lists in all constituencies at the snap parliamentary elections, but also nominated its own candidate in the presidential elections (Zoran Popovski). The party's main demand is increased civic participation in public life. As for the other party whose roots are in the SDSM – the Alliance for Positive Macedonia (APM) – one of its founders was Vlado Bučkovski, the former prime minister and leader of the Social Democrats in 2004–2006. Bučkovski was expelled from the party in 2012 for criticising the actions of the then SDSM leader Branko Crvenkovski. APM has been active since May 2013, initially as a civic movement, and only registered as a party just before the parliamentary elections in March 2014. In the election it headed the Coalition for Positive Macedonia list.

Since the beginning of the transformation process in the 1990s, the roles of the main political forces have been reserved for the conservative VMRO-DPMNE and its leading adversary, the centre-left, postcommunist SDSM. Since 2006, however, it has been the conservatives who have enjoyed uninterrupted ascendancy. The way the two parties operate has contributed to a marked polarisation of the political scene, which, especially in the last electoral cycles, has been largely the result of animosity between activists than any major policy differences (Grozdanovska Dimishovska, 2012, p. 362). Both parties prioritise integration with the European Union and NATO and emphasise the need for profound economic reforms (including consolidation of finances and a drop in unemployment). They are divided by the SDSM's opposition to the (re)vision of politics of memory pushed through by the conservative government and the extremely costly (and according to the Social Democrats overpriced) Skopje 2014 project linked to this. The SDSM also claim that Prime Minister Gruevski's office has led to the media becoming politicised and the state party-dominated. This charge is not entirely groundless, but Macedonian analysts note that attempts to take control of the media began before 2006. The accusations of treating party affiliation as the main criterion in employment in state institutions and of unwise spending of public money,

meanwhile, can be levelled at almost all post-1991 governments, regardless of which of the largest parties were in power at the time (Jordanovski, 2014; Rujević, 2014).

In the past, the main rivals in the struggle for the votes of the Albanian minority have been the DUI, which presented itself as a centre-left party, and the centre-right DPA. In this electoral cycle, though, they were joined by National Democratic Renewal (NDP), founded in 2011, and the Party for Democratic Prosperity (PDP), which was reactivated in 2014. The DPA has been active since 1997, and until the formation of the DUI was the main representative of Macedonian Albanians. The DUI came into being in 2001 following the demobilisation of the National Liberation Army (ONA, also known as the Macedonian UÇK), which in February 2001 provoked armed conflict of Albanian separatists with government forces near Tetovo. Despite the extensive overlap between the two parties' programmes, their mutual relations are marked by animosity, and on several occasions there have been scuffles between their supporters and activists (during the 2008 parliamentary elections, for instance). More recently, however, the parties have begun to collaborate at local level, for example working together to increase the turnout among Albanian voters at the local elections in 2013. Their aim here was to wrest control from Macedonian parties over several districts in the south-west of the country (Kičevo, Struga) with a large, but not majority, Albanian population (Vankovska, 2013).

### **Electoral campaign**

As a result of the intra-coalition crisis that had led to the snap elections, the first phase of the campaign was dominated by appeals of the VMRO-DPMNE and DUI leaders to their ethnic electorates. This ensured that the discourse became strongly polarised and ethnicised. Prime Minister Gruevski asked the Macedonians to guarantee his party an absolute majority in order to allow him to subdue the disobedient coalition partner. Ali Ahmeti, meanwhile, appealed to the Albanian minority to give the DUI 25% of the vote (i.e. the proportion of Albanians in Macedonia's social structure), which would increase his bargaining power in government.

Later on, the country's economic situation became the dominant subject. The two most important parties were diametrically opposed in their assessment. The leader of the ruling VMRO-DPMNE waged a positive campaign, underlining his cabinet's achievements in the previous term, in

particular a drop in unemployment from 39 to 28%, creating 120,000 new jobs, reaching 2 billion euro of FDI and implementing state subsidies for farmers totalling 590 million euro. But the farmers were not the only group whose votes were targeted by the conservatives. Before the election they introduced a series of special benefits for pensioners including free municipal public transport, treatment in the banyas (spas) that are extremely popular in Macedonia, and free ski passes (Stanković, 2014). Particularly popular election promises were integration with the EU and NATO, an increase to the minimum wage, and creation of new jobs with the help of foreign companies. However, despite the pro-European declarations of all four of the main Macedonian (VMRO-DPMNE, SDSM) and Albanian (DUI, DPA) parties, Macedonia's integration process with the Euro-Atlantic structures has been stagnant for several years.<sup>3</sup>

