

# Free movement of the workers





*Policy paper*

# *Free Movement of the Workers*

# Contents

1. Introduction .....	7
2. Free movement and residence of people from the European Union .....	8
3. Free movement of persons in the Western Balkans.....	12
4. State of affairs in North Macedonia regarding free movement of persons.....	16
5. Concluding remarks .....	19
6. Recommendations.....	21
Bibliography.....	22





# 1. Introduction

Free movement of workers is one of the four freedoms of the single European market which is part of the founding values of the European Union. The four freedoms referring to goods, services, capital, and workers is one of the biggest achievements of the United Europe project. Initially, the freedom of movement of people reflected the economic nature of the project and referred to the free movement of workers as one of the production factors. Later, this freedom was more and more related to the citizens in the general sense of the word, in order to secure their right to free movement. In that respect, civic belonging was derived from the fact that European Union was seen as any person with citizenship from a Member-State of the Union.

Encouraging the freedom of movement of people is the main objective of the European integration ever since the 50-ies of the last century. Free movement of people implies that the citizens of the European Union can move freely between the Member-States for whatever reason and can live in the Member-State of their choice provide he/she does not constitute an additional burden to the social security of that specific country. In other words, this freedom of the citizens from a Member-State enables them to travel, live and work in another Member-State. The idea behind the EU legislation in this area is the citizens from other Member-States to be treated equally with the domestic citizens and not to be discriminated against compared to them.

Accomplishing the four freedoms is a big challenge for the candidate-countries for EU membership such as North Macedonia, but also for those planning to start the process of EU accession in the upcoming period. The recent migrant crises, as well as the potention inflow of migrants in Europe, also present a problem that could affect the right to free movement of people. In addition, the Covid-19 pandemic contributed to the distortion of the free movement of people on national level, but also on international level. More detailed review on the free movement of people within the European Union and within the Western Balkan countries will follow herein, with a special outlook on North Macedonia from the prospect of future EU membership.

## 2. Free movement and residence of people from the European Union

The beginning of the formal and legal regulation of the four freedoms in the European Union is the Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, adopted in Rome on the 4th November 1950<sup>1</sup>. Nevertheless, the right to free movement of people was not part of the original text of the Convention. Later, with Protocol No.: 4 to the Convention, adopted in Strasbourg on 16th September 1963, inter alia, the right to free movement of people was secured.

Namely, Article 2 of the Protocol No.: 4 of the Convention states that every person who is legally on the territory of a country, has the right to move about in that country and freely choose his/her place of residence. Further, every person is free to leave whatever country, including his/her own. Exercising those rights may be subject to only those limitations envisaged by law that represent necessary measures in the interest of national security, public security, maintaining public order, prevention of criminal offences, protection of health and moral or the protection of rights and freedoms of others in a democratic society. The rights recognized in the first paragraph can be subject to limitations in some areas if those legally envisaged limitations justify the public interest of a given democratic society.

Apart from that, Article 3 of the Protocol formulates a prohibition on expelling one's own citizens. According to this article, no one can be expelled from the territory of the country they are subject of, neither by an individual, nor a collective measure. No one can be deprived from the right to enter the country he or she is subject of.

The formal undoing of internal borders in Europe happened with the adoption of the Schengen Agreement. The agreement was concluded between the European countries on 14th June 1985 and expanded in 1990 and enabled the dismantling of border-controls between the signatory States. The Schengen provisions refer to most of the European countries i.e., to approximately 400 million population covering an area of 4,268,633 km<sup>2</sup> called the Schengen Zone. The provisions of the Agreement constitute a common entry policy (including the policy on issuing a unique Schengen visa), harmonization of control of external borders, coordination through the Frontex Agency, as well as cross-border Police and Judicial Cooperation. A total of 29 countries are signatories of the Schengen Agreement, including 25 EU Member-States plus four others: Iceland, Norway, Lichtenstein, and Switzerland.

To consolidate the different legislation of the free movement of people area, the Directive 2004/38 of the European Parliament on the right of the citizens of the Union and the members of their families to move and reside freely on the territory of the European Union was adopted<sup>2</sup>.

The Lisbon Treaty was signed 13th December 2007 and went into force 1st December 2009<sup>3</sup>. This Treaty in the part dealing with policies and internal actions of the Union, inter alia, regulates the internal (single) market<sup>4</sup>. The internal market includes an area without internal borders securing free movement of goods, persons, services, and capital in compliance with the provisions of the Treaties. Free access refers to smooth movement of goods, services as well as free movement of labour, physical and intellectual capital. Regarding the mobility of labour, the single market enables transfer of skills, convergence of labour costs and more balanced distribution of employment between Member-States.

