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БЛУПРИНТ ГРУПА
за реформи во правосудството

HOW TO REGAIN CITIZENS' TRUST IN THE JUDICIAL COUNCIL OF THE RNM?

Between status quo and radical reforms



Recommendations for improvement of the legal and institutional framework under which the Judicial Council of the RNM operates

I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS REFORMS CONTINUE, PROBLEMS REMAIN

The Judicial Council of the RNM (hereinafter referred to as the JCRNM), originally as the Republican Judicial Council, is a judicial body, which was established by the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia of 1991, the main authority of which was to propose to the Assembly the election and dismissal of judges, to determine a proposal for dismissal from a term of office of a judge, to decide on the disciplinary liability of judges and to assess the competence and ethics of judges in the performance of their office[1]. With the amendments to the Constitution of 2005, the Republican Judicial Council was renamed and transformed into an autonomous and independent body of the judiciary, which independently elects and dismisses judges, monitors their work and decides on disciplinary liability of judges. Through these authorities, the JCRNM is also supposed to perform its basic function, which refers to ensuring and guaranteeing the autonomy and independence of the judicial branch. In order to ensure the balance of the power of this body, a mixed composition was envisaged, 8 members are elected by the judges in direct elections, while 5 members are elected by the Assembly of the Republic of North Macedonia, of which three members by vacancy announcement and two members by proposal of the President of the Republic of Macedonia from among the ranks of university professors of law, lawyers and other distinguished jurists[2]. The remaining two *ex officio* members are the President of the Supreme Court of the Republic of North Macedonia and the Minister of Justice.

However, despite the balanced composition of the JCRNM, where judges are the majority within this body, ever since its redefining, the work of this body has been constantly subject to suspicions of influences from the executive branch and political structures, for exerting pressure on judges through the authority to elect judges in higher courts, and in particular, through the power to dismiss. These weaknesses were noted through the judgments of the European Court of Human Rights, but also specifically in the *"Priebe Report"*. In order to overcome these weaknesses, a series of reforms and amendments to laws[3] have been implemented, however, the citizens' trust in the judiciary and, in particular, in the JCRNM has been constantly showing a declining trend. Therefore, in 2019, the Assembly of the Republic of North Macedonia adopted a new Law on the Judicial Council of the Republic of Macedonia, aiming at removing the possibility of political influence on the JCRNM, and thereby on the judiciary in Macedonia. Namely, this law takes away the right to vote from the *ex officio* members and the President of the Supreme Court of the RNM.

However, even after an extensive but very quick legislative intervention, the political influence has not been prevented at all, on the contrary, it has been increased for several reasons.

1 Article 105 of the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia (OGRM 52/91)

2 Amendment XXVIII (OGRM)

3 The first Law on the Judicial Council of the Republic of Macedonia of 2006 was amended six times, after which a new law was adopted in 2019, which has been amended once to date. In parallel, a special Law on the Council for Determining Facts was passed and there was an initiation of a procedure for determining liability of a judge in 2015, which temporarily transferred part of the function relating to determining disciplinary liability to this special body, which was abolished in 2019.

However, even after an extensive but very quick legislative intervention, the political influence has not been prevented at all, on the contrary, it has been increased for several reasons. First of all, The Assembly elected as members of the JCRNM persons who could not be considered "distinguished" jurists at all, because they were not known to the legal community at all, and thereby they did not enjoy a reputation in the legal community, since they came from the state administration, without specific experience in the judiciary, or they came from among the ranks of professional associates from basic courts.

Hence, the situation of constant political pressure in the JCRNM, which had been building up for years, escalated in two moments. The first moment was the resignation of the President of the JCRNM, who came from among the ranks of professional associates, due to "pressure by political-business elites", which, after the resignation, was neither investigated nor elaborated. The second moment was the escalation on April 26 of this year, when, contrary to the Law on the Judicial Council of the Republic of North Macedonia (hereinafter referred to as the Law on the Judicial Council) and the Rules of Procedure of the Judicial Council of the Republic of North Macedonia (hereinafter referred to as the Rules of Procedure), the President of the JCRNM was dismissed, in the absence of a duly dismissal procedure and without the required majority. Leading legal experts, law professors and civil society organizations pointed out the flagrant violation, but the majority of the members of the JCRNM turned a deaf ear to the remarks. Instead of backing down, the members of the Council, on May 4, 2023, "legitimized" their decision by a repeated violation of the provisions of the Law on the Judicial Council and the Rules of Procedure relating to the exclusion of the public from the sessions of the JCRNM and provision of one plus vote. Some of the civil society organizations requested the resignation of the members due to the loss of legitimacy by consciously acting against the law. That certain illegal processes have been taking place in the JCRNM was also proven by the resignations of two members elected from among the ranks of the judges in early June 2023.