The Social Democrats argued that the unemployment rate, though reduced, was still high (especially among young people), and wages very low (average pay in Macedonia is 350 euro per month). They also criticised the spending of public funds on the controversial urban reconstruction project Skopje 2014, a telling emblem of the revisionist politics of memory of Gruevski's government. They also pointed to the excessive involvement of public officials (and public money) in the presidential campaign of the incumbent and government-supported Gjorge Ivanov, maintaining that this synergy of party and state was contrary to democratic principles. After the first round of the presidential election (13 April), international observers received video showing cases of attempts at vote buying (8 euro was offered to cast a vote for President Ivanov), leading the Social Democrats to begin speaking of a possible boycott of the parliamentary elections. Then, several days before the vote, SDSM politicians held a press conference at which they revealed a tape recording of a conversation showing that in 2004 Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski had accepted a bribe of 1.5 million euro from the controversial Serbian businessman Jovica Stefanović Nini for mediation in his purchase of the majority shareholding in the Bank of Macedonia.

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<sup>3</sup> Macedonia gained EU candidate country status in 2005. However, although the European Commission has recommended opening negotiations on several occasions since 2008, they are yet to begin as a result of the dispute with Greece over the country's name. Furthermore, in 2008 Greece blocked the prospect of Macedonia being admitted to NATO. The country's situation was not even changed by the fact that in 2011 the International Court of Justice in The Hague pronounced that Greece was not entitled to block its entry to NATO.

The Social Democrats demanded the prime minister's immediate resignation and promised to pass the tape on to the authorities, to which VMRO-DPMNE's response was to threaten a defamation suit.<sup>4</sup>

Apart from the policy issues dividing VMRO-DPMNE and Social Democrats and their assessment of the current situation as well as of the reforms made by the ruling coalition, the parties also differed in the strategies they used for constructing electoral lists. VMRO-DPMNE placed on them all prominent party politicians, including members of the government. This was despite the fact that according to the amendment to the statute adopted in 2014, seats in parliament are supposed to be separate from positions in the government, which would mean that any successful candidates would have to withdraw from one of the functions. The SDSM, meanwhile, decided to change its list delivered to the State Election Commission (SEC) before the end of registration, removing (officially on their own request) more experienced politicians. Their replacement by the younger generations was supposed to bring about a new quality in parliamentary work (*The Republic*).

The DPA and DUI, scrapping for the votes of the Albanian minority, focused more on their mutual relations than on economic issues. The DPA demanded from the prime minister protection from a possible escalation in violence on the part of its rival, which it called "the DUI's election terrorism". The DUI, though part of the ruling coalition with VMRO-DPMNE, also criticised the actions of the head of state and urged its supporters to boycott the presidential elections. Its declared main objective was integration with the EU, and it promised concerted action to restart talks with Greece over recognition of the name of the state and efforts to involve international partners in them.

The positive picture that VMRO-DPMNE politicians painted of the accomplishments of Prime Minister Gruevski's eight-year rule was also contrary to the reports published by international institutions specialising in research on quality of democracy in this period. In the annual *Nations in Transit* report for 2014, Macedonia received 4.00 points (0.18 points worse than when the conservatives came to power in 2006) and was classified as a "hybrid regime" or "transitional government" (Grozdánovska Dimshovska,

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<sup>4</sup> The recordings were delivered immediately after the election. In June, however, after the new government had been formed, the public prosecutor's office dismissed the Social Democrats' report, stating that the case fell under the statute of limitations, and furthermore that proceedings cannot be based on evidence collected in an illegal way, which was what they considered the secret recording to be (*Obivinitelstvoto*).

2014). In the *World Press Freedom Report 2014* of the Reporters Without Borders organisation, it languished in 123<sup>rd</sup> position out of 180 classified states (the only European countries ranked lower were Ukraine and Belarus). Just five years previously it had been placed 34<sup>th</sup> (Reporters Without Borders, 2009, 2014). The World Bank report, meanwhile, drew attention to such issues as Macedonia's high human poverty index (HPI) (some 27%) and gross national income (GNI) *per capita* (4,800 USD).

## Results

The election was won by the For a Better Macedonia list endorsed by the ruling conservative VMRO-DPMNE, which received 42.9% of the vote. This result guaranteed it 61 seats, or just one fewer than required to secure an absolute majority in the Sobranje (Table 1). Meanwhile, the party's candidate Gjorge Ivanov was triumphant in the second round of the presidential election, held the same day, defeating the SDSM's favoured candidate Stevo Pendarovski.<sup>5</sup> Second place went to the SDSM with 25.3% of the votes, giving them 34 seats. However, on election night, after the State Election Commission (SEC) had given the provisional results, the SDSM leader Zoran Zaev announced a boycott owing to contravention of democratic rules. He accused the ruling party and its leader Nikola Gruevski of "abusing the entire state" as well as threatening and blackmailing the opposition and massive vote-buying (Causule, 2014).

Table 1  
Results of the parliamentary elections in Macedonia, 27<sup>th</sup> April 2014 and 5<sup>th</sup> June 2011

Party	2014			2011	
	Votes	Votes (%)	Seats	Votes (%)	Seats
1	2	3	4	5	6
Social Democratic Union of Macedonia (SDSM and others)	283,955	25.34	34	32.78	42
Democratic Party of the Albanians (DPA)	66,393	5.92	7	5.90	8

<sup>5</sup> In the first round of the election, which took place in 13 April, four candidates took part: apart from VMRO-DPMNE and the SDSM, the Albanian minority parties DPA (Iljaz Halimi) and GROM (Zoran Popovski) also stood. Ivanov was the winner, defeating Pendarovski with a majority of 51.65% to 35.57%. However, the turnout was just 48.84%, just shy of the required 50% (*Utre počiva; Ivanov 449.068*).

1	2	3	4	5	6
Coalition Dignity for Macedonia (DM)	9,265	0.83	–	–	–
Democratic Union for Integration (DUI)	153,646	13.71	19	10.24	15
Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (VMRO-DPMNE and others)	481,651	42.97	61*	38.98	53**
National Democratic Renewal (NDP)	17,783	1.59	1	2.67	2
People's Movement for Macedonia (NDM)	1,925	0.17	–	–	–
Coalition GROM	31,610	2.82	1	–	–
Coalition for Positive Macedonia (Coalition APM and others)	10,566	0.94	–	–	–
VMRO – People's Party (VMRO-NP)	16,772	1.50	–	2.51	–
Social Democratic Party of Macedonia (SDPM)	4,700	0.42	–	0.16	–
Party for Economic Changes 21 (PEP 21)	1,281	0.11	–	–	–
Party for Democratic Prosperity (PDP)	385	0.03	–	0.02	–
Party for a European Future (PEI)	194	0.28	–	–	–
Seats of diaspora members, not included in the calculation of indices, MVS	–	–	–	–	3
Others	–	–	–	3.97	–
Totals	1,080,126	96.63***	123	97.23***	123
Effective number of parties****	–	3.67	2.86	3.84	2.96
Eligible voters	1,780,128			1,821,122	
Total votes (turnout)	1,120,744 (62.96%)			1,156,049 (63.48%)	
Invalid votes	37,654 (3.36%)			31,985 (2.77%)	

\* Including 3 seats of members of the diaspora.

\*\* 56 seats including those of the members of the diaspora.

\*\*\* Totals do not amount to 100% because the Macedonian State Election Commission (SEC) calculates vote percentages based on number of votes cast, including invalid votes.

**Source:** <http://rezultati.sec.mk/Parliamentary/Results?cs=mk-MK&r=2&rd=r#>, 18.11.2014. Author's own calculation based on Michael Gallagher's worksheet, [http://www.tcd.ie/Political\\_Science/staff/michael\\_gallagher/ElSystems/index.php](http://www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/staff/michael_gallagher/ElSystems/index.php), 18.11.2014.

Once again, the three parties representing the Albanian minority gained seats in parliament. As in the previous four elections, the greatest support

was enjoyed by the DUI with 13.7% of votes, giving them 19 seats. The party's main rival, the DPA, received 5.92% of the vote and seven seats, while the newest party representing Macedonian Albanians, NDP, gained 1.59% of votes and one seat. GROM also gained one seat, with 2.82% of the population casting their vote for it.

The post-election deadlock caused by the Social Democrats' boycott is a major challenge for the fragile Macedonian democracy. During six months long obstruction process, only three SDSM deputies decided to return to parliament. Moreover, until the beginning of November it was unclear what will happen with the 31 members of parliament who doggedly had refused to take up their seats. After that time, the speaker of the Sobranje – Trajko Veljanoski announced that according to the parliamentary rules deputies forfeit their mandates after six months absent from duty. As a result the State Election Commission has started the procedure of dividing the seats gained by the party to the next people on the list until they reach the end. Due to the fact that each Social Democrats' candidate, the mandate will be proposed to, should take their decision within 8 days, the SEC estimates that the process will take approximately six months. Nevertheless, Petre Silegov, the spokesman of SDSM said that they maintain the earlier stand, which means that social-democrats activists do not accept offered mandates and will not move back to the Sobranje (Marušić, 2014). We should bear in mind that in case other SDSM candidates also actually refuse to take up seats, that they won in April elections, the SEC should organise run by-elections for unoccupied seats. However, the question of how such elections should take place remains a significant problem, as the election statute has no provision for such cases. To fill in the picture, it is worth mentioning that at the beginning of the post-election crisis the SDSM announced that they intended to persevere with the boycott until Prime Minister Gruevski satisfies their five demands concerning removing party politics from public life, conducting a census and updating the electoral roll, and appointing a technical government six months before the next election to be responsible for overseeing it. This was entirely unacceptable to the premier (*Makedonska opozicija*).

