



# ИЗВЕШТАЈ ОД СЛЕДЕЊЕТО НА МЕДИУМСКИТЕ СОДРЖИНИ

16 април - 7 мај 2016



**Detailed Analysis**  
**based on the monitoring of media content through the Rapid Response Media Mechanism**  
**of the Institute of Communication Studies**  
**(time-frame: 16<sup>th</sup> April – 7<sup>th</sup> May 2016)**

### **3. Sitel**

#### **(1) First week (16 – 22 April 2016)**

In the reporting period from April 16<sup>th</sup> to April 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2016, Sitel broadcasted 75 reports pertaining to the political actors, events or circumstances. The main focus was on: the political crisis and the elections (21 report), the protests (18 reports), the new measures and projects of the Government and the local institutions led by VMRO-DPMNE (7 reports), the presidential pardon (6 reports), the promotional and other activities of the leader of VMRO-DPMNE, Nikola Gruevski (5 reports), the work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office (3 reports), the suspension of the decisions of the ministers from the opposition (2 reports), as well as one report on the activities of the opposition and one on the refugee crisis and other topics.

Majority of the reports on these topics adopted a positive and favourable attitude towards VMRO-DPMNE, and a negative and demonising primarily towards SDSM, and in the period of the analysis also towards the organisers of and the participants in the civic protests against the presidential pardon.

Commentaries and opinions in the news: In the course of this reporting period as well, the television broadcaster adopted a favourable attitude towards VMRO-DPMNE and its officials, and a negative, hostile and demonising towards SDSM. Commentative content was detected in 10 reports on SDSM and the protests organised by the citizens' association "Protestiram", which were negative in tone.

Majority of the hostile reports were aimed at the leader of SDSM, Zaev, who is accused of being responsible for the "violent protests", in order to "destabilise the country", to "federalise Macedonia" and to "violently change the government" (April 16<sup>th</sup>, "Zaev is proud of Crvenkovski – he admitted that he gave instructions for violent protests", April 18<sup>th</sup> "The destabilisation of Macedonia is in favor of Greece to exert pressure for a change in the country's name", April 22<sup>nd</sup> "Is the ultimate goal of the destabilisation of the country a federalization of Macedonia?", April 22<sup>nd</sup> "Macedonia is part of the plan of Soros and SDSM to violently change the government through the colorful revolution").

In the report from April 17<sup>th</sup>, the reporter called Zaev a suicide bomber ("It is unheard of a suicide bomber to restore democracy and social justice").

The television broadcaster intensively covered the protests against the presidential pardon and those organised by GDOM in response.

All news reports on the protests of "Protestiram" are hostile, using the phrase "protests organised by Soros, SDSM and Besa" (April 18<sup>th</sup> "The violent protests of SDSM, Soros and Besa against the

elections continue”, April 19<sup>th</sup> “KLA will join the protests of SDSM, Soros and Besa as of Friday”, “On Thursday GDOM will organise the most massive protest thus far”), whereas the protests of GDOM are called “popular” (April 19<sup>th</sup> “The protests of GDOM are far bigger – the most massive protest thus far for elections and resolution of the crisis is announced on Thursday, April 22<sup>nd</sup> “The people demand elections in order to get out of the crisis. A mass protest of GDOM”)

The coverage of the activities of the President of VMRO-DPMNE, Nikola Gruevski, continues with the same intensity as when he was Prime Minister. Thus, it is alluded to a complete symbiosis between the state and the party (April 17<sup>th</sup> “Science through agricultural advisers”, April 18<sup>th</sup> “The agricultural adviser will enable better quality and more competitive farmers”, April 19<sup>th</sup> “Gruevski announced another mega project for the farmers”, April 18<sup>th</sup> “Two families from Kratovo solved their housing problem”).

The television broadcaster continued the trend of giving the floor to the opposition, although the number of news reports broadcasted in this period is lower.

Using sources: Majority of the reports use one source of information (36 reports). 10 reports use more than two positions, 8 whereof are concurring. 10 reports cite two sources, but in 7 of them the sources are like-minded. In 3 reports, the journalist does not refer to a single source.

Direct addresses: In the period of the analysis, a total of 9 direct addresses of political leaders were broadcasted. The leader of VMRO-DPMNE, Nikola Gruevski, had five direct addresses, while the leader of SDSM, Zoran Zaev, had 4.

Audiovisual presentation: 33 reports in the analysis period contain elements of audiovisual manipulation. The broadcasting of promotional content on Nikola Gruevski, the party VMRO-DPMNE and the work of the institutions run by its staff, remain one type of audiovisual manipulation.

Other instances have been detected as well. Old statements from 2008 of the leader of SDSM and an old letter from George Soros were disseminated (April 16<sup>th</sup> “Zaev is proud of Crvenkovski – he admitted that he gave instructions for violent protests”, April 22<sup>nd</sup> “Macedonia is part of the plan of Soros and SDSM to violently change the government through the colorful revolution”) as well as statements that are framed in a different context (April 17<sup>th</sup> “The leaders in the region are concerned for Macedonia, defining the crisis as an imposed and wishing for a peaceful solution”, April 21<sup>st</sup> “The leadership meeting in Vienna is canceled – Zaev eliminated the possibility for implementation of the agreement”).

The television broadcaster continues to broadcast reports based on unsubstantiated information from sources such as irrelevant portals, social networks and surveys (April 18<sup>th</sup> “Netpress: “The destabilisation of Macedonia is in favor of Greece to exert pressure for a change in the country’s name”, April 21<sup>st</sup> “Kurier: Officials and members of SDSM and Soros in destruction and vandalism”, April 19<sup>th</sup> “Public figures and prominent artists react to the vandalism”, April 19<sup>th</sup> “Citizens are opposed to destruction of monuments and state institutions”).

Visual manipulation appears in the April 16<sup>th</sup> report “Hahn announced a new effort with MEPs to put the Macedonian party leaders at the same table”, wherein the information is accompanied by video footage of the protests in Skopje, even though they are not mentioned in the statement of the international representative.

Instances of favouritism and demonisation of audiovisual content:

- (April 16<sup>th</sup>, journalist’s opinion) Zaev yesterday publicly admitted that he gave instructions for violent protests, which ended in stoning of the police and the Public Office of President Ivanov, demolished media and injured journalists, and a complete desecration of “Porta Macedonia”.

- (April 17<sup>th</sup>, journalist's opinion) The agricultural advisers will be a huge support for the farmers. They are satisfied and say that the latest project will mean that in the future they will only deal with production, and everything else will be the work of the advisers who will be paid by the state.
- (April 17<sup>th</sup>, cue/commentary) These so-called bombs practically marked Zoran Zaev as a suicide bomber. The former Prime Minister and current President of VMRO DPMNE, Nikola Gruevski, stated this in an interview given in the past several days.
- (April 17<sup>th</sup>, journalist's opinion) Zaev created a crisis because he is guided by personal rather than national interests, said the leader of VMRO-DPMNE Nikola Gruevski. Therefore, Zaev keeps facing electoral defeats, and if he runs again, he will face another electoral defeat on June 5<sup>th</sup>.
- (April 18<sup>th</sup>, journalist's opinion) Following the example of the hooligans of SDSM and Soros, who ransacked the Public Office of President Gjorge Ivanov in Skopje five days ago, today, unidentified individuals ransacked the presidential office in Tetovo
- (April 18<sup>th</sup>, journalist's opinion) Netpress with photographs reveals the participation of one of the most regular demonstrators in Thessaloniki, who participates in violent protests in the Greek capital. The 54-year old Marvakis Atanisios was seen yesterday on the streets of Bitola taking photos and participating in the protest organized by the leader of SDSM, Zoran Zaev.
- (April 18<sup>th</sup>, journalist's opinion) The families Petrov and Petkov had a meeting with Gruevski two months ago. They complained that they have not been able to solve their housing issue. He promised to look at the procedures for permanent solution of their problem.
- (April 19<sup>th</sup>, journalist's opinion) The citizens with overwhelming support and in large numbers said YES to the June 5<sup>th</sup> elections. Bitola, Stip, and Veles massively said NO to the scenarios for the continuation of the crisis and the endless agony in Macedonia.
- (April 21<sup>st</sup>, journalist's opinion) Almost all street, all main boulevards lead to the legislature which constitutes the cradle of the democracy in a country
- (April 22<sup>nd</sup>, journalist's opinion) Violence on the streets, attacks on the police and portraying as victims are just some of the tactics and strategies that can be found in the textbooks of the Belgrade agency Canvas and can be seen everyday on the protests of SDSM and Soros.