To facilitate mobility of labour in the internal market, the European Union financed opportunities for finding a job in all Member-States by means of the Internet portal EURES. EURES is a network of employment offices/agencies of the Member-States that offers information on vacancies, connects employers with employees and provides advice for job-seeking or for possible additional education.

According to Article 45 of the Lisbon Treaty, free movement of workers is provided within the framework of the Union. Such free movement demands eliminating all kinds of discrimination on the basis of nationality of the workers of Member-States related to employment, remuneration and other working conditions and employment. In accordance with the limitations on the basis of public policy, public security and public health, freedom also encompasses the right to:

- accept specific employment offers;
- free movement within the territory of the Member-States for that purpose;
- reside in a Member-State for the purpose of employment in line with the provisions that regulate the employment of the residents of that country, determined by law, regulation or administrative act;
- remain on the territory of the Member-State after employment in that country, in accordance with the conditions provided for in the regulations of the Commission.

Such provisions do not apply to public office employments.

1 European Convention on the Protection of Human Rights, Macedonian language translation, European Court on Human Rights.

2 Cuyvers, A. (2017) "Free Movement of Persons in the EU", Chapter 11A;

3 Lisbon Treaty, Macedonian language translation, Conrad Adenauer;

4 The terms internal market and single market are used as synonyms.

According to Article 46, the European Parliament, and the Council, in line with the usual legislative procedure and upon consultation with the Economic-Social Committee, adopt directives or regulations determining the necessary measures for accomplishing specifically, free movement of workers by:

- securing close cooperation between national employment agencies;
- eliminating administrative procedures and practices;
- terminating qualification periods and other restrictions;
- establishing appropriate mechanisms for connecting vacancies with job applications.

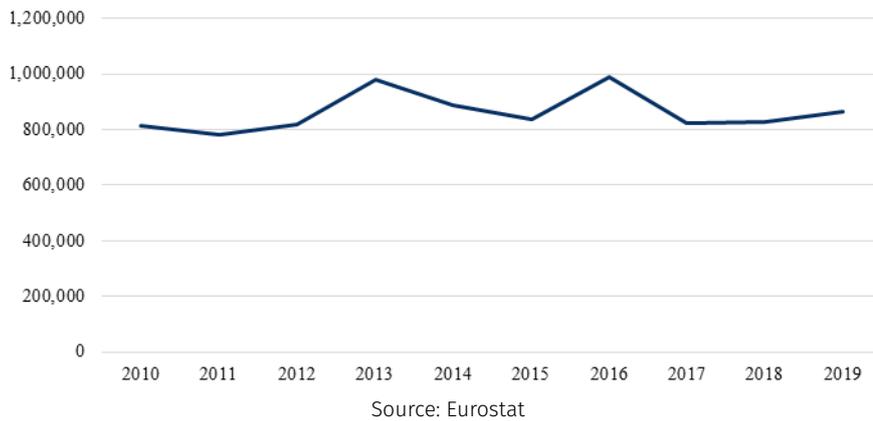
According to Article 47, the Member-States within the framework of a common programme, encourage exchange of young workers. Namely, young people face the biggest risk from unemployment, while exercising the greatest possible mobility. Hence, free movement of youth would create additional opportunities for employment and improvement of their welfare.

In compliance with Article 48, the European Parliament, and the Council, acting in accordance with the usual legislative procedure, adopt measures related to social security required to secure free movement of workers:

- summing up all periods that are considered according to the laws of several countries related to acquiring and maintaining the right to remuneration and calculating the amount to be remunerated;
- paying remuneration to persons who live on the territory of Member-States.

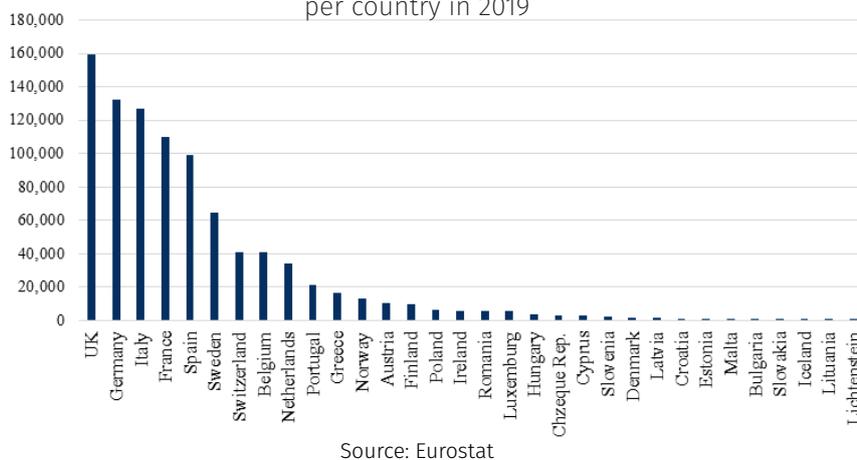
Most relevant source of data on movement of persons in the European Union is the database of Eurostat. One of the indicators looked at is the number of acquired citizenships by foreigners. The situation with the number of foreign persons who acquired citizenships from Member-States can be seen from Graph 1 below.

**Graph 1:** Foreign person who acquired citizenship in EU Member- States, summary for 2010-2019



From Graph 1 one can conclude that the number of issued citizenships to foreigners in the European Union for the period 2010-2019 is between 800,000 and 1,000,000. Nevertheless, if this number is divided into separate Member-States, big differences will become evident. The number of foreigners who acquired citizenships in the Member-States of the European Union, per country for 2019 is shown in Graph 2<sup>5</sup>.

**Graph 2:** Foreigners who acquired citizenship in Member- States, of the EU per country in 2019



From Graph 2 one can conclude that most of the citizenships in 2019 were acquired by foreigners in the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, France, and Spain. On the other hand, the number of issued citizenships to foreigners in the new Member-States of the Union is significantly lower.

<sup>5</sup> European Parliament (2021) “Free movement of persons”, Fact Sheets on the European Union;

### 3. Free movement of persons in the Western Balkans

As a result of political instability on the Western Balkans caused by the numerous war conflicts in the 90-ies of last century, the free movement of citizens from these countries within the European Union – to a large extent – was limited. Most of the Member-States of the Union had a visa regime for the Western Balkan countries which made movement more difficult for both workers and other citizens. In that respect, a large step forward was made in 2009 by launching the visa facilitation process as part of the Thessaloniki Agenda, first with North Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia, followed by Albania, Bosna and Herzegovina, and with Kosovo from a few years ago.

The Justice and Home Affairs Council of Ministers of European Union Member-States, on a press-conference in Brussels confirmed visa liberalization for North Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia which went into effect 19th December 2009. This Decision was included into Regulation 539/2001 of the EU i.e., these three Balkan countries were transferred from the “black” to the “white” Schengen List. The citizens of Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina acquired the opportunity to travel visa free in Europe on 15th December 2010. To make sure that the visa-free regime is implemented without any difficulties and to prevent the risk of any kind of abuse of asylum-seekers, the European Commission introduced a new supervisory facility for the Western Balkan countries that, inter alia, included controlling the issuance of passports and border-control. 13th September 2018, the European Parliament adopted visa liberalization for Kosovo. Previously, the European Commission confirmed that Kosovo fulfilled all visa-liberalization conditions and recommended elimination of visas for the citizens of Kosovo 18th July 2018.

In 2014, to improve the cooperation between the European Union and the Western Balkans in the European integration process, diplomatic action was initiated related to the future enlargement of the Union called “Berlin Process”. This action is a intergovernmental initiative for cooperation aiming at revitalizing multilateral relations between the Western Balkans and specific EU Member-States. Six Western Balkan countries and several EU Member-States are part of this initiative: Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, France, Greece, Germany, Italy, Poland, and Slovenia.

Due to the long-term EU accession process faced by the Western Balkan countries, recently, an initiative for closer regional cooperation titled “Mini-Schengen” was launched striving towards advancing political and economic relations and strengthening cultural ties

between the nations. This red-tape eliminating initiative to improve free movement of persons, goods, services and capital on the Balkans stems from the meeting in Novi Sad in October 2019, initiated by Albania, Serbia and North Macedonia. A Joint Declaration of the President of the Republic of Serbia, the Prime-Minister of the Republic of Albania and the President of the Government of the Republic of North Macedonia was signed for implementing EU's four fundamental freedoms. After the launch, the leaders of the three countries met in Ohrid in November that same year (with the exception of Kosovo) and in December in Tirana (Montenegro joined), while representative of the other three Western Balkan countries were invited to participate on the meetings.

The first step towards the establishment of “Mini-Schengen” was the commitment to eliminate border-controls and other barriers to free movement in the region of the Western Balkans i.e., enabling passport-free travel. Still, that does not mean that borders can be crossed without any kind of identification document, i.e., entry in the countries is enabled with identity cards. The purpose is not to eliminate border-crossings, but to facilitate crossing the borders, which makes this initiative different from Schengen. In addition, the citizens can work in any country in the region once they acquire the qualifications in any of the countries in the region, i.e., the diplomas should be mutually recognized between the countries of the region.

The leaders of the “Mini-Schengen” signatory-countries were quite clear in stressing that the initiative is not an alternative option nor giving up on EU membership. Specifically, all participating countries were previously signatories of the Regional Economic Area (REA)<sup>6</sup> document and participants in the Berlin Process. The Regional Economic Area is coordinated by the Regional Cooperation Council and supported by the European Commission and aims at securing smooth flow of goods, services, capital, and highly qualified labour. In that respect, this initiative will increase the attractiveness of the region for trade and investments, facilitate convergence towards the European Union thereby securing prosperity for the citizens of the Western Balkans. The criticisms of “Mini-Schengen” are mainly addressed to the overlapping objectives of the Regional Economic Area, and its partial coverage. Unlike “Mini-Schengen”, the Regional Economic Area includes all six Western Balkan countries<sup>7</sup>.

6 The full title is MAP REA from the English abbreviation for Multi-Annual Action Plan of Regional Economic Area;

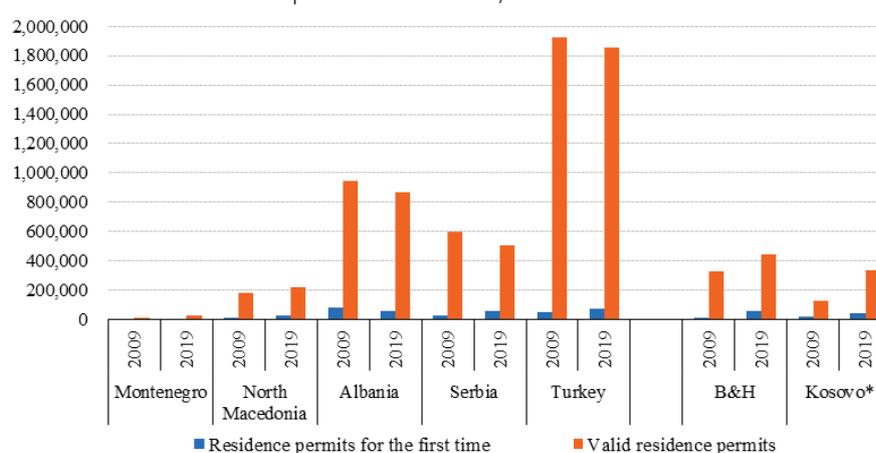
7 BPRG (2020) “Regional Cooperation in the Western Balkans, An Overview of the Regional Economic Area and the Mini Schengen”, Balkan Policy research Group;

8 Eurostat (2020) “Statistics on migration, residence permits, citizenship and asylum for the enlargement countries”;

As in the original Schengen, the “Mini-Schengen” initiative was also based on negotiations of a separate visa regime for foreign citizens with issued visas who would be able to travel to the other signatory-countries. Following the meeting in Tirana, the deadlines for the agreements were determined i.e., for completing individual phases and important enlargement issues were reviewed such as joining the Future of Europe Conference.

The status of the number of issued valid permits in the European Union for citizens of the Western Balkans is indicated in Graph 3<sup>8</sup>.

**Graph 3:** Citizens from the candidate-countries and the potential candidates who were issued residence permits for the time and those with valid residence permits in the EU, 2009 and 2019

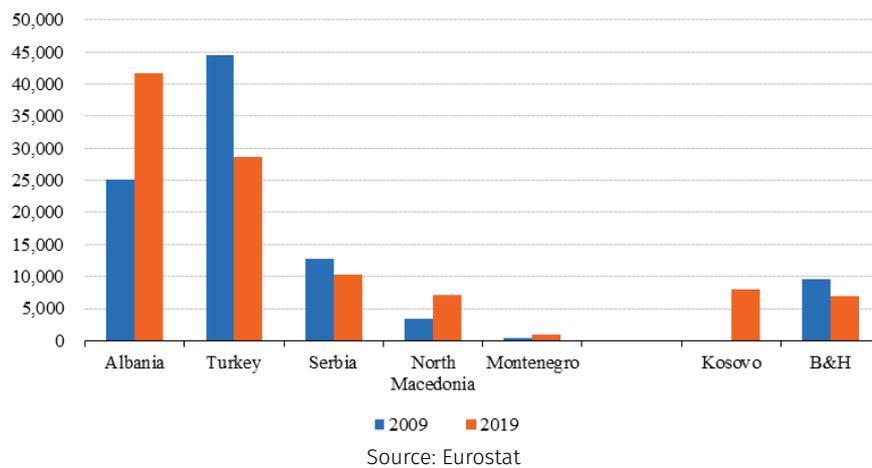


Source: Eurostat

Graph 3 shows that for the citizens of Albania and Serbia the number number of valid issued resident permits in the European Union decreased within the period 2009-2019. On the other hand, mild increase can be noted with the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, North Macedonia, and Montenegro.

The number of persons from candidate-countries and potential candidate-countries from the Western Balkans who acquired citizenships from EU Member-State is evident in Graph 4.

**Graph 4 :** Persons from candidate-countries and the potential candidate-countries who acquired citizenship from an EU Member-State, 2009 and 2019



The conclusion from Graph 4 is that within the period 2009-2019, the number of issued citizenships increased for the citizens of Albania, Kosovo, and North Macedonia, while a decrease is noted for citizens of Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The regional cooperation forum that took place 29th July 2021 in Skopje as a regional initiative of North Macedonia, Albania and Serbia known as “Mini-Schengen” acquired a new name – Open Balkan. To facilitate trade, movement of citizens and economic development, three memoranda were signed on this forum covering the following areas: cooperation for facilitation of import, export and movement of goods in the Western Balkans; free access to labour market of the Western Balkans; and cooperation for the protection of disasters on the Western Balkans. According to the initiative, fully free cross-border flow of citizens of the three countries is expected until 2023. By means of a Memorandum of Understanding for cooperation related to free access to labour market, the will to facilitate movement of persons is expressed to secure easy and free access to the labour market by removing working permits and simplifying procedures on residence permits.

9 Source: Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Bulgaria.

## 4. State of affairs in North Macedonia regarding free movement of persons

One of the most important achievements in North Macedonia in the area of free movement of persons is the introduction of the visa liberalization regime in December 2009. Visa liberalization enabled Macedonian citizens to travel to 25 out of 27 EU Member-States (with the exception of the United Kingdom and Ireland), plus an additional three European countries – Norway, Switzerland and Iceland, including Bulgaria and Romania although they were not part of the Schengen area yet. Nevertheless, visa-free regime did not imply non-restricted stay or work in the European Union countries. Macedonia citizens are exempt from visa type C that refers to short-term stay for tourist purposes up to 90 days within six months, i.e., 180 days within one year. For longer stay within the EU, visa type D is required which refers to student and work-related stay in the Union and applied for in the Embassy of the country-destination.

The long-term EU accession process significantly increased Euroskepticism and caused a large number of Macedonian citizens to seek alternative ways to easier travel and work in the EU Member-States. Subsequently, the amplified number of seekers of Bulgarian citizenship who are searching for a job in the European Union for livelihood reasons. For example, in the period 2001-2020, 88,500 Macedonian citizens acquired Bulgarian citizenship<sup>9</sup>. There are more ways to acquire Bulgarian citizenship, but Macedonian citizens fulfill that right by proving their alleged “Bulgarian” origin.

Regarding asylum-seeking by Macedonian citizens, according to Eurostat data, a significant drop can be noted in recent years. Namely, in 2010, the number of asylum-seeking applications in the EU Member-States was 6,115, while in 2020 this number went down to 840 applications making North Macedonia the country of the Western Balkans with the lowest number of applications immediately after Montenegro. Regarding the total number of decisions related to asylum-seeking, 30 positive decisions were adopted in 2020 and the rest 1,605 were rejected.

The number of Macedonian citizens with valid residential permits in the European Union in the period 2009-2019 increased from 182,941 to 220,879, while the number of residential permits issued for the first time for the same period increased from 14,663 to 26,653 (Eurostat) out of which most residential permits i.e., 43% were issued as working permits, 36% were issued for family purposes, 4% for studying, while the rest 17% for other needs. Concerning the destination-country of the Macedonian citizens, most valid residential permits were issued by Germany (42%), followed by Italy (27%) and Austria (22%) of the overall issued permits. The number of Macedonian citizens who acquired EU citizenship increased as well from 3,405 in 2009, to 7,148 in 2019.

EU-acquis provides the right to the citizens of the EU Member-States to work in another Member-State, to reside in that country with their family for that purpose and to enjoy equal treatment as domestic workers in terms of working conditions, social benefits, and tax reliefs.

The freedom of movement of workers is related to the freedom to move and reside during employment in another Member-State, as well as the rights to social security such as: health insurance, pension insurance, unemployment insurance and the rights to family benefits. The freedom of movement of workers encourages mobility of labour between the Member-States of the Union thereby presenting a major factor in accomplishing the common market. Its aim is to fill the vacant jobs and stimulate economic growth and development in the entire Union. The internal market of the European Union with its labour development segment is constantly facing new and more complex challenges. To implement the opportunities stemming from this freedom, the Union is constantly working on removing the unnecessary administrative and regulatory controls.

To enjoy all benefits stemming from the right to free movement of workers, a system of coordination of social security was added onto the basic right i.e., the right of migrants and their family members to acquire, accumulate or transfer social insurance benefits as well as to receive payments for that purpose. In the area of healthcare, all medical costs need to be reimbursed for the entire treatment of all persons who fell sick or has an accident during the stay in another Member-State. For that purpose, EU introduced a European Health Insurance Card issued by national bodies and valid in the entire European Union.

Regarding access to the labour market, the EU-acquis secures non-discriminatory treatment (on the basis of citizenship, residence, and language) to workers who are legally employed in another Mem-

ber-State different than that of their origin. This especially includes equal treatment in terms of all aspects of employment, such as employment conditions, work conditions, payment of salary and dismissal from work. The EU-acquis includes the instruments for coordination of different national social security systems. This is based on regulations that do not aim at harmonizations of laws, but coordination of social security systems of the Member-States. Therefore, for that coordination to work, administrative cooperation between the Member-States is necessary.

Specific rights stemming from the basic right of free movement of workers are expanded to the members of the family of the worker. In addition, the general principles of free movement of workers include provisions referring to additional rights in terms of pension insurance of employed and self-employed persons moving within the European Union.

To encourage mobility of labour force, on operational level relevant bases on vacant jobs need to be integrated with the EURES mechanism for exchange of information on free jobs as well as exchange of general information on the labour market, living conditions and working conditions in the country.

To avoid labour market distortions, the EU Member-States have the possibility to impose restrictions to the acceding countries i.e., transitional periods before fully opening their labour markets for the workers of the new Member-States. Restrictions can be imposed for maximum 7 years in line with the principle known as 2+3+2 i.e., with initial restriction of 2 years that can be expanded for another 3 years following the initial review and an additional 2 years the most provided the reasons for expanding the deadline is justified. Each EU Member-States decides individually for imposing transitional periods. The new Member-State also has the right – on reciprocity basis - to request transitional period before exposing its labour market to the workers of the Member-States that imposed such restrictions.

It should be stressed that these provisions were introduced for the 10 countries from Central and Eastern Europe when they were preparing to enter the EU-15 at the time because of the apprehension of getting their national labour markets flooded from the new Member-States. For North Macedonia, although a small country with insignificant potential for such an effect on the labour markets, it is quite possible for some specific Member-States to introduce temporal restrictions to the access of their labour markets.

## 5. Concluding remarks

In the last decade, the freedom of movement of the Macedonian citizens within the European Union significantly increased as a result of visa liberalization. Apart from the positive development trends, the main motive for mobility is of economic nature and securing livelihood. The start of EU accession talks would considerably improve the freedom of movement of the citizens of North Macedonia who would enjoy multiple benefits from future membership in the Union. Once the transitional periods end (if there are any), Macedonian citizens will have the opportunity to freely find employment in any of the Member-States of the European Union without any special restrictions, quotas or working permits. At the same time, the Macedonian workers, with their knowledge and skills, will be able to compete on the labour markets of other Member-States. Macedonian workers interested in finding a job in other Member-States would be able to fully use the services rendered by EURES and access information on vacant working positions in other Member-States, information on working conditions, get assistance in connecting with potential employers etc. The employment perspectives and career development, especially for youth would significantly improve.

Workers who will move to other Member-States for employment purposes will enjoy the same rights of employment, social security, and tax reliefs as the workers of the specific Member-State. These rights include sick and maternity leave benefits, remuneration for injuries at work, privileges for disabled persons, family benefits as well as social welfare benefits in case of losing a job and/or unemployment and retirement. Other than free movement of workers, European Union membership would enable free movement of members of their family to secure the unity of the family.

Full integration of the Macedonian labour market within the single European labour market will bring about some advantages, but also negative consequences. Namely, the free movement of Macedonian citizens within the European Union would increase the transfer of knowledge and skills and positively influence the development potential of the country.

10 Refers to working arrangements where the worker does not commit to only one company by means of a contract.

On the other hand, the brain-drain threat along with permanent emigration of highly qualified labour would increase the lack of skills on the Macedonian labour market. Consequently, the prices will rise and the quality of the services on the domestic market will drop and that will have a negative impact on the standard of living of the Macedonian citizens. The possibility of circular migration, especially after acquiring visa liberalization, provides opportunities for short-term stays for working purposes in the Member-States of the European Union which creates risks of inability to achieve permanent employment and frequent unemployment or involvement in the non-formal sector of immigrants upon their return.

The crisis caused by Covid-19 – in terms of its size and consequence – was not seen in human history so far, and it imposed a large number of challenges for undertaking appropriate measures for economic and social management of the crisis. Subsequently, some Macedonian workers in the European Union returned to their country because of the crisis. Bearing that in mind, the general trends of online working by using flexible forms of work engagement such as: freelancing<sup>10</sup>, subcontracting, short-term arrangements etc. significantly contributed to the economic revival and overcoming the pandemic period.

Regarding the European Union accession talks, the Republic of North Macedonia should take into consideration all risk-factors stemming from the internal capacities of the country or those brought about by the external environment.



## 6. Recommendations

To prevent brain-drain and permanent emigration of highly qualified labour, it is necessary to put in place measures for attracting highly qualified labour by offering opportunities for business startups and carrier development schemes in the Republic of North Macedonia.

That way not only will the Macedonian emigrants return, but also foreign citizens will be attracted for business arrangements and investments in the Republic of North Macedonia. The benefits from foreign direct investment would be multiple bearing in mind the fact that they cause meaningful mobility of labour.

To avoid the possibility of circular migration, short-term work-related stays in the Member-States of the European Union and inability to conclude permanent working relations which would cause frequent unemployment in the country, a special group of measures that would include this category of workers as to improve their position on the labour market is inevitable.

Bearing in mind the fact that some of the Macedonian workers in the European Union returned back as a consequence of the crisis, specially designed active programmes for their integration into the labour market are necessary.

The development of modern information technology and the trends of the so-called “Gig-Economy”, to a large extent, would mitigate the negative consequences of reduced labour mobility caused by the pandemic.

Online working trends by using flexible forms of working arrangements such as: freelancing<sup>11</sup>, subcontracting, and short-term engagements, contribute significantly for economic revival and bridging the pandemic period and therefore, they should be constantly upgraded.

Regarding EU accession talks, the Republic of North Macedonia should develop more alternative scenarios to respond to future challenges.

Free movement of Macedonian citizens, as one of the four freedoms, should be an imperative in the accession negotiations for the purpose of faster integration of the Macedonian labour market within the single European market.

In that context, within the framework of chapter 2, harmonization of institutional capacities with European Union standards needs to be performed. That way eventual restrictions that some Member-States could introduce for the Macedonian workers in the initial period after accession could be avoided

11 Refers to working arrangements where the worker does not commit to only one company by means of a contract.



Authors: This policy paper was developed by the researchers of Analytica:

Bojana Mijovic Hristovska, Borce Trenovski, Tamara Mijovic Spasova and Dimitar Nikoloski

This policy paper was developed within the framework of the project “ECONOMIC INTEGRATION OF THE WESTERN BALKANS – Mini-Schengen, Regional Economic Cooperation and Common Regional Market – Mapping the Progress – Opportunity for Bringing Closer North Macedonia to the Internal Market of the EU” implemented by Analytica – Skopje, supported by the Foundation Open Society – Macedonia. The content of this policy paper is sole responsibility of Analytica – Skopje and in no way does it express the opinions of the Foundation Open Society - Macedonia.