### **Government formation**

An unwritten rule has existed in Macedonia since 1992, when Branko Crvenkovski's government was formed by the SDSM in coalition with the

strongest Albanian grouping of the time, the Party for Democratic Prosperity (PDP), stating that the ruling coalitions are formed by the Macedonian and Albanian parties with the largest share of the vote. This rule, confirmed in 2001 by the so-called Ohrid Agreement, has only been broken once, in 2006.<sup>6</sup> On this occasion, upon receiving the mandate to form a new cabinet, Nikola Gruevski found himself under great pressure from both Albanian parties. The DPA leader Menduh Tači made it clear that he was certain his party would be part of the government. His DUI counterpart Ali Ahmeti, meanwhile, stressed that the state would be destabilised if his party was not included. Finally, the latter party was invited to work together by Prime Minister Gruevski, although it was their rejection of Gjorge Ivanov's candidature as the ruling coalition's joint candidate in the presidential elections that had led to the snap elections. The vote of confidence for Gruevski's new (and old, as commentators called it) cabinet on June 19 resulted in 77 members of parliament declaring their support, and just six DPA deputies voting against. Although in theory the parliament had the necessary quorum, its legitimation was not complete as the members elected from the SDSM list had not taken part in the vote.

Including the prime minister, the new government has 26 members, including four deputy prime ministers and as many as seven ministers without portfolio. VMRO-DPMNE has 21 representatives and, as well as the premiership, control over the most important ministries, including home affairs (Gordana Jankulovska), foreign affairs (Nikola Popovski) and finances (Zoran Stavreski). The DUI gained five ministerial portfolios. Prime Minister Gruevski named as priorities of his new cabinet ensuring greater economic growth, a drop in unemployment, improving standard of living, EU and NATO integration and fighting corruption and organised crime (*Makedonija treba*).

The victorious coalition is of course perfectly capable of governing without an opposition, which they are currently proving and what the So-

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<sup>6</sup> Nikola Gruevski formed a government with the DPA, which with just seven seats received less support from the Albanian minority than the DUI, with 16. Gruevski's decision was dictated by his aversion to the DUI caused by the way it had come into being. For several weeks, DUI supporters held protests, including blocking roads. The situation in the governing coalition was also tense, and ultimately after less than two years, in March 2008, the DPA left government. In the next two election cycles (2008, 2011), VMRO-DPMNE formed coalitions with the DUI, although their cooperation was always fraught with tension.

cial Democrats' previous boycotts of the Sobranje inducted. The first, in 2011, followed the closure of TV A1 and the *Vreme, Koha e Re* and *Shpic* daily newspapers, while the second, in late 2012 and early 2013, was preceded by so-called Black Monday on 24 December 2012, when journalists and SDSM politicians, blocking voting on the much-criticised budget, were removed from the parliament building, allowing the ruling coalition to pass the contentious bill unhindered. In 2011, during the opposition's boycott of parliamentary sessions, an increase in legislative activity could even be observed. Among the resolutions that VMRO-DPMNE managed to force through during this time was the introduction of three additional seats in parliamentary elections for representatives of the diaspora (based on the precedent of Croatia) and the law on lustration (Grozdanovska Dimishovska, 2012). However, repeating history in this way will certainly not help the fragile Macedonian democracy, and could, along with the over two decades of dispute with neighbouring Greece over the name of the state, prove to be a major hurdle on the country's path to integration with the EU and NATO.

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**Prawomocność bez legitymizacji asymetrycznego parlamentu.  
Przyspieszone wybory parlamentarne w Macedonii w 2014 r.**

**Streszczenie**

Niniejszy artykuł jest poświęcony analizie przedterminowych wyborów parlamentarnych w Macedonii, które odbyły się 27 kwietnia 2014 roku. Ich głównym inicjatorem była reprezentująca interesy mniejszości albańskiej DUI, która dotychczas pełniła rolę koalicjanta rządzącej VMRO-DPMNE premiera Nikoli Gruevskiego. Kłótnią niezgody, która doprowadziła do przedterminowej elekcji, była odmowa poparcia przez działaczy DUI kandydatury wspieranego przez konserwatystów i ubiegającego się o reelekcję szefa państwa – Đorđe Ivanova. Mimo to po wyborach doszło do odnowienia dotychczas rządzącej koalicji. Natomiast główny rywal VMRO-DPMNE – SDSM nie uznała ich wyników i konsekwentnie od kilku miesięcy odmawia objęcia zdobytych mandatów.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Macedonia, wybory parlamentarne, przedterminowe wybory