## **(2) Second week (23 – 28 April 2016)**

Sitel broadcasted 67 reports on the current political developments and entities in the period of the analysis. The coverage focused on the early parliamentary elections (17 reports), the projects of the Government (11 reports), the protests (8 reports), the activities of the leader of VMRO-DPMNE, Nikola Gruevski (5 reports), the Special Public Prosecutor's Office and the death of Kosta Krpac (3 reports), the presidential pardon (3 reports), the theories for federalization of the country (2 reports), the activities of the opposition (2 reports), the economic problems due to the political crisis (1 reports) and other topics. Majority of the reports on these topics (23 reports) adopt favourable attitude towards VMRO-DPMNE and the association GDOM, and a negative and demonising (19 reports) towards SDSM, SPPO, the Soros Foundation.

Commentaries and opinions in the news: In the period of the analysis, the broadcaster continued to favour the government and the ruling party. The reports on the projects of the government remain dominant in the prime time news through promotion of appliances in the health institutions (April 23<sup>rd</sup>), reconstruction of streets (April 23<sup>rd</sup>), agricultural measures (April 25<sup>th</sup>), grants for self-employment (April 25<sup>th</sup>). The coverage of the activities of the leader of VMRO DPMNE, Gruevski, continued, as this week he was promoting agricultural projects (April 23<sup>rd</sup>, "Another mega project of Gruevski in agriculture", April 24<sup>th</sup> "New state money for better agriculture and efficient agriculture, the state provides 80% of the value for high-productive livestock", April 28<sup>th</sup> "Gruevski



with mega project: From a city to a village for a new beginning”). In the reports on the protests, this broadcaster expressed a strong demonising and negative attitude towards the opposition, the platform “Protestiram”, Soros and Besa and towards all entities that participated in them, calling them vandals and hooligans, and the protests “a direct attack on the Macedonian national identity and a Ukrainian scenario of the opposition (April 27<sup>th</sup> “The desecration and vandalism of the monuments is a direct attack on the Macedonian national identity”, April 27<sup>th</sup> “The Ukrainian scenario for Macedonia”). This television broadcaster called the protests of the Colourful Revolution “alleged” and a “theater with small audience for the purpose of domestic propaganda (April 24<sup>th</sup>). A negative attitude and libelous tone in reporting have the reports on the death of Kosta Krpac that present SPPO as an extended hand of SDSM (April 23<sup>rd</sup>), and directly points at this institution as the cause of death (April 27<sup>th</sup>, “Suicide in Skopje - he shot at a van and then shot himself, he thought he was being followed and recorded by SPPO”).

The television broadcaster did not report on the announcements of possible sanction from EU and US against politicians, government officials and the ruling party, but replace it with the theory that the opposition is causing panic among citizens by spreading rumors about devaluation (April 27<sup>th</sup> “Speculations about devaluation occur before all elections – the source is the headquarters of SDSM”). The television broadcasted 15 analyses with commentative elements, all with demonising attitude towards the opposition and all entities that expressed anti-government views. Unlike previous weeks, this television, broadcasted only two reports in the news on the activities of the opposition, which were more criticism of the government policy on borrowing, owing to the absence of the opposition from the field, as they announced a boycott of the elections.

Using sources: 38 reports have only one source of information. 16 reports cited two sources, in 14 whereof, the sources are defending the same position. 7 reports suggest three or more sources, but in 5 they have the same views. Two articles do not mention a source of information.

Direct addressing: A total of 9 addresses of leaders of political parties were broadcasted. Majority – 6 – belong to the leader of VMRO DPMNE, Gruevski, followed by the leader of SDSM, Zaev with two, and leader of GROM, Jakimovski with one.

Audiovisual manipulation: 31 reports contain elements of manipulation. The coverage of the activities of the leader of VMRO DPMNE, Gruevski, continues to constitute one of the most common manipulations in the reporting of this television, in the absence of the boundary between party and government projects, because with the narrative Gruevski is presented in the role of promoter of projects that will be realized for sure (April 23<sup>rd</sup>, “Another mega project of Gruevski in the agriculture”). Another type of manipulation is the uncritical transmission of information from other media (newspapers and portals): April 25<sup>th</sup> “REPUBLIKA: “Zaev’s scenario to toe the line is unfolding”, April 25<sup>th</sup> “Kurir: Sekerinska’s husband just like Zaev for “Global” and Verushevski for “Putsch” did not submit a request for withdrawal of the pardon”. In several reports, the television broadcasts statements of international officials and communications from institutions whose content is framed in the context of supporting the government and criticizing the opposition (April 26<sup>th</sup> “Buckets: A ballot box is the best judge of a democratic society”, April 26<sup>th</sup> “Republika: Mega scandal – Zaev creates a crisis, yet he is caught negotiating federalization of Macedonia”, April 28<sup>th</sup> “Monitoring mission of PACE: the boycott the SDSM is contrary to the democratic values”, April 27<sup>th</sup> “The Ukrainian scenario for Macedonia played out in Montenegro, Bosnia and now it started in Croatia). The framing old statements in a new, imaginary context appears in reports from April 26<sup>th</sup> “Agricultural advisors will accelerate the development of agriculture” (statement of Gruevski) and April 27<sup>th</sup> “A fully revised electoral register, SDSM just wanted an insight into the needs of the party” (Zaev’s old statement).

Some reports attack the opposition, without referring to any source (April 27<sup>th</sup> “A suicide in Skopje – he shot at a van and then shot himself, he thought he was being followed and recorded by SPPO”).

### Instances of favoritism or demonisation of audiovisual content:

- (April 23<sup>rd</sup>, analysis commentary) The series of political addresses of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office weakened the already low trust of the citizens in Katica Janeva.
- (April 23<sup>rd</sup>, cue commentary) TV Sitel refuses to comment on SDSM's attempts to put pressure on the objective reporting of our journalists. Zoran Zaev and his radical collaborators are those who should account for these statements aimed at creating ethnic tensions.
- (April 24<sup>th</sup>, cue commentary) Macedonia is facing a crisis, imposed for clearly defined goals and needs, the crisis is a problem which worries us, Macedonians, most because it hurts us most, the crisis is imposed by the need of SDSM to come to power without elections using legal and illegal means that you can witness every day
- (April 24<sup>th</sup>, journalist's opinion) The protests organized by SDSM, Soros and Besa have less supporters day by day. It is a result of the violent behavior of the hooligans.
- (April 24<sup>th</sup>, cue commentary) Revenge on President Ivanov. Namely, Petre Shilegov, a man who on behalf of SDSM, revealed that some members of his extended family had business contacts with companies, so they themselves do not have bank accounts, with companies registered in the so called Panama banks.
- (April 24<sup>th</sup>, journalist's opinion) A new era in the development of the agriculture in the country. Over the past period, the ruling party presented new projects for farmers, which will stimulate the development of agriculture.
- (April 27<sup>th</sup>, analysis commentary) The desecration and vandalisation of the monuments is a direct attack on the Macedonian national identity.
- (April 27<sup>th</sup>, cue) The industry is defying the political crisis. In three months since the beginning of the year, the statistics measured a double-digit growth and the manufacturing industry is showing good results.
- (April 27<sup>th</sup>, headlines) The politics of SDSM is based on creating problems within the country. Seeking sanctions for the government, speculating cancellation of loan from the World Bank and rumors of devaluation in order to create panic among the citizens.
- (April 27<sup>th</sup>, journalist's opinion) According to experts, it is a regular election tactics of SDSM, which this year been expanded to include rumors that are uncertain saving deposits.
- (April 27<sup>th</sup>, journalist's opinion) Kosta Krpac is part of the operation of SPPO, after which he frequented a psychiatrist, suffered self-torture and lost his focus, as well as probably the will to live.
- (April 28<sup>th</sup>, journalist's opinion) The political crisis will be resolved and we will come out stronger. A strong message from the President of VMRO-DPMNE
- (April 28<sup>th</sup>, journalist's opinion) According to their testimonies, Krpac was under constant pressure and threats from the team of Katica Janeva and was often summoned for a conversation in Special Public Prosecutor's Office.

### **(3) Third week (2– 7 May 2016)**

In the monitoring period, Sitel broadcasted a total of 70 reports on topics pertaining to the political actors and events in the prime time news. The coverage focused on: the early parliamentary elections (20 reports), the government projects and investments (11 reports), the protests and counter-protests (6 reports), the activities of the opposition (4 reports), the work of SPPO and the Krpac Case (3 reports), the promotion of the leader of VMRO DPMNE, Gruevski (3 reports), and the presidential pardon (1 report), the media (1 report) and one report on the crisis and the economy. 14 reports admirably and favourably report on the government and VMRO DPMNE, as well as the activities of the association GDOM, whereas 21 report negatively report on and



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demonise SDSM, SPPO, the protesters against the presidential pardon and the Interior Minister, Oliver Spasovski, from the opposition.

Commentaries and opinions in the news: The content of the Sitel news resembles party machinery of the benefit to the government and the ruling party. All reports visibly adopt a favourable attitude towards the ruling VMRO DPMNE, yet extremely negative attitude towards the opposition (“After two years of protests, SDSM has not announced and has not presented any precise political economic proposal of interest to the citizens. In the meantime, the other political party, led by Gruevski and VMRO DPMNE, in the last month alone launched five major projects in the infrastructure, the social life, the agriculture and the healthcare” – headlines from May 2<sup>nd</sup>). 15 reports which demonise the opposition and all entities with an anti-government stance, contain commentative elements.

The opposition (SDSM and the president of the party, Zaev) and SPPO remain the main targets in the demonising reports (May 3<sup>rd</sup>, “Political analysts repeatedly warned that the political crisis in Macedonia can grow into a security threat for the country as a result of the unserious attitude of the opposition”, May 4<sup>th</sup> “Kurir: The hypocrisy of SDSM, bowing down before the monuments in the morning, dyeing them at night”).

The negative attitude towards SPPO and the prosecutors is explicit in that the journalists openly take up a stance against them because its establishment violated the law and “these are the consequences” (May 2<sup>nd</sup>, the Krpac Case), and that “after all, it was only a matter of days when the victims of the Special Public Prosecutor’s office will emerge, the question is whether this will be the last victim” (May 2<sup>nd</sup>, analysis/ commentary).

Since the beginning of the protests against the presidential pardon including this monitoring period as well, the participants in the protests have been referred to as “hooligans”, “Sorosoids”, “vandals”, thus promoting the conspiracy that “the West is against us” and “Brussels is financing them to overthrow the state” (May 7<sup>th</sup>, “The foreigners from Brussels treat AJM and Selmani to new 200,000 euros, and nothing for the others”, May 6<sup>th</sup> “Kurir: Soros spends 15,000 euros a day to destroy Macedonia, AJM received 200,000 euros from the EU for political propaganda”)

The television broadcaster openly promotes the theory that the fair and democratic elections can be held on June 5<sup>th</sup>, prepared by all standards. In a commentary, apart from the theory that the opposition does not want elections on June 5<sup>th</sup> (May 7<sup>th</sup> “Are there going to be elections on June 5<sup>th</sup>, yes, there should be, because the law says so, and it cannot be otherwise”), the television broadcaster highlights another theory, without any arguments and without referring to any sources let alone relevant, that the two ethnic Albanian parties will reach the decision on whether to participate in the election by order of Tirana: “When did this turning point happen? It happened ten days ago when DUI and DPA went to Tirana, Albania, to negotiate whether the holding of the elections. It seems that Tirana has advised them not to run. The advice from Tirana probably came from several other places as well”.

The opposition had limited coverage in the news this week as only the reactions of the officials on the borrowing received coverage.

The positive image of the state continues to be promoted through the propagandistic reports on the government projects (May 2<sup>nd</sup>, “Ohrid is glowing with new street lighting”, May 2<sup>nd</sup> “Gevgelija is ready for the project ‘Buy a House for Young People’, May 6<sup>th</sup> “Macedonia is a third country in Eastern Europe according to greenfield investments per capita”).

Even though the leader of VMRO DPMNE, Nikola Gruevski, has no public appearances in this period, the coverage, nonetheless, focused on his promises (the project from a city to a village and old statements for promotion of agriculture).

Using sources: 38 reports use only one source of information. 11 reports cite three or more sources, but in 7 thereof the sources are on the same page. 9 reports use two sources, but in 8 thereof they are concurring. Three reports do not indicate a precise source of information.

Direct addresses: A total of 7 addresses of leaders of political parties were broadcasted. The leaders of VMRO DPMNE and SDSM, Gruevski and Zaev, respectively, had two addresses each, whereas the leaders of DOM, DS and DUI, Popovska, Trajanov and Ahmeti, respectively, had one address each.

Audiovisual presentation: Manipulative elements were identified in 19 reports.

The predominant type of manipulative audiovisual presentation was the broadcasting of promotional content for the government and its leader Nikola Gruevski. Another instance of manipulation is the framing of the protests as violence (May 3<sup>rd</sup> “The violent protesters caused damage in the amount of 15 thousand euros with the ransacking of the Office of the President”, May 5<sup>th</sup> “The last 5<sup>th</sup> of May, the hooligans from SDSM brutally attacked the police”).

The manipulative reports also include the reports on the statements of the foreign politicians and experts which have similar positions to those of the government (the ruling party) and which appeared on several other televisions on the same day, proposing the same theories (May 2<sup>nd</sup> “Luca Volonte: The elections must be held, leftist parties cannot dismiss the elections just because they might lose”, May 4<sup>th</sup> “Joseph Daul: The opposition in Macedonia is dramatising, there have to be elections”, May 4<sup>th</sup> Kurir: The hypocrisy of SDSM, bowing down before the monuments in the morning, dyeing them at night”).

The television continued broadcasting reports which uncritically convey information published on portals or newspapers known as close to the government (May 6<sup>th</sup> “Kurir: Soros spends 15,000 euros a day to destroy Macedonia, AJM received 200,000 euros from the EU for political propaganda”, May 7<sup>th</sup> “The foreigners from Brussels treat AJM and Selmani to new 200,000 euros, and nothing for the others”, May 5<sup>th</sup> “SPPO is silent on whether it reported threats against the witness Krpac – Dnevnik).

Instances of favoritism or demonisation of audiovisual content:

- (May 2<sup>nd</sup>, cue/commentary) Gruevski and VMRO DPMNE announced projects and ways to implement the projects, which would normally require an entire term in office, in just one month.
- (May 2<sup>nd</sup>, journalist’s opinion) All who decide to take advantage of the measure recently announced by the president of VMRO DPMNE, Nikola Gruevski, to leave the city and move to the countryside will receive an array of benefits. This measure is the latest in a series of projects for promotion of agriculture.
- (May 2<sup>nd</sup>, cue/commentary) Macedonia is once again urged to violate its Constitution in order to establish the rule of law. That’s nonsense. You cannot violate the fundamental law from which all other laws are derived in order to introduce legality. We once violated the law with the SPPO. These are the consequences.
- (May 2<sup>nd</sup>, analysis/commentary) After all, it was only a matter of days when the victims of the Special Public Prosecutor’s office will emerge, the question is whether this will be the last victim.
- (May 3<sup>rd</sup>, journalist’s opinion) The statement of the opposition leader is only part of his practice of constantly changing positions. Zaev, who today seeks justice from the Court, does not look like the person who 10 months ago did not recognize the same court.
- (May 4<sup>th</sup>, journalist’s opinion) We cannot but notice the hypocrisy of SDSM, bowing down before the monuments in the morning, dyeing them at night
- (May 6<sup>th</sup>, journalist’s opinion) The Soros Foundation in one year spent over 5 million and 300 thousand euros for bribery, stimulating discontent and overthrowing of the democratically elected government, writes Kurir calling upon the financial report of Foundation
- (May 7, cue/commentary) Now, let’s move on to the news which has spoiled us since we



watch them frequently, including new factories, new investments and new jobs. ... That is the reason why we will start with this piece of news, which is good news itself, because we fear that the policy of SDSM and Zoran Zaev which is the bad for the state but good for them, this news should exist less.

- (May 7<sup>th</sup>, cue/commentary) The crisis created by SDSM under the system the worse for everyone else, the better for them, has costed Macedonia 170 million euros. This is not our estimate, but of the experts of the National Bank of the Republic of Macedonia
- (May 7<sup>th</sup>, analysis/commentary) The Soros Foundation spends 15,000 euros a day to overthrow the democratically elected government and support SDSM
- (May 7<sup>th</sup>, cue/commentary) The Sorosoids asked MP Petir whether people suspected of crime are pardoned in her country or the EU. The question is 7 years late, or they should have asked seven years ago when Zoran Zaev was pardoned by the President and party chief of Zaev at that time, Branko Crvenkovski, for stealing 8 million euros. In this way, seven years passed, and 8 million euros remained in the possession of Zaev.