On July 13, 2023, elections were held for two members of the JCRNM from among the ranks of the judges. The results of the elections conducted from the list of candidates from the Supreme Court of the RNM indicated another systemic weakness in the model for electing members of the JCRNM. For one of the candidates who was elected, only six judges out of a total of 16 judges registered in the Judicial Electoral Directory in this court cast their vote. Only 13 judges voted in the elections, of whom the majority (seven) cast invalid ballots. This situation was further burdened by the fact that the illegitimately elected member of the JCRNM from among the ranks of the Supreme Court of the RNM submitted an irrevocable resignation after a few days due to the fact that a member of his family had to be elected as a judge.

The most evident fact that the JCRNM has been operating without legitimacy and against the law since April 26 is that none of the judges of the Supreme Court of the RNM has applied to the vacancy announcement for the election of a member of the JCRNM from among the ranks of the Supreme Court of the RNM, in accordance with the Decision of the JCRNM of July 27, following the two consecutive resignations in a period of less than two months.

The Blueprint Group for Judicial Reforms (hereinafter referred to as the Blueprint Group) watchfully followed all the developments and on several occasions expressed its

concern about the development and escalation of the situation in the operation of the JCRNM. As the only way out of the situation, the Blueprint Group demanded the resignation of all members of the JCRNM and the election of new members in a transparent procedure. As a group of organizations that have been following the work of the JCRNM for a long time, we consider that compliance with the law in the day-to-day operation of an institution should be imperative in its operation, in particular, when it comes to the JCRNM, which ensures and guarantees the autonomy and independence of the judicial branch according to the Constitution of the RNM, as well as to take into consideration the legality of the actions and the rule of law.

At a time when trust in the judiciary is at an unenviable low level, it is necessary for the JCRNM to be the pivot of the judicial branch by ensuring and guaranteeing the autonomy and independence of the judicial branch. In parallel, there is also the necessity for it to be an institution in which judges and citizens will have a great trust, and not an institution which will be further ruined by low trust due to non-compliance with laws and arbitrary actions, whereby directly undermining the constitutional and legal order in the Republic of North Macedonia (RNM). This is also The opinion of the Consultative Council of European Judges (CCJE Opinion No. 24 of 2021), according to which judicial councils must earn public trust through impeccable work performed in an accountable and transparent manner, also goes in the same direction.

The latest Corruption Risk Assessment of the Judiciary of June 2023 by the OSCE Mission to the RNM makes comparison with the previous survey of 2009. The comparison shows that there is an increase in attempts to influence judges by their fellow judges, by judges of a higher rank or by members of the JCRNM. The assessment notes the considerable mistrust in the JCRNM to successfully protect judicial independence. These developments, unfortunately, will leave a black mark on the judiciary as a whole, though the responsibility lies, above all, with the members of the JCRNM, and will additionally negatively affect the trust in the judiciary, which is already at an unenviable low level.

AS THE ONLY WAY OUT OF THE SITUATION, THE BLUEPRINT GROUP DEMANDED THE RESIGNATION OF ALL MEMBERS OF THE JCRNM AND THE ELECTION OF NEW MEMBERS IN A TRANSPARENT PROCEDURE



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This paper provides an overview of the developments in the JCRNM in the first half of 2023, for which a large amount of criticisms was made by the professional public during this period. The paper makes an attempt to identify the problems, to analyze the actions of the JCRNM, as well as to answer the following questions: Is there a doubt cast on the legitimacy of the JCRNM to continue to perform its function?; Is there a way out of this unfavorable situation?; How and in what way can such an unfavorable situation affect the future?

II. WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN THE JUDICIAL COUNCIL?! – WEAKNESSES HAS SURFACED

The dismissal of the President of the Judicial Council of the RNM is contrary to the Law on the Judicial Council and the Rules of Procedure of the JCRNM

On April 26, 2023, at the 439th session of the JCRNM, the Deputy President of the JCRNM, Selim Ademi, requested, contrary to the Rules of Procedure of the Judicial Council of the RNM, after the adoption of the agenda, that an item for the dismissal of the President of the Judicial Council, who was dismissed at the same session, be inserted. In the absence of a legally regulated procedure for the dismissal of a President or a member of the Judicial Council, the session proceeded to voting, whereby the President was dismissed with seven votes "for". The public noticed the insistence of certain members of the JCRNM to place an item on the agenda and simultaneously decide on the same item without respecting the Law on the Judicial Council. This law does not envisage a procedure for dismissing the President of the JCRNM. Insufficient regulation of certain legal provisions does not mean inappropriate action, that is, arbitrary interpretation of the existing provisions. The liability of a member of the Judicial Council is envisaged under the Law on the Judicial Council, by specific provisions on disciplinary liability and by stating the grounds in the request for initiation of disciplinary procedure.

If the intention of the session held on April 26, 2023 was to dismiss the President of the JCRNM by using the analogy of the procedure for dismissal of a judge, the very act of dismissal is still disputable.

None of the provision of the law envisages a procedure for dismissal of the President of the JCRNM or for dismissal of one of its members on any other grounds, except when it comes to determining disciplinary liability. Additionally, the Rules of Procedure do not contain provisions regulating the procedure or the reasons for the dismissal of the President of the Council, which means that there are no legal grounds for making the decision to dismiss the President of the JCRNM. The Blueprint Group, which participates in the working group for drafting the new Judiciary Sector Development Strategy, pointed out this shortcoming and indicated the need to regulate the very procedure of liability of a member of the Judicial Council. Even in spite of the fact that there is no regulated procedure, the requirement that the majority needed for electing should be the same as the majority needed for dismissing was not met by analogy.

If the intention of the session held on April 26, 2023 was to dismiss the President of the JCRNM by using the analogy of the procedure for dismissal of a judge, the very act of dismissal is still disputable. The reason for this is the regulation under the Law, which envisages that for the dismissal of a judge, it is necessary to have 8 members of the members with the right to vote present to vote. In the specific case, 7 members voted without prior discussion and without observing the procedure that is applied for dismissal of a judge. The same applies to the procedure envisaged for dismissal of a member of the Council. Pursuant to Article 35 paragraph 6 and 7 of the Law, a decision to dismiss a member of the Council is made by the Council with at least eight votes from the members with the right to vote, whereby

at least two members elected by the Assembly RNM must have voted for the dismissal. When making the decision, among other things, the member who has submitted the request for disciplinary liability does not vote. Also in the work of the JCRNM to date, at the public sessions, there have been disagreements among the members relating to certain legal provisions, in particular, when they have not been clearly and concisely envisaged in a law or by-law, but it has never happened that the JCRNM has made a decision contrary to the Law and the Rules of Procedure.

Legitimization of the dismissal of the President of the Judicial Council through the illegal exclusion of the public

On May 4, 2023, in a period of less than four hours, the JCRNM held as many as three separate sessions where, instead of correcting the violations committed at the session on April 26, 2023, it continued with the practice of violating the provisions of the Law and the Rules of Procedure, all to the detriment of the rule of law. In two of the three sessions held, the public was illegally excluded by referring to Article 39 paragraph 2 of the Law. According to this provision, the public may be excluded solely and only "for the protection of the reputation and integrity of a judge or candidate for a judge", which was not specifically the case. Interpersonal relations among the members of the JCRNM are not and cannot be grounds for excluding the public. The specific case was not about private relations among employees, but about relations among public office holders, members of a collective body with particularly significant constitutional powers. Therefore, the JCRNM as an institution should not be hostage to the interpersonal relations of its members.

Legitimization of the dismissal of the President of the Judicial Council by convening a session to elect a new President outside the working hours of the Council

Pursuant to Article 38 of the Law and Article 11 of the Rules of Procedure, the day of the Council meeting is published on the Council's website immediately after the meeting has been scheduled, simultaneously with the delivery of the invitation to the members of the Council. The invitation is delivered at least 7 days before the day when the session is held, but there is a possibility that due to urgent and immediate matters, the session may be scheduled in a shorter period of time. The session at which the new President was elected was convened by the Deputy President of the JCRNM in an unusual way outside the working hours of the Council, fifteen minutes before the beginning of the very session, which is a direct violation of the legal provisions relating to transparency and publicity in the operation of the Council.

It is indicative that four of the members of the Judicial Council of the RNM who are not judges were part of the majority on April 26, 2023

Pursuant to the Constitution and the Law on the Judicial Council of the RNM, five members are elected by the Assembly of the RNM, two of whom are elected upon the proposal of the President of the RNM. Four of the five members of the JCRNM elected by the Assembly (with the exception of Vesna Dameva) supported the decision of April 26, 2023 to dismiss the President of the Council. Then the dismissed President Dameva presented claims to the public that such a decision was made due to political pressure. Since then, there has been a dilemma in the public whether this situation in the JCRNM occurred based on political influences on the members who do not come from

among the ranks of the judges. In particular, taking into consideration the fact that the Assembly does not continuously elect persons who are university professors of law, nor lawyers (with one exception), as members of the JCRNM, but by abusing the term "distinguished jurist" it elects persons whose professional biography and qualification are not suitable for the highly professional and responsible function held by the members of the Judicial Council. Furthermore, a significant number of the members who have been elected in this way come from managerial positions in the public administration, which is why there is a justified suspicion that they are persons connected to political parties.

Resignations of the two members of the Judicial Council elected from among the ranks of the judges on June 6, 2023

Thirteen days after the "legitimization" of the dismissal of the President of the Judicial Council, two members resigned from their position as members of the Council. We are talking about members elected from among the ranks of the judges: a judge from the Skopje appellate region and a judge of the Supreme Court of the RNM. In terms of their resignations, at the beginning of June, the JCRNM adopted and published in the "Official Gazette of the RNM" decisions on the termination of the mandate of the members upon their own request. The rationale for the resignations was publicly given: the illegal dismissal of the President Vesna Dameva, the insufficient transparency of the JCRNM when the Supreme Court requested records of dismissal of judges, non-compliance with the provisions for the election of criminal judges in the criminal department of the Supreme Court and the Gostivar Court of Appeal, disagreements in the JCRNM, the dysfunctionality of the body, "huge impatience" that cannot be overcome, etc.

Terminating the procedure for determining unprofessional and unethical performance immediately before determining the candidate list

In order to fill the vacant positions, the Council conducted a procedure for election of new members of the JCRNM from among the ranks of the judges. Immediately before determining the candidate lists, the Judicial Council made a decision to terminate the procedure for determining the unprofessional and unethical performance of one candidate for the term of office of a judge. This action caused reactions in the public, since procedurally, the procedure for determining unprofessional and unethical performance is urgent and the deadlines for its implementation are stipulated under the Law on JCRNM. Unlike such clearly established legal regulation, the Council for a long time has not made any decision on the submitted request against a judge or president of a court relating to the performance of their function, and terminated the procedure one day before determining the candidate list for members. Additionally, the decision has not even been publicly announced so that the public can become familiar with the reasons for terminating the procedure for determining unprofessional and unethical performance of a judge or the president of a court.

Election of a candidate without a majority of the judges who turned out to vote in the election

On July 13, 2023, elections for two members of the JCRNM from among the ranks of judges were held. The results of the elections conducted from the candidate list of the Supreme Court of the RNM showed once again the built-in systemic weakness in the model for electing members of the JCRNM. For the candidate who was elected, only six judg-

es out of a total of 16 judges registered in the Judicial Electoral Directory in this court cast their vote. Only 13 judges voted in the elections, of whom the majority (seven) cast invalid ballots. We can consider that the judges of this court expressed themselves in this way as a kind of boycott of the elections. The majority of judges of the Supreme Court did not support the candidate. This justifiably raises the question of the legitimacy of the election of the member, taking into consideration the fact that the majority of the judges who turned out to vote did not cast their vote for the elected candidate. This systemic weakness stems from the Law on the Judicial Council of the RNM. It neither envisages a mandatory census, which must be fulfilled in order to consider the elections successful, nor does it define the majority that a certain candidate must fulfill in order to be considered elected. These two elements are essential to ensure the legitimacy of the elected persons.

Judges of the Supreme Court of the RNM not applying as candidates for a member of the JCRNM

On July 27, 2023, the JCRNM made a Decision to publish a vacancy announcement for the election of a member of the Judicial Council of the RNM from among the ranks of the judges of the Supreme Court of the Republic of North Macedonia, which was to be conducted in August 2023. However, none of the judges of the Supreme Court of the RNM applied for this vacancy announcement, which is a precedent that is a direct result of the effect of the illegal actions of the current composition of the JCRNM.

Serious criticism by embassies, disappointment of the EU and announcements of a Peer Review Mission to evaluate the functioning of the JCRNM

The illegitimacy of the highest judicial body was also emphasized by the Dutch ambassador in Skopje, H.E. Dirk Jan Kopp, which was the reason to put "on hold" the support for enhancing the efficiency, accountability and transparency of the JCRNM until 2024. In the latest report on human rights, the State Department notes serious corruption of the government, absence of judicial independence, inappropriate conduct of the judiciary, political and business pressure on judges, influences on public trust in the rule of law. Transparency International issued a Corruption Perceptions Index in January 2023, noting a lack of integrity in the election of key figures of the judiciary and ineffective handling of ongoing corruption cases. Finally, it is worth mentioning the statement of H.E. David Gere, EU Ambassador to the RNM, who emphasized his concerns about the independence, professionalism and integrity of the judiciary. As a solution, he emphasized the proposal to appoint an advisory group as a Peer Review Mission to conduct an evaluation of the functioning of the JCRNM.

By the latest developments, this composition of the Judicial Council has lost the legitimacy to exercise the particularly significant powers entrusted by the Constitution of the RNM

As a result of all the developments described in this paper, it is rightly considered that the JCRNM has completely lost the legitimacy to elect, evaluate and dismiss judges. Legitimacy, in addition to the Constitution, in its essential sense should arise, first of all, from the expertise, professionalism and integrity of the members of this body, who by their knowledge of the law should be a role model for the entire judicial profession, in particular, when it comes to judges and distinguished jurists. The evaluation of the perfor-

mance of judges, which is a unique case of checking the performance of power holders in the RNM in terms of expertise and professionalism, should be conducted exclusively by persons who, by their professional experience and knowledge, have shown that they are professional and independent, and not persons that try to circumvent the laws to achieve a certain goal, which is not related to the law and for which there is justifiable suspicion of political influences.

III. WHAT IS THE PATH TO REGAINING TRUST IN THE JUDICIAL COUNCIL?

1. Resignation of the members of the Judicial Council of the RNM

The first step towards essential reforms is the resignation of all members of the JCRNM. By the development of the events of the last three months, the flagrant violations of the law, the untimely handling of complaints for unethical conduct and disciplinary liability, the election in higher courts regardless of the ranking, this composition of the JCRNM has irrevocably lost the legitimacy to perform the function and lost the public trust. Submission of resignation is a personal act and it is not possible to envisage all possible options in a law of why and when someone would resign from a certain position. Resignation is a sign of high moral and ethical qualities of every person who has great integrity, in particular, when performing a public function, whereby respecting the principles of transparency, accountability, fairness, impartiality, building trust towards citizens, which is also part of the Code of the members of the Judicial Council adopted in 2010.

The idea of making it possible by law to terminate the term of office, which has been delivered in public, would be contrary to the Constitution. The duration of term of office of the members of the JCRNM is subject to regulation by the Constitution and by law their term of office cannot be terminated. Any legal solution that would terminate the term of office of current members by force of law, without an appropriate dismissal procedure, would be contrary to the Constitution. The Constitution provides the possibility for a member to be dismissed on grounds and in a procedure regulated by law.

A dismissal decision is made with at least eight votes from members with the right to vote, whereby at least two members elected by the Assembly of the RNM must have voted for the decision.

Law on the Judicial Council of 2019 for the first time envisaged the grounds and procedure for dismissal of a member of the JCRNM. However, the manner in which the procedure is regulated is inapplicable in cases where disciplinary procedure would be initiated against several

members of the Judicial Council for an action that has been committed jointly. A dismissal decision is made with at least eight votes from members with the right to vote, whereby at least two members elected by the Assembly of the RNM must have voted for the decision. On the other hand, the member against whom the procedure has been initiated and the member who has initiated the procedure (if the procedure was initiated by a member of the Council) are exempt from voting. In this way, the possibility of conducting a dismissal procedure is significantly narrowed.

On the other hand, the law itself envisages a possibility of initiating a procedure for liability of a member of the JCRNM by 20 judges, but this procedure is not sufficiently elaborated, the manner of where the initiative for initiating liability procedure would originate, how the procedure itself would be conducted and does this apply only to the members of the JCRNM who are elected from among the rank of the judges or to all members. If the dismissal is done by the one who elects, in that case the law also does not specify which body would initiate the procedure for liability of the members of the JCRNM proposed by the President of the RNM and the Assembly of the RNM, taking into consideration that the MPs only vote for already proposed candidates. In such an unregulated procedure, it is understandable why the judges or any other body has not approached the initiation of procedure for liability of the members of the JCRNM.

2. Amendments to the Law on the Judicial Council, which will amend the procedure for the election of members both from among the ranks of the judges and by the Assembly, as well as establish an efficient procedure for determining the disciplinary liability of the members of the Council

The next step would be amendments to the Law on the Judicial Council. These amendments would refer to further specifying of several provisions in the law relating to the liability of the members of the JCRNM, the procedure for electing members of the JCRNM, both from among the ranks of the judges and distinguished jurists, and all for reasons that in the three-year application of the new law omissions that may have consequences for the independent and impartial operation of the JCRNM has been already noted. In order to ensure that the members of the Council elected from among the ranks of the judges have the legitimacy to represent the judges who elected them, it is necessary that they are elected in a democratic manner. This includes two key elements. The first element is the establishment of a mandatory census, that is, minimum turnout percentage of the judges in order for the election to be valid. The census size should be subject to debate and ensure a balance between the need for democracy, on the one hand, and the need to prevent blocking of the electoral process, on the other hand. The second and more significant element is determining the necessary majority to consider the candidate elected. The majority may be expressed as a percentage or as a majority of more than half of the people

We consider that one of the ways to regain trust and preserve the integrity of the JCRNM is the election of a new composition of members elected in a legal and transparent procedure.

who voted. In this way, essential support of the judges will be ensured for the candidate to whom they have entrusted the role of being a member of the JCRNM.

Furthermore, in regard to the candidates elected by the Assembly of the RNM (including the candidates proposed by the President of the RNM), it is necessary to establish the so-called preliminary checks, which would include an extended session of the Supreme Court of the RNM, at which, in addition to all the judges of the Supreme Court of the RNM, the presidents of all courts in the RNM will take part. There are comparatively more models in which these entities give a non-binding opinion regarding the candidates, which the MPs should also take into consideration when electing a candidate. Additionally, the election procedure should include a mandatory interview before the competent working body in the Assembly. Representatives of the previously mentioned entities, as well as civil society organizations, should be able to take part in the interview by asking questions. In regard to this issue, the model established for the election of members of the State Commission for the Prevention of Corruption, as well as the Commission for Prevention and Protection against Discrimination, may be used. Or another option is to change the entire method of proposing and electing the "non-judicial" representatives in the JCRNM.

Additionally, it is necessary to revise the procedure for determining disciplinary liability for a member of the JCRNM. Even though the existing model, established in 2019, establishes grounds and procedure, is still inapplicable in practice, in particular, when a certain disciplinary violation is committed by several members. Voting rules requiring establishment of committees, as well as exemptions, make it impossible to conduct disciplinary procedures. Additionally, the possibility of the entities which elected the members to ask liability for their actions should be enhanced. Also, the past practice has shown that even for a member of the JCRNM, for whom criminal proceedings have been initiated, there has been no will on the part of the Council to remove the person from performing the function of a member, if for nothing else, then for the sake of citizens' trust in its impartial and independent decision-making.

3. Conducting elections in accordance with the legal amendments in a transparent and accountable manner

We consider that one of the ways to regain trust and preserve the integrity of the JCRNM is the election of a new composition of members elected in a legal and transparent procedure. The new members of the JCRNM, who will be elected from among the ranks of the judges, must be judges with integrity and possess high moral and ethical qualities. In particular, we emphasize the need for the candidates for members elected by the Assembly of the RNM to come from among the ranks of distinguished jurists, who have proven many years of working experience, who are recognized in the legal profession and for whom there are no grounds to doubt their political or personal connection with current or former public and political office holders. For a new composition of the JCRNM, the other members need to reconsider their past actions and show and prove their professional ethics and morals, whereby fulfilling their duty towards the position they perform and submit their resignation.



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