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**ETHNICITY AND THE SECURITY OF MACEDONIA  
(F.Y.R.)**

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**Master Thesis**

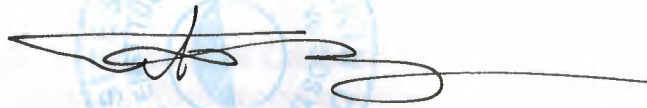
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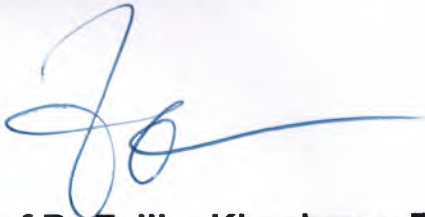
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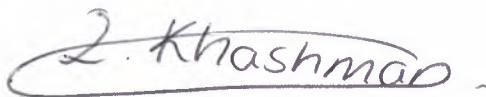
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## ABSTRACT

The new world order which emerged after the end of cold war has brought various social, political, cultural and economical problems: These problems affected the foundation of the nation state. The identity claims of ethnic groups in newly emerged democracies of previous communist era, raised the biggest concern among many developed countries in the late 90's. Ethnicity and ethnic nationalism began to challenge the internal and external security of sovereign nation states.

The ancient hatred schema may flare up in the new millenium once again. Macedonia as in the past, may find itself in the center of this new dilemma with its population of more than seven ethnic orientation. This small state had to overcome many obstacles after the declaration of independence in November 1991. It had to change its flag, part of its constitution and was forced to use a different name against its will. There were many events involving ethnic albanians wich resulted with many deaths and imprisonment. The ethnic Albanians struggle to gain more rights continued until early 2001. The events involving armed rebels in early 2001 brought this fragile country to the edge of destruction.

As shown in this study, ethnicity and the movements of ethnic identity have apparent effects on Macedonias internal and external security athmosphere. It appears that the dreams of 'Greater Albania, Greater Kosovo' still fill many peoples mind. Despite of some improvements, a portion of the Ethnic albanians in Macedonia still remain unsatisfied. It is certain that improved economic and social conditions for all of the members of the society will also reduce the ethnic tensions in social interactions.

As the world changes, new methods must be found for preventing conflicts and reducing tensions between opposing groups. The Tree Model of volkan seems to offer a new way of corrective diplomacy and may benefit Macedonias multi-ethnic society if the international community understands this countries importance and sensitivities. Above all the mistakes of the past must not prevent the mankind to search the way for the better formula of co-existence in the future.

# **ETHNICITY AND THE SECURITY OF MACEDONIA ( F.Y.R. )**

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## CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Many academicians, authors, journalists, bureaucrats and even Balkan peoples resemble the Balkan region to “a boiling cauldron”. This argument gained a special importance in the twentieth century. Under the influence of two historical events, the collapse of the communism and the end of the cold war, the concept of ethnic nationalism gained importance around the world. However, international community now faces new challenges and responsibilities to maintain peace and security in the world.

With the dissolution of Yugoslavia, a new conflict has erupted into the region. Outbreak of the nationalism has showed the ancient hatred schema again in the Balkans. After the disintegration of Yugoslav Socialist Federation, many new states have been created. Today many ethnic groups have been interwoven into the region. For example, Macedonian population consists of 64.6% Macedonian, 22.9% Albanian, 5% Turkish, 2% Romany, and 2 %Serbian origin.<sup>1</sup>

The Republic of Macedonia<sup>2</sup> declared independence in 1991. With the establishment of new republic, many problems arose; the Macedonian Question was reborn. Survival of Macedonia as a sovereign and independent state has threatened the neighboring states and their ideologies of nationalist movements. Greece still refuses to recognize Macedonian nation, language or Macedonian minority. Bulgaria, has been the first country to recognize Macedonian republic, but it refuses the existence of a Macedonian nation and Macedonian language. Serbia sees Macedonian people as Slavic people.

Feroz E. K. Yasamee argues that nationality can be changed. The most striking example for this is South Slavs who define themselves as a different nation namely Macedon.<sup>3</sup> After the independence, the international community worried that Macedonia could become a new Bosnia. The international community seems to be aware of the importance of the political, economic and strategic aspects of this state's existence. Macedonian question is not only important for the stability of the region but also for the global society. The inter-ethnic relations are most important for the stability of Macedonia.

The dynamics of ethnic conflict in the region and history of Macedonia have to be understood, because the security of Macedonia still poses a big problem for the world. The complexity of Macedonian question lies in the fact that cultural, geographical and political issues are all interwoven. It seems that the emergence of nationalism and ethnic politics threaten the boundaries of nation states. Therefore, the threat to Macedonian society comes

<sup>1</sup> According to the census which was conducted in 1991, 21% of total population of 2,033,964 which equals to 427,313 was of Albanian ethnic origin. Same census indicated that Macedonians make up 64.6 percent of total population, the Turks account 4.8.percent, Roma 2.7 percent, Serbs 2.2 percent, Muslims 1.7 percent and all others combined 2.6 percent. A second census funded and monitored by the auspices of Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) in 1994. According to this census 22.9 percent of total population is ethnic Albanian. International Crisis Group (ICG), Balkans Report No.98, August 2000.4-5 Available at <http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/showreport.cfm?reportid=15>

<sup>2</sup> The term 'Macedonia' refers to the temporary name adopted by the UN, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). Titles like the Republic of Macedonia, F.Y.R. Macedonia also refer to Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). The geographical region of Macedonia, which is shared by three states, namely Greece, FYROM and Bulgaria is referred accordingly. Wherever reference is made to the Greek region of Macedonia, it is accordingly specified (e.g. 'Greek Macedonia')

<sup>3</sup> Yasamee, F., A., K., Saybaşlı, K., Özcan, G., editor (1997). Yeni Balkanlar Eski Sorunlar, p. 71-85



from within the state, not from other states. Ethnic minorities demands for more rights, cultural freedom, human rights, political autonomy and independence.

After the collapse of communism and the end of the cold war a new world order appeared and new security environment took place. The evolution of new nation states seems to be a major problem. Newly emerging states worked very hard to gain and to protect their sovereignty. On the other hand in Western Europe the principle of sovereignty began loosing its influence. It seems that ethnicity and nationalism have become very important in twentieth century.

### 1.1. The Study

The aim of this study is to search for certain links between the ethnic orientations of Macedonian people and security of Republic of Macedonia, Balkans and Europe. Furthermore, this study aims to show the importance of the inter-ethnic relations within the Macedonian state. The stability and the security of Macedonia depends on the inter-ethnic balance. It seems that by giving more rights to the ethnic peoples of the state a new state's sense of security can be improved. In addition, today neighboring countries have to accept the fact that Macedonian state and a Macedonian nation exists and people feel Macedonian.

In the onset of this study the terms and concepts such as ethnicity, nationalism, race and national identity are defined, because it is very important to distinguish these terms to avoid any confusion. As the study proceeds a brief historical analysis takes place in chapter I until declaration of Republic of Macedonia. Declaration of independent Macedonia and the issue surrounding the recognition as well as the reactions of neighboring countries, great powers, NATO and EU are examined in chapter II. Chapter III focuses on structure of Macedonian society and dynamics of ethnicity on the inter-ethnic relations in Macedonia. Finally latest developments are analyzed, as well as crises with ethnic Macedonian Albanians and consequences of ethnic tensions.

In order to write this thesis numerous books and articles on the subject were used either directly or indirectly. Internet sources were used in order to note the current developments. Television networks as well as international and local newspapers were examined. In addition some views of the Republic of Macedonia were provided with great help of the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Ankara.

### 1.2. Definition of Ethnicity

In the 1950's many liberals and socialists expected the death of ethnic, racial and national ties and the unification of world. Instead, ethnic movements re-surfaced with the end of the cold war. The collapse of the communism has encouraged ethnic conflicts and nationalist movements. With the establishment of new states new problems were created. Everybody started to discuss ethnic problems in the world as well as in the Balkans. Is this really the end of the cold war? Has the world become hotter with the ethnic conflicts and nationalist movements?

Several ethnic conflicts erupted in 1990's after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Afterwards the term of ethnic cleansing was used to describe Serbian treatment



of Muslim and Croat minorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the Former Yugoslav Republic. The term 'ethnicity'<sup>4</sup> has become so important in contemporary politics. The main characteristic of the 19th century and 20th century is the clarity of ethnic sense. In addition after the 1990's nationalist movements were increased by the ethnic peoples around the world.

According to Ernest Gellner, ethnicity exists with the cultural differentiation. This differentiation helps us to become more aware of our cultural heritage and to become directed against rival cultures.<sup>5</sup> In addition Ernest Gellner stressed that if economic welfare is spread, the intensity of ethnic feelings decreases.<sup>6</sup>

Anthony Smith lists the six major qualities of an ethnic group as follows: a common name; a myth of common ancestry; shared historical memories; one or more elements of common culture; a link with a homeland; a sense of solidarity.<sup>7</sup> 'First, the group must have a name for itself. This is important; a lack of name reflects an inadequate sense of collective identity. Second, the people in the group must believe in a common ancestry. This is more important than genetic ties'.<sup>8</sup> An example is Alexander the Great, who established a great Macedonian empire in 336 BC. The Greeks argue that Alexander Great was Greek and that he will stay as Greek, but Macedonians do not accept this. The Macedonians, on the other hand believe that Alexander the Great was Macedonian. Actually these two nations want to strengthen their national myths.

Third major quality is 'the members of the group must share historical memories, that there are often myths passed from generation to generation by word of mouth'. Macedonian people gained a national identity during the Tito's period, during which a Macedonian nation was created (or re-created). 'Fourth, the group must have a shared culture; frequently it is based on union of religion, language, music, dress, institutions, customs, traditions, laws, and architectures, even food. Fifth, the group must feel an attachment to specific piece of territory. Sixth, the people in a group have to think of themselves as a group in order to constitute an ethnic community; that is, they must have a sense of their common ethnicity'.<sup>9</sup> All of these characteristics were obtained in Tito's period within the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

The distinction between race and ethnicity is difficult. 'The term race refers to a person's observed body characteristics, as skin color, the most important single determinant of persons racial status. Ethnicity pertains to cultural differences like language, religion, customs and national origin.'<sup>10</sup> In Richard Schermerhon's view, "an ethnic group is defined here as a

<sup>4</sup> 'The term ethnicity first appeared in the 1950's in the English language. The English adjective 'ethnic' in turn derives from the ancient Greek term *ethnos*; it was used as a synonym of gentile, that is, non-Christian and non-Jewish pagan. As the English language has no concrete noun for *ethnos* or *ethnie*, the French term is used to denote an 'ethnic community' or 'ethnic group'. We find it also in the English and American (White Anglo-Saxon, Protestant) tendency to reserve the term 'nation' for themselves and 'ethnic' for immigrant peoples, as in the frequently used term 'ethnic minorities'. Hutchinson, J.; Smith, A., D., (1996) *Ethnicity*, p. 4-5.

<sup>5</sup> Gellner, E., (1998). *Encounters with Nationalism* (Milliyetçiliğe Bakmak,) Coşar, S.; Öztürk, S.; Soyark, N., translator and editor, p.62.

<sup>6</sup> Gellner, (1998), p.71

<sup>7</sup> Brown, M., E., (1993), *Ethnic Conflict and International Security*, p4-5, Smith, A., (1999), *Milli Kimlik* (National Identity), p.42 also see; Hutchinson, J.; Smith, A., D., (1996), *Ethnicity*, p. 4-5. also see; Ryan, S., (1995), *Ethnic Conflict and International Relations*, p.4

<sup>8</sup> Brown (1993) p.4-5, also, according to Ernest Gellner, ethnicity loses its importance in the industrial society. Gellner, E., (1998), p.72

<sup>9</sup> Brown, (1993), p.5

<sup>10</sup> Cockerham, (1995), *The Global Society, An Introduction to Sociology*, p.357



collectivity within a larger society having common ancestry (real or myth), memories of shared historical past and cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements, defined as the epitome of their peoplehood. Examples of such symbolic elements are: language, tribal affiliation, nationality, phenotypic features, or any combination of these".<sup>11</sup> The pattern of kinship, physical conformity (as localism vs. sectionalism etc.), religious affiliations and language or dialect forms may also be used.<sup>12</sup>

According to Thomas Hylland Eriksen "ethnicity still has a ring of 'minority issues' and 'race relations', but in social anthropology it refers to aspects of relationship between groups which consider themselves, and are regarded by others as being culturally distinctive".<sup>13</sup> As we can see ethnicity focuses on the two concepts, one is 'us' and the other is 'them'.

The distinction between ethnicity and nation has to be understood. Then, what is a nation? According to Anthony Smith 'nation' is a group of people that shares a historical land/country, common myths and historical memory, a common culture, common economy, rights and responsibilities.<sup>14</sup> The typical meaning of nation is based on several criteria such as language, common territory, common history, common cultural features etc. According to Ernest Renan two things are necessary to build up a nation "The one is possession in common of rich heritage of all memories. And the other is the actual agreement, desire to live together, and the will to continue to make the most joint inheritance."<sup>15</sup>

Jack Snyder defines 'nationalism' as the doctrine in which the most important line of cleavage for establishing membership in a conflict group is nationality.<sup>16</sup> He adds that "Nationality, in turn, might be defined in one of two ways: by ethnic or civic criteria. Ethnic nationality is based on the consciousness of a shared identity within a group, rooted in a shared culture and a belief in common ancestry. Civic nationality, by contrast is inclusive within a territory. Membership in the national group is generally open to everyone who is born or permanently resident within the national territory, irrespective of language, culture or ancestry."<sup>17</sup>

It seems that Nationalism is an ideological movement (political movement) aimed at creating a state which starts with an autonomous area within a state leading to the establishment of own states. Macedonians argue that ethnic Macedonian Albanians try to create their autonomous state that will divide or destroy Macedonian stability in the region. Smith refers to the main sensation of nationalist movement as being territory/country, history and people.<sup>18</sup> According to A. Smith nationalism is an ideological movement and that a nation will try to obtain and keep some criteria namely autonomy, unity and identity.<sup>19</sup>

As we explained, the Balkan nationalism aimed to create independent states and to establish self-rule by the secessionism and irredentism. Throughout the history of the Balkans, all Balkan borders moved back and forth. As a result of these circumstances many borders were shifted and all Balkan peoples have been interwoven around the region. Albanians today live

<sup>11</sup> Schermerhorn, R. (1996), *Ethnicity and Minority Groups*, p. 17

<sup>12</sup> Prof. Dr. Jouni Suistola, March 27, 2002 Nicosia. Prof. Dr. Jouni Suistola is the Head of the Department of International Relations in the Near East University.

<sup>13</sup> Eriksen, T., H., (1996), *Ethnicity, Race, Class and Nation*, p. 28-29

<sup>14</sup> Smith, (1998), *Milli Kimlik (National Identity)*, p. 32

<sup>15</sup> Zotiades, (1961), *Macedonian Controversy*, the Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessalonike, p. 32

<sup>16</sup> Snyder, J., (1993) *Nationalism and the Crises of the Post Soviet state*, p. 81

<sup>17</sup> Snyder, 1993, p. 81

<sup>18</sup> Smith, (1998) *Milli Kimlik (National Identity)*, p. 127

<sup>19</sup> Smith, (1998), p. 122



within many Balkan states. Especially after the First World War Albanians were divided by the other powers. A small part of region became an Albanian state in 1912. Today 23% of ethnic Albanian people are living in the Republic of Macedonia.

Ethnicity has been used in many different meanings. Many scholars explain ethnicity differently and actually there is no universal definition. Ethnicity has become an important element in many social processes. In this limited study, many other alternative approaches have not been examined on the concept of ethnicity. In this respect some definitions of ethnicity were given in very short details.

Generally the concepts of the ethnic group and the minority group have similar meaning. The international law explains minorities as a collective community which consists of people in a state, that has a different race, language or religion from the others.<sup>20</sup> But in fact the UN still has not explained the definition of minorities. Capatorti defined the legal perspective of the concept of minority. Non-dominant, to be smaller in numbers than the remaining population of the state, to be different from other group from ethnic, religious, linguistic perspective, to have sense of solidarity to protect own cultural, traditional, linguistic values.<sup>21</sup> In general, ethnic group is a group that is distinct from others with common historical memories, common culture, language and religion. An ethnic group generally wants to protect its collective ethnic identity.

The ethnic conflict is a struggle between different ethnic groups for political power and political status.<sup>22</sup> Many ethnic conflicts start as a domestic dispute but become interstate conflicts. Some cases it spills over neighboring countries. In some other cases neighboring powers intervene to protect the interests of their brethren in domestic disputes. Ethnic conflicts often become internationalized for humanitarian reasons, because civilians may be attacked.

What is the goal of the ethnic conflict? Ethnic groups see themselves different from others. They are distinct from the perspective of religion, language, customs, traditions. If one side is "A" other side is "B". In general, an ethnic group wants to dominate other. One ethnic group tries to show the other group as bad, brutal, barbarians. Volkan calls this as "we-ness" and "other-ness".<sup>23</sup> As a result, ethnic cleansing can become a tool to dominate others.

### 1.3. Ethnic Nationalism and Regional Security

After the fall of the bipolar world, the notion of the security has changed. It appears that there is a certain link between ethnic conflict and international security. The disintegration of the former Yugoslavia brought ethnic and political tensions, as well as social and economic concerns. After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the break up of Yugoslavia, the world

<sup>20</sup> After the establishment of the UN the definition of minorities has been tried to explain. F. Copotorti who was the special reporter of the Sub-Committee on Human Rights of the UN tried to define the concept of minorities. But his definition has not been found appropriate by the other states. The UN still does not have a clear definition of the term 'minorities'. About the subject see Pazarcı, Uluslararası Hukuk Dersleri, VolumeII (1998), p.184-186

<sup>21</sup> Minority refers to a group of people smaller in numbers, non-dominant, different from the majority Altuğ, Y., (1993) Minorities and Ethnics in the Balkans, Turkish Review of Balkan Studies. Annual 1, p.177-178

<sup>22</sup> Nevers, R. Brown, M.E., Democratization and Ethnic Conflict, (1993), Ethnic Conflict and International Security, p.62

<sup>23</sup> Lecture notes, Analysis of IR and Current International Problems, Prof. Dr. Jouni Suistola, Near East University, Nicosia, 1997



order has totally changed. Many states have been created. With the collapse of the communism and the death of the bi-polar security system, new world order, new security system and new actors appeared in the world.

During the communist period the security of the many communist states was depended on the membership of the Warsaw Pact. In fact, majority of the communist states were under the Soviet security umbrella. Today main goals of post-communist societies are to reach democracy and to join European institutions. At the beginning of the 1990's many ethnic conflicts resurfaced within the states and fragile democracies emerged as in the example of Balkans. Many ethnic minorities have demanded their cultural freedom, human rights, and political autonomy even national independence within a state. Nevertheless, new independent states tried to establish democratic administration and to provide stability around the region and to gain access to the European institutions. But in fact these new states still have many problems like economic instability, ethnic tensions, backwardness, etc. All of these affect the European security system and jeopardize the situation. International community has tried to stop hostilities and create conditions for the new democracies to build institutions and reach economic prosperity.

In fact, in order to analyze the post-cold war dynamics in the Balkans, especially the Republic of Macedonia, first, we have to look at the history of the Republic of Macedonia in this part of the world. The Macedonian question has resurfaced in the international arena with the establishment of a new and the young nation of the Former Socialist Republic of Macedonia. The conflict over Macedonian identity and national belonging still exist. Struggle of identities is also continued in Macedonia. In January 1992, the Albanian minority of Macedonia held a referendum and as a result they wanted to create political and territorial autonomy with the establishment of their own state, the republic of Ilirida. However, this situation shows that Macedonia seriously was threatened both on internal and external fronts by nationalist ideologies and movements. In addition, Macedonia's neighbors are still a threat over the Republic of Macedonia integrity. For example there are claims of neighbors, "Four Tigers" which are Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Albania.

Since the nineteenth century, Balkan peoples have faced annihilation, cultural and religious assimilation and also ethnic cleansing. Ethnic nationalism can be abolished only if states give more cultural rights, such as language and religion for ethnic groups. As a result ethnic nationalism will decline in any state. Actually, these cultural rights may cause the ethnic groups to claim regional autonomy.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century many ethnic groups wanted to create their own sovereign state, for this aim, two aspects were used. First is secession and the second irredentism. Perhaps newly independent states in the Balkan region, adopted one mission, which is 'annexation' with their national territory. As a result "Greater Serbia", "Greater Albania", "Greater Bulgaria", "Greater Macedonia" and "Greater Greece" claims appeared. It seems that some people with nationalist tendency continue to have the same dream. With the Balkan Wars, WWI and WWII, Balkan borders were drawn according to the great power desires. Today some nationalists are still continuing their dream over the republic of Macedonia. 'Bulgaria, while it recognizes the existence of a Macedonian state, refuses to recognize the existence of Macedonian nation on the grounds that Macedonians are really Bulgarians'.<sup>24</sup> Greeks argue that the term 'Macedonia' and 'Macedonian' are holy Greek

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<sup>24</sup>Danforth, M., L., (1995) *The Macedonian Conflict*, p.12



property.<sup>25</sup> Serbian nationalists refer to Macedonia as 'South Serbia', so they have refused to recognize the Republic of Macedonia. A typical case is Greece. Greece has minority problems with the Macedonian State, also with the Republic of Turkey and Albania. Macedonian state, on the other hand, has a minority problem with ethnic Albanians.

The desire of ethnic homogeneity logic of some states is seen as a way for an ethnic cleansing. Many states generally do not seem to give more rights for their minority groups, especially, in the education and language fields. It can be understood that in this situation the minorities have to obey the norms of citizenship in the state. It means that minority groups are assimilated by the legitimate state. Macedonia has a multi-ethnic structure, which may make things more complicated to reach stability under one and united national government. In this respect, the constitution of state is very important in order to provide stability. The preamble of the Macedonian constitution explains 'Macedonia is established as a national state of the Macedonian people, in which full equality as citizens and permanent co-existence with the Macedonian people is provided for Albanians, Turks, Vlachs, Romanics and other nationalities living in the Republic of Macedonia.'<sup>26</sup> This paragraph of the constitution was the main reason which started ethnic debates between the Macedonians and the Albanian minority. In addition, according to this definition Albanians realized that the dominant power of state is in the hands of Macedonians. As a result the Albanian minority do not accept this definition. Because of that in the Republic of Macedonia, the ethnic Albanians who are one third of the Macedonian population never accept to stay as a minority group.

A homogenous nation state as an ethnic character was never established because there are many ethnic groups in Macedonia. However, why ethnic nationalism has increased in Eastern Europe, in the Soviet Union, and elsewhere should be examined. Does ethnic nationalism lead to violence, especially in Eastern Europe? The answer seems to be 'yes' and it may possibly damage the regional security. In addition, it seems that ethnic nationalism and ethnic conflicts have increased in the Eastern Europe. Furthermore, the collapse of the authoritarian rule has made such conflicts possible. "The millet system had slept the ethnic group demands, like communism. When Ottomans started to lose their power, many ethnic groups wanted to establish their own independent state and secede."<sup>27</sup> Here, it is understood that with the collapse of the authoritarian system, many ethnic groups have become aware of their ethnic identity. As a result, ethnic groups received encouragement to declare their nationhood.

When the cold war ended, many authors, bureaucrats, journalists and people assumed that international tensions would be reduced and the security of the world would be established. However, this was not the case. On the contrary many ethnic conflicts have erupted. Today many ethnic groups demands are increasing in Eastern Europe. According to Brown 'the emergence of the ethnic nationalism makes some form of ethnic conflict almost inevitable. The rise of ethnic nationalism in one group will be seen as threatening by others and will lead to the development of similar sentiments.'<sup>28</sup>

Loring Danforth explains that Ethnic nationalism can be seen as an attempt to maintain or to recreate a sense of identity and community in the face of the threat of cultural assimilation or

<sup>25</sup> Poulton, H., (1994), Who are the Macedonians?, p.2-3, 32-33

<sup>26</sup> Constitution of Macedonia, (17 November 1991) See [http://www.uni-wuerzburg.de/law/mk00000\\_.html](http://www.uni-wuerzburg.de/law/mk00000_.html)

<sup>27</sup> Necatigil, Z., the interview with Dr. Necatigil on November 16, 2001. Dr. Necatigil is a specialist in the field of the International law and Cyprus question. He is currently employed in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Defence of the T.R.N.C.

<sup>28</sup> Brown, (1993), p.9



annihilation.<sup>29</sup> Naturally, an ethnic group tries to identify itself as a nation and tries to gain autonomy within the state and then the state may use necessary power to dominate. It appears that the term 'ethnic nationalism' is often used to describe the ethnic group's effort to protect their rights, such as sense of identity. If a state wants to assimilate or annihilate their ethnic citizens within their state, then ethnic groups may want to maintain their identity and other cultural features. In addition, ethnic groups generally wish to maintain or recreate their cultural features as well as their national identity.

If an independent multi-ethnic state wants to protect its stability in the region, this state should have many responsibilities. Firstly, the state has to provide more rights to all ethnic groups. These ethnic groups should be allowed to participate in state institutions, even in private sectors. In addition, how are the ethnic groups rights, such as religion, language, cultural rights described in the state constitution, is very important. If the state tries to assimilate its ethnic groups with their constitution then the conflict may be inevitable.

The end of the cold war generated great tensions. With the collapse of the authoritarian system many ethnic group realized their national identity. As a result many ethnic conflicts erupted with the beginning of ethnic nationalism. The term 'ethnicity' has gained more importance.

#### 1.4. A Brief Historical Background

With the disintegration of Yugoslavia, ethnic tensions have increased. The Macedonian question resurfaced in the international arena. Because the term 'Macedonia' has many different meanings to different peoples, many questions come to our minds. In this respect, what is the Macedonian Question? What is Macedonia? To whom it belongs? Who are the Macedonians? Which territories belong to Macedonia? What are the reasons for the occurring conflicts? What are the causes of conflicts or origins of the Macedonian question?

Macedonia is usually defined as a geographical region located in the Balkans. It is shared by three states. These states have different political and cultural claims in order to legitimize themselves. Hugh Poulton suggests that there are three ways of identifying Macedonians.<sup>30</sup> The general definition of the territorial borders of Macedonia covers a mostly mountainous territory. The Skopska Crna Gora and Shar Planina Mountains in the north; Rila and Rhodope Mountains in the east; Ohrid and Prespa lakes in the west. This area is irrigated by Axios and Struma rivers. These rivers flow to the Aegean Sea and finally reach to the sea, near the most important port of the Balkans, Thessalonica. According to Poulton the second way of identifying Macedonians is as the citizens of the independent political entity, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM).<sup>31</sup> The third way is as an ethnic name that defines the Slav population of geographic Macedonia and FYROM.<sup>32</sup> Loring Danforth also

<sup>29</sup> Danforth, (1995), p.11-12

<sup>30</sup> This area covers approximately 67.000 square kilometres, and is now parted among three neighboring countries under different names. The part that now remains within boundaries of the modern Greece is called Aegean Macedonia. The land part in Bulgaria along the Strumica river is known to be Pirin Macedonia. The remaining portion with the name of Vardar Macedonia where the current Macedonian state has been founded, although a small slice of the region went to Albania. This portion does not have a specific name. Poulton, (1995), p.1-2

<sup>31</sup> Poulton, (1995), p.1

<sup>32</sup> Poulton, (1995), p.1



explains that 'Macedonia defies definition, it is clear that the meaning of the terms "Macedonia" and "Macedonian" is sharply controversial'.<sup>33</sup>

The region of Macedonia is the heart of the Balkan Peninsula. Macedonia's territory very often has faced many battles. Due to the fact that different invaders have come and gone and through this area, the history of Macedonia's people has always been very complex. Many ethnic conflicts have occurred in this region. Many states collected and interpreted data in a way which it reflected their political interests. The millet system of the Ottomans identified people according to their religion.

The people of the region became known as Macedonians after 700 BC.<sup>34</sup> First military confederation of the ancient Macedonian tribes was established during the rule of Alexander I. Philip II extended the borders of Macedonia to the north in 338 BC.<sup>35</sup> Alexander III, known as 'the Great', continued to capture other regions. He defeated the Greek city-states with the battle of Chaeronea in 338 BC. After his death, ancient Macedonia weakened. During the Roman period the people of the ancient Macedonia were Hellenized, and Macedonia was annexed the Roman Empire.<sup>36</sup>

At the end of the fourth century AD Roman Empire split into two parts, and Macedonia belonged to Eastern part. After the collapse of the Roman Empire Slav tribes started moving to this region by the 6<sup>th</sup> century. The people of the region were converted to Christianity. The Slavic peoples of the region adopted a script called 'Church Slavonic' or 'old Bulgarian-Cyrillic alphabet'.<sup>37</sup> The Turkic people came from Ural and Volga and arrived to the Bulgarian state in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Proto Bulgarians converted to Christianity under their leader Boris. Bulgarians later united with the Slavs. The Bulgars began to speak Slav-based language at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Roma (Gypsies) started to move into the region in the beginning of 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>38</sup> Tsar Samuel took Skopje from Byzantine Empire in 976. The Bulgarian Kingdom was established around rivers of the Ohrid and Prespa. Samuel's rule continued until 1018 when the Byzantine Emperor Basil entered Ohrid, ending Samuel's kingdom. Serbian King Milutin took Skopje from Byzantium in 1282. During the rule of Serbian King Dushan, the lands of Macedonia (except Salonika) were captured, but after the death of Dushan, his great kingdom collapsed. The Serbs and the Bulgarians became independent from Byzantium at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

In 14<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottoman Turks conquered this area (as well as almost the entire Balkan Peninsula). Serbian armies were defeated at Cernomen or in war of "Sirpsindiği" in 1371 and around the Maritsa River. The Serbian hegemony in Macedonia was ended.<sup>39</sup> After Turkish victories at Samaku (1371), Crimen (1372) the conquest of Macedonia was completed, and the Ottomans built a new administration called "Rumeli Beylerbeyliği" here. 'Macedonia was divided into three vilayets during the Ottoman Empire: Turkish "regions" of Salonika,

<sup>33</sup> Danforth, (1995), p.4

<sup>34</sup> Castellan, G., (1995), *Balkanların Tarihi*, p.29 or Dr. Görgülü, İ., Dr. Yılmaz, V., and Erdinç, A., *Harp Akademileri Komutanlığı Yayınları*, (1994), p.6, Poulton, (1995), p.13

<sup>35</sup> Georgieva, Konechni, (1998), *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Macedonia*, p.5-6

<sup>36</sup> Georgieva, Konechni, (1998), p. 6

<sup>37</sup> Poulton, (1995), p.19

<sup>38</sup> Poulton, (1995), p.4-5

<sup>39</sup> Castellan, (1995), *Balkanların Tarihi*, p. 123



Monastir, and Skopje.<sup>40</sup> In 1389 Ottomans defeated Serbs at Kosovo. The Ottoman Empire ruled Macedonia from 1370 until the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913. According to Cviic the Ottomans used 'the millet system' to govern semi-autonomous religious-national communities in the Balkans. Under the millet system the non-Muslims were free to organize their religious, legal and educational institutions. In that sense the system helped them to protect their ethnic and religious identity under the leadership of their church.<sup>41</sup> The millet system was a method used by the Ottomans to contain many cultures under one empire. The Sultan gave community leaders right to govern their own people in social, educational and religious life. Therefore the community leaders ruled their own people according to their holy books.

The Orthodox Christian millet of the Ottoman Empire was controlled by the Phanar Patriarchate in Istanbul. The patriarch of Istanbul was seen as the supreme leader of the Orthodox Church. Phanar Patriarchate established good relations with the Sultan. According to Poulton the Phanar Greeks used the Phanar Patriarchate to hellenize the populations of the Macedonian region. The religious services and education was managed by the Phanar Patriarchate. The religious services and education were performed in Greek language. As a result, at the beginning of the nationalist movements most of the educated people spoke Greek, the illiterate peasants spoke only vernacular language.<sup>42</sup> It appears that Phanar Patriarchate became a tool to Hellenize the population on the Balkans. However, Bulgarians did not accept this Hellenization and wanted to establish their own church. After the long struggle, the Sultan accepted Bulgarian church with 1870 Ferman.<sup>43</sup> With the declaration of the Ferman, Phanar Patriarchate began to lose its influence on the Balkan people. Nevertheless, first time in its history Orthodox Christian unity was divided. The result was the creation of Bulgarian Exarchate. With the ecclesiastical split nationalist movement began to increase among Greeks and Bulgarians in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Nationalist ideologies were affecting the Balkan peoples. As a result, national liberation movements increased among all Balkan peoples. Many riots against the Ottoman Empire took place in several locations in the Balkans. The Serbs were finally granted autonomy in 1829, and the Greeks obtained their independence in 1829 after the revolt of 1821.

It appears that the Bulgarian national consciousness was constructed with the help of the churchmen in the monasteries. National awakening of Bulgars gained momentum during the Russian campaign against the Turks in 1806-1812. Declaration of Hatti Humayun of 1856 required the reorganization of former millet system.<sup>44</sup> The struggle for Macedonia was not only at the level of ecclesiastical and educational level. Military alliances with regional and global powers were also necessary. The Bulgarians were seen by the Russians as a loyal nation. The Greeks on the other hand, were supported by the European states. The uprising that took place in Bosnia Herzegovina in 1875 was a trigger for "April Uprising" of 1876 in Bulgaria. This at the end resulted in the Turko-Russian war in April 1877. As a result of this

<sup>40</sup> 'The vilayet of Skopje also included most of the Kosovo region, and the three regions together are considerably larger than medieval Macedonia. These three vilayets, without the Kosovo region, will be referred to as Ottoman Macedonia.' Georgieva, Konechni, (1998), p.10

<sup>41</sup> Cviic, C., (1991), *Remaking the Balkans*, p. 7

<sup>42</sup> Poulton, H., (1995), p.37-38

<sup>43</sup> In that period the Bulgarian prime minister was Stambulov, he established good relationship with Ottoman Sultan. After the Stambulov period the good relationship with Sultan broke down. See; Tokay, G., (1995), *Makedonya Sorunu*, p.37, Kofos, E., (1993), *Nationalism and Communism in Macedonia*, p. 14

<sup>44</sup> Poulton (1995), p. 40-41



war the treaty of San Stefano was signed in March, 1878, between a defeated Turkey and victorious Russia.<sup>45</sup>

With the Treaty of San Stefano, Ottoman sovereignty came to an end in the region. According to the San Stefano Treaty "Great Bulgaria" was going to be established by uniting all of the geographic and ethnic Macedonia. The Treaty of San Stefano was never implemented, because the Great Powers feared that Bulgarian influence would increase the Russian influence in the region. Therefore, greater Bulgaria never came to existence. 'Eventually, Russia was convinced to sign treaty of Berlin on July 13, 1878. With the Berlin Treaty, San Stefano Treaty was abolished.'<sup>46</sup> According to Kofos, 'the Congress of Berlin, confined Bulgaria to almost half of its present size. Eastern Rumelia and Bulgaria were recognized as two separate autonomous principalities. Macedonia remained under the Ottoman rule.'<sup>47</sup> With the Berlin treaty, Macedonia was given back to the Ottomans. After the Berlin treaty the term Macedonia was never used as an official name of the region under the Ottoman rule. Instead the region was called 'Three Vilayets'.<sup>48</sup>

In fact the Great Bulgaria was not forgotten and it was kept alive by the Bulgarians after the San Stefano. The decisions of San Stefano caused increasing nationalism which created so much bloodshed in the Balkans. Prince Alexander of Bulgaria declared the Union of Eastern Roumelia with Bulgaria in 1885.<sup>49</sup> The second way to Greater Bulgaria was the annexation of Macedonia to Bulgaria. But the Bulgarians realized that the annexation of Macedonia to Bulgaria was not easy. As a result they were divided between the two schools of thought. The first group followed the orders of the 'Supreme Macedonian Adrianopolitian Committee (S.M.A.C.)'<sup>50</sup> which supported the 'Exterior Macedonian Revolutionary Organization'. Their preferred method was rebellion and conspiracy as the means leading to an active war to capture the territories of Macedonia in an effort to annex it.<sup>51</sup>

The other doctrine was supported the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) which was formed in October 23, 1893. The IMRO advocated gradual penetration and Bulgarization of the people of Macedonia, leading to gradual autonomy and annexation<sup>52</sup>. According to Kofos the aim of IMRO was to "gather into one entity all dissatisfied elements in Macedonia and the area of the Aegean, regardless of nationality, in order to achieve, by means of revolution, complete political autonomy for these areas".<sup>53</sup> On August 2, 1903, IMRO organized an uprising called Ilinden. With the Ilinden revolution the Krushevo Republic was formed in the town of Krushevo in Macedonia.<sup>54</sup> Italian invasion of Tripoli in

<sup>45</sup> Under the treaty, sultan recognized the independence of Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania, but Albania although was given autonomy. Kostanick, L., H., Jelavich, C., Jelavich, B., (1963), *The Balkans In Transition*, p.5

<sup>46</sup> Andonyan, (1975), *Balkan Harbi Tarihi*, p. 23-33

<sup>47</sup> Kofos, (1993), New York, p. 17

<sup>48</sup> Tokay, (1995), p. 32

<sup>49</sup> Tokay, (1995), p.13

<sup>50</sup> Supreme Macedonian Adrianopolitian Committee (S.M.A.C.) was established in Sofia in 1895. The followers of this group were known as 'supremist'. It was established by the Ethnic Macedonians living in Bulgaria and Ethnic Bulgars who had interest in Macedonia under the leadership of Nikolaev. See Georgieva, Konechni, (1998), p.235-236

<sup>51</sup> Zotiades, G., B., (1961), *Macedonian Controversy*, the Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessalonike, p. 15

<sup>52</sup> Zotiades, (1961), p. 14-15

<sup>53</sup> Kofos, (1993), p. 25

<sup>54</sup> 'The leaders of the Krushevo Republic advocated on all the people of Macedonia, Muslim and Christians alike, to join them in fighting for an independent Macedonia. But Krushevo Republic was short-lived. After ten



the Italian-Turkish war of 1911 encouraged the Balkan states to rise against the Ottoman power. As a result Balkan States were invited to join together against the Ottomans by the Russians and the British.<sup>55</sup>

The Ottomans were defeated in the First Balkan War which took place in 1912. However, the alliance collapsed because of Macedonian issue. At the end of the war, new armistice was declared on 26 March 1913, and after the signature of the Treaty of London on 30 May 1913, the Ottomans lost all their land in the Balkans, except Istanbul, and its surrounding territories.<sup>56</sup> After the end of Ottoman occupation, Bulgaria had conflicts with the neighbors. She attacked both Serbs and Greeks in Macedonia. The Second Balkan War started with the Bulgarian armies occupation of Vardar and Aegean Macedonia in 1913. Macedonia was divided with the Bucharest Treaty again. Central and North Macedonia was given to Serbia which consisted largest part of the Ottoman Macedonia. Greece took south Macedonia. However, Bulgaria gained only a small territory.

After the end of the World War I Macedonia was divided again among four Balkan states. About half of its territories went to Greece. Yugoslavia gained nearly as much but Bulgaria obtained only a small area and Albania annexed a small strip along its eastern border.<sup>57</sup> These Balkan countries immediately started assimilation policy in Macedonia.

Bulgaria with the treaty of Neuilly gave the largest part of Macedonia to Yugoslavia in 1919. This caused a great sadness among the Bulgarians and was the end of the Great Bulgaria dream. Bulgaria tried to establish good relations with Yugoslavia under the leadership of Alexander Stambulisky in the early 1920's. The aim was the creation of a South Slav Balkan Federation. However, IMRO did not accept the plans for agreement. With the assassination of Stambulisky a new period of relationship between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria as well as Greece opened in 1923. Balkan Pact was signed between Greece, Romania, Turkey and Yugoslavia. Bulgaria joint on February 1934. With the beginning of World War II, Bulgaria joined the German-Italian side and occupied the Vardar Macedonia and part of the Aegean Macedonia. The population of Yugoslav Macedonia did not resist the Bulgarian occupation.

In time Yugoslav Macedonians adopted the Bulgarian authority. However, they realized that all hopes were false. Because Bulgaria started a new assimilation campaign first through the establishment of more than 800 schools and a University in Skopje<sup>58</sup>. The occupation of Yugoslav Macedonia led to a struggle between the Yugoslav and the Bulgarian communists. The communist partisans in Yugoslavia with their leader Josip Broz Tito organized a war of national liberation. "The Tito's regime saw the recognition of Macedonian nationality as a step towards the eventual unification of all Macedonians, including those in Bulgaria and Greece under the Yugoslav leadership. Belgrade hoped that the recognition of a separate Macedonian nationality would also weaken Bulgaria's claim and Macedonian's connection to Bulgaria."<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, Macedonian partisans rebelled against the Bulgarian occupation in

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days, Turks re-gained the control of Macedonia'. Poulton, H., (1995), *Who are the Macedonians?*, London, p. 51

<sup>55</sup> Yerasimos, S., (2000), *Milliyetler ve Sınırlar*, p.69-70

<sup>56</sup> Poulton, (1995), p. 73

<sup>57</sup> Kostanick, L., H., Jelavich, C., Jelavich, B., (1963), *The Balkans In Transition*, p.12

<sup>58</sup> Poulton (1995), p.101

<sup>59</sup> Eventually, the Bulgarian communists realized that annexation of Macedonia to Bulgaria was not easy. In June 1948, Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform because of Tito's Macedonia policies and 'Balkan Federation' ideal. However, Bulgarian regime continued to recognize the Macedonian nationality in order to keep it's their ambitions (for Greater Bulgaria). After the Bulgarian president Georgi Dimithrov's death the



Vardar Macedonia in 1942. At the end of the World War II, Macedonians in all three regions of Macedonia faced campaigns of assimilation, the goal of which was to deprive them of their true Macedonian identity and convince them that they were actually Serbs, Bulgarians and Greeks.<sup>60</sup>

The Yugoslavian communist party recognized Macedonia as one of the constitutional nations, in 1944.<sup>61</sup> The People's Republic of Macedonia was proclaimed as a sovereign state on August 2, 1944. Macedonia officially joined the Yugoslavian Federation in 1946 after the first proclamation of the first constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.<sup>62</sup> Danforth points out that 'when Macedonian independence was officially proclaimed, it was called a second Illinden, a complete fulfillment of the ideals of the Krushevo Republic.' He adds that "since 1944, Macedonians in Vardar Macedonia, the 'free' or 'liberated' part of Macedonia, have enjoyed almost complete cultural and political autonomy.

After the independence, Macedonian linguists began the process of codification and standardization that led to the development of the Macedonian literary language. This process was continued by scholars at the Institute for the Macedonian language and at the Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje. In 1958, the Archbishopric of Ohrid was restored and in 1967 Macedonian Orthodox Church regained its full independence, two hundred years after the Archbishopric of Ohrid had been abolished."<sup>63</sup>

The constitutional name of the Macedonian federal unit was the Peoples of Republic of Macedonia when the first constitution was declared in 1946. Later, Macedonia adopted the amendments to the Republic's 1974 Constitution. These constitutional amendments provided the right of self-determination to Macedonian people, including the right to secession from the Yugoslav federal community.<sup>64</sup> First democratic elections in Macedonia were held on 11 November 1990. The new multi-party assembly adopted a declaration on the sovereignty of the Republic on 25 January 1991. After the referendum on sovereignty on 8 September, 1991 Macedonia became an independent state.

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policy began to change in 1949. In 1956, Bulgarian Party decided to withdraw its recognition of the existence of a separate Macedonian nationality. Cviic, C., (1991), p.37-40. Dimitrov was the first communist president of Bulgaria after WWII. In 1947, Dimitrov and Tito met and discussed the question of Pirin Macedonia. Tito and Dimitrov started negotiate for the creation of a new Balkan federation. The intention of two leaders was to unite the three Macedonian regions, known as Vardar, Aegean, and Pirin Macedonia. Georgieva, Konechni, (1998), p.90

<sup>60</sup> Poulton (1995), p.51

<sup>61</sup> Georgieva, Konechni, (1998), p. 257-258

<sup>62</sup> Georgieva, Konechni, (1998), p.19

<sup>63</sup> Poulton (1995), p.52-53

<sup>64</sup> Council for Research into South-Eastern Europe, (1993), Macedonia and Its Relations with Greece, Skopje, p.97



## CHAPTER II: INDEPENDENCE OF MACEDONIA AND THE AFTERMATH

### 2.1 Declaration of Independence

With the dissolution of Yugoslavia, Macedonia gained independence after Slovenia and Croatia.<sup>1</sup> The dissolution of Yugoslavia occurred partly because of the six federal states had different characteristics like national, religious, cultural, language and also historical features. In addition Yugoslavian economy was suffering. Actually neither the USA nor Russia, supported the dissolution of Yugoslavia. They preferred and supported a federal structure for Yugoslavia.<sup>2</sup>

Many western states also feared that a conflict in Macedonia would be inevitable. On the contrary republic of Macedonia was proclaimed in a peaceful way. The Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) chose not enter war with the new republic because the YPA was already at war with Slovenia and Croatia. As a result the YPA withdrew from Macedonia without any incident. If the YPA had opened another front in Macedonia, the young republic of Macedonia could have been damaged very badly, because the young Macedonian state had a very weak economy. Despite of all these factors Macedonians won the struggle of independence.

The first multi party elections in Macedonia were held in 1990. Some 20 parties participated in the elections. The government of the new republic of Macedonia was created by the coalition of parties like the Reformist Forces Union/Liberal Party (PDP) that obtained 18 seats, Revolutionary Democratic Party for the Macedonian Unity (VMRO-DPMNE) which gained 37 seats and the Social Democratic Union (SDS) with 31 seats. The democratic peoples party (also called Democratic Welfare Party) of the Macedonian Albanians won 25 seats. Turkish democratic union party could not enter the parliament. Later with SDS, minister of cultural affairs Güner İsmail entered the parliament. VMRO-DPMNE followed an extreme nationalist and revolutionary road. It is the continuation of Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Resistance Movement created against the Ottoman rule in 1893. Their main goal was the construction of Greater Macedonia.<sup>3</sup>

Macedonian Assembly (Sobranie) adopted new constitution on November 17, 1991. As a result the republic of Macedonia became an independent state. Ethnic Albanians of Macedonia protested the preamble of the new constitution. Because the 1974 constitution of the Former Yugoslav federation acknowledged that the Macedonian nation consisted of Macedons, Albanians and Turks. Whereas, the new 1991 constitution mentioned only the Macedons and other citizens without specifying their ethnicity and nationality.

<sup>1</sup> The Bosnian Serbs and Serbia showed a great reaction for the independence of Slovenia and Croatia. Serbia wanted to create new Yugoslavia (Montenegro, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Vojvodina). After the independence of Slovenia and Croatia, Macedonia wanted to declare its independence. The new Macedonian republic was supported by the referendum on September 8, 1991. The declaration of independence of Macedonian state took place on September 17, 1991.

<sup>2</sup> Harp Akademileri Komutanlığı Yayınları, (1999), Balkanlardaki Gelişmeler ve Türkiye'ye Etkileri ile Balkanlar Türkiye toylol projesi, p. 97

<sup>3</sup> Greater Macedonia consist of all three region namely Vardar, Pirin and Aegean Macedonia. It approximately covers 66.397 square kilometers. TDP (Turkish Democratic Union Party) was established in 1990. TDP aims to promote Turkish consciousness, secure participations of Turks in public service. PDP is an Albanian Party. It aims to win citizenship rights in Macedonia for Macedonians. SDS is the party of former communists. This party demands all individuals, religious and cultural tolerance for the minority rights. See; Gürkan, İ., editor; Soysal, İ., (1993), Turkish Review of Balkan Studies (annual 1), p.114-115.



The constitution declares Macedonia to be the national state of Macedonian people. But under the Yugoslav constitution the preamble defined Macedonia to be a nation of the Macedonian people and the Albanian and Turkish minorities. This definition was condemned especially by the Albanians and their parties. After a short time, in January, 1992, ethnic Albanians held an illegal referendum for autonomy within the new state. Approximately 99% supported political and cultural autonomy.

According to the census of June and July 1994, the republic of Macedonia had a total population of 1,936,877 which 66.5% were Macedonians, 22.9% were Albanians, 4% were Turks, 2.3% were Romas (Gypsies), 2% were Serbs, and 0.4 were Vlachs. 1.8% said they belong to some other nationality.<sup>4</sup> But ethnic Albanians never accepted the fact that they are only 22.9% of the total population. According to ethnic Albanians, their population comprise of 40% of the total population. Meanwhile, the Macedonian parliament approved citizenship laws. It allowed persons to gain citizenship only if they were born in Macedonia or lived at least 15 years in the Macedonian Republic or parents were born in Macedonia even if they live outside of the country.

As mentioned before, the republic of Macedonia has a multi party system. The Macedonian parliament has 120 members. Kiro Gligorov was elected as the first president of the young republic in 1991, after the first multiparty election.<sup>5</sup> The president and members of the National Assembly are elected for four year terms. In 1994 Gligorov was reelected as president by popular votes. Currently, Boris Trajkovski is the new president of Macedonia.

The republic of Macedonia has its own currency, the denar, which was created in April 1992. Actually with the declaration of independence Macedonia had to face a weak economy, because Macedonia was one of the poorest of the six republics of the former Yugoslav federation.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, Macedonian republic was not recognized by the international community in this period. Because with the declaration of the new republic of Macedonia, many states objected to the new independent and sovereign state. Especially the Greek objection to Macedonia's independence is still taking place in the international arena.

## 2.2. Declaration of Independence and Resulting Crises

The threat of external potential conflicts to the young republic of Macedonia by its neighbors increased after the independence. The first potential conflict was Greece's objection to the name 'Macedonia'. Other neighbors, namely Serbia, Bulgaria and Albania showed at the beginning non-friendly reactions.

Bulgaria was the first neighbor to recognize Macedonian state in January 15, 1992. Later, the Macedonian state was recognized by Turkey, Russia, Slovenia, and Croatia.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand Greece declared that it will not recognize the name of the Macedonian state. The dispute on the name issue took place in the international arena throughout the 1990's.

<sup>4</sup> Shea, J., (1997), Macedonia and Greece, p.213

<sup>5</sup> His political career started during the WWII and still continues. Gligorov promoted multiparty elections and free market economy during his political life. See; Georgieva, Konechni, (1998), p.122-124

<sup>6</sup> Macedonian economy is based on agriculture, mining and light industry. In the former years Macedonian economy was closely tied with other Yugoslav countries, especially Serbia. In recent years Macedonian economy has been transformed to market economy. See; Shea, (1997), p.216-217

<sup>7</sup> Soysal, İ., Ortadoğu ve Balkan İncelemeleri (Annual 1, Balkanlar ), (1993), Eren Yayıncılık, p. 213



After the independence in 1991, the Macedonian question has gained new dimensions with Greece. Some of the problematic areas between Greece and Macedonian state: the name issue, the constitution (especially article 3 and 49), the issue of recognition, the flag issue, the issue of the Macedonian minority in Greece and the issue of political, economic embargo against Macedonia.

Because of these issues Macedonia was threatened by the Greeks after the declaration of independence. Greece started to apply economic and diplomatic embargo against the new republic. She tried to prevent the establishment and the recognition of independent Macedonia in the international arena. For this aim media was used as the main instrument, also academic seminars were organized to prevent recognition of Macedonian state under the name of republic of Macedonia.

Until the early 1990's, the Greek perspective was that the name Macedonia was used only to refer to the geographical Macedonia, and it should not be used to define national identity or a single ethnic group such as Slavs. The Greeks also believed that various ethnic groups inhabited the Macedonian region such as 'Yugoslav Macedonians', 'Bulgarian Macedonians', 'Greek Macedonians'.<sup>8</sup> Today, on the other hand, Macedonians deny that there is such a thing as a Yugoslav-Macedonian, a Bulgarian Macedonian, or a Greek Macedonian, and claim that these terms are divisive.<sup>9</sup>

According to Greece the republic of Skopje (Greece still does not recognize the name of the republic of Macedonia) has no right to use the region name for itself as no European country has a right to use the name of the 'Republic of Europe'. The Greeks believe the name Macedonia is a Greek name and it is stolen from them. In fact Greece feared that if the new republic used the name of Macedonia, all extreme nationalist Macedonians would want to join with the Macedonians of Greece. On the other hand the Greek Macedonians seem very determined to defend the name Macedonia and to accuse Greeks of trying to deny Macedonian identity by monopolizing the name.<sup>10</sup>

The dispute between Greece and Macedonia was not only on the issue of the name. The issue of Macedonian minority in Greece, existence of Macedonian nation, and the language, even the identity of Alexander the Great and ancient Macedonians are some of the issues. According to Greek nationalists view Alexander the Great and ancient Macedonians were Greek. In addition the Macedonian nation is described as a 'false' and 'forged' nation. It is an artificial creation, fabrication, or invention of Tito's policy'.<sup>11</sup>

It appears that the Macedonians and the Greeks saw themselves as separate peoples. For example, according to Macedonian historians, Alexander the Great was Macedonian. He was only educated by the Greek philosopher Aristotle.<sup>12</sup> According to Loring Danforth the Macedonians who inhabit Pirin and Aegean Macedonia have lost their historical status as a people and as a nation and have been reduced to the status of ethnic minorities. Also they have been forced assimilation, de-nationalization and cultural genocide by the governments of

<sup>8</sup> Danforth, (1995) p.31

<sup>9</sup> Danforth, (1995), p.43

<sup>10</sup> Danforth, (1995), p.34-35

<sup>11</sup> Danforth, (1995), p. 32-33.

<sup>12</sup> Council for Research into South-Eastern Europe, (1993), Macedonia and its relations with Greece, Skopje, p.13-14



Albania, Bulgaria, and Greece.<sup>13</sup> According to more extreme Macedonian nationalist position, modern Macedonians are not Slavs, they are direct descendants of the ancient Macedonians who were not Greek. The Greeks refuse this claim and suggest that Skopians are Slavs and not Macedonians.

Generally speaking educated Macedonians have more moderate nationalist position. They believe that Macedonians are Slavs and are therefore not descendants of the ancient Macedonians. Kiro Gligorov, the first president of the republic of Macedonia, stated that "we don't have any relation to Alexander the great, we are a Slavic people who arrived here in the 6<sup>th</sup> century".<sup>14</sup>

More extreme nationalist Macedonians defend the creation of a free, united, and independent Macedonia. This means that all three regions of Macedonia –Vardar, Pirin, and Aegean- must be united. They believe that Macedonia is only for the Macedonians and Salonika belongs to Macedonia.<sup>15</sup>

Article 3 and article 49 of the Macedonian constitution<sup>16</sup> were refused by the Greeks. These articles have been amended by the Macedonian assembly, Sobranie in 1992. After these changes Greece also wanted the Macedonians to amend their constitutions preamble. In 1995, Greece gave up its insistence on this issue.<sup>17</sup>

The other objection of Greece was over the Macedonian flag. The Macedonian flag carried 16 yellow beams on the red base. Greece claimed that Slavs of Skopje are stealing an ancient Greek national symbol of Vergina. Therefore they wanted the Macedonians to change their national flag.<sup>18</sup> In 1990's, Greece stressed that it will not recognize the Macedonian state

<sup>13</sup> Danforth, (1995), p.45

<sup>14</sup> Danforth, (1995), p.46

<sup>15</sup> Danforth, (1995), p.46-47

<sup>16</sup> Article 3 (1) The territory of the Republic of Macedonia is indivisible and inviolable.(2) The existing borders of the Republic of Macedonia are inviolable.(3) The borders of the Republic of Macedonia can only be changed in accordance with the Constitution and on the principle of free will, as well in accordance with generally accepted international norms. The Greeks did not accept these explanations. They perceived that this amendment threatened their security. As a result Macedonians added amendment 4 '(4) The republic of Macedonia has no territorial pretensions towards any neighboring state.' Article 49(1) The Republic cares for the status and rights of those persons belonging to the Macedonian people in neighboring countries, as well as Macedonian expatriates, assists their cultural development and promotes links with them. With the Greek objection of this amendment Macedonian government added this definition within the article 1. 'In the exercise of this concern the Republic will not interfere in the sovereign rights of other states or in their internal affairs'. (2) The Republic cares for the cultural, economic and social rights of the citizens of the Republic abroad. Despite Greece does not accept the Macedonian minority within Greece. Nevertheless, Greece should not have perceived this definition as a threat. The Macedonian Constitution, 1992, Skopje, [http://www.uni-wuerzburg.de/law/mk00000\\_.html](http://www.uni-wuerzburg.de/law/mk00000_.html)

<sup>17</sup> The preamble reads '...the Macedonian people and their struggle over centuries for national and social freedom as well as the creation of their own state, and particularly the traditions of statehood and legality of the Krushevo Republic and the historic decisions of the Anti-Fascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia...' The main reason of Greece's objection to this preamble was its reference to the geographical Macedonia and its final goal of re-unification by the Macedonians. With this definition The Greeks claimed that Macedonians actually aimed to capture Aegean Macedonia as well. Nevertheless, Greece dropped this claim in September 1995 mainly because of the international pressure. Kut, Ş., Saybaşılı, K., Özcan, G., (1997),Yeni Balkanlar Eski Sorunlar, Bağlam Yayıncılık,İstanbul,p.294

<sup>18</sup> This symbol 'The Sun Of Vergina' was found in the archaeological excavation in the region of Vergina, Northern Greece in 1977. This motif was found on the golden box which was thought to be carrying the bones of the Philip II, the father of the Alexander the Great. On the other hand, the Macedonians claim that this motive



unless Macedonians change their state's name even flag. These controversial issues continued since Macedonian independence until 1995. In fact, the Greek reactions encouraged Macedonians to define their new identity. For example, Macedonian orthodox christian and slavic symbols can be seen on Macedonian money 'denar'<sup>19</sup>. Some problems between two states, especially the name issue, still continue.

On September 13, 1995, Greece and Macedonia signed an agreement, which is called the 'Interim Accord'. With this treaty Macedonia announced that it would change its flag. As a result they adopted a flag which is 'red with a golden yellow sun. The sun has eight rays. The sun rays are crossing diagonally, horizontally and vertically'.<sup>20</sup> In addition under the interim accord agreement, Macedonia is recognized by Greece as the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia. But this is not a permanent decision. Macedonia should find new name that does not include the word of Macedonia. Furthermore, Greece should lift its economic embargo over the Macedonia, and Greece should give permission to Macedonia to develop ties with the European Union and to use the port of Thessalonica<sup>21</sup>

It seems that with the interim accord a new and friendly relation began between Greece and Macedonia. In addition, the relationship between these two states have entered a normalization process. The Greeks gained some advantages after the long struggle. For example, Macedonia was forced to make changes to its constitution in 1992 and its flag in 1995. Macedonia, on the other hand, has gained recognition by Greece (under the name of FYROM). Additionally, Greece decided reduce economic embargoes and lifted the veto against Macedonia for joining the European institutions.

After the interim accord between Macedonia and Greece, Macedonia did not encounter a serious threat by Greece. Nevertheless, it is obvious that, the regional security in the Balkans is directly related with the Macedonian security.

### 2.3. Reactions of the other neighbors to the Declaration of Independence

As mentioned before, during the global wars Macedonian territory was occupied by the Bulgarians in order to establish Greater Bulgaria. After the Second world war Bulgaria recognized the existence of Macedonians in 1944.<sup>22</sup> But afterwards they changed their minds in 1956, claiming that Macedonian language is a Bulgarian dialect and Macedonians are Bulgarians. According to Macedonians, Macedonian language was developed from the speech forms of the Slav tribes.<sup>23</sup> However, with the declaration of independence of republic of Macedonia Bulgaria was the first country to recognize the state of Macedonia.

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has been used by the Macedonians since the antiquity, and must not be monopolized by the Greeks. Although, this issue has been widely controversial because some findings even suggest that the tomb of the Alexander the Great was found in Egypt. Kut, Saybaşı, Özcan, (1997), p.295 also see Shea, (1997) p.190

<sup>19</sup> Volkan, V., (April, 2002) Unpublished article titled A "Paranoid Society": The Legacy of Albania's Enver Hoxha.

<sup>20</sup> Macedonian flag law, <http://www.fotw.stm.it/flags/mk-law.html>

<sup>21</sup> After the 1993 elections, Papandreou adopted a 'No dialogue strategy' with Macedonia. An economic embargo was applied against Macedonia. The State Department of the USA condemned the decision of Greece. The EU commission president Jaques Delors sent a letter to Greek prime minister. He announced that unless embargo is lifted by Greece, it could be taken to the European Court of Justice. The negotiations started in New York in September 1995. Richard Hollbrooke who was a special envoy to the U.N., led the negotiations. Interim accord marked the beginning of the diplomatic relations between Greece and Macedonia.

<sup>22</sup> Cviic, C., (1991), *Remaking the Balkans*, London, p.38

<sup>23</sup> Macedonian language was developed freely after the WWII, and was formed on the basis of the western Macedonian dialect. In 1944, with the declaration of independence, its standardization was completed with the



But Bulgaria still does not accept the separate Macedonian nationality, and refuse the distinct Macedonian nationality. According to Bulgaria, Macedonia is another Bulgarian state. In addition Bulgaria does not accept the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria. These issues are still present between the two countries.<sup>24</sup>

In fact, the relationship between Macedonia and Albania has never become a serious crises. After the independence of Macedonia in 1991, ethnic Albanians counted 21% of total population of 2,033,964, which equals to 427,313. Same census indicated that Macedonians consist of 64.6 percent of total population.<sup>25</sup>

On the other hand, Albania recognizes the existence of the Macedonian nation, and the existence of a small Macedonian minority within its borders. Albania also allowed the opening of Macedonian schools in Albania. It seems that the Macedonians in Albania are in a better position than in Greece or Bulgaria.<sup>26</sup> Despite the privileges, minority rights issues still continues to exist in Albania.

Serbia, another important neighbor recognized Macedonia in 1996. But before recognition the international community and even republic of Macedonia feared that the Serbs might try to establish their dream of 'the greater Serbia' by capturing Macedonia. This did not occur, partly because in that time Milosevic was fighting in another front in Bosnia. In addition, during the Bosnian crisis the Balkan states and the international community feared a possibility of the beginning of the third Balkan war. Many authors, journalist, researcher, even states thought that the Bosnian conflict would spread into the Macedonia, because Macedonia was very weak after the independence of the republic, and had no armed forces. Nevertheless, Yugoslav National Army (YNA) withdrew from the republic of Macedonia peacefully.

#### 2.4. The Role of the UN, the Great Powers and the EU on the Independence of Macedonia

Historically, the great powers always played a role on the territories of great geographic, strategic and economic importance. In the past, the great powers even struggled among each other and tried to obtain territories that had a strategic terrain. As a result many borders were redrawn by the great powers. The post cold war totally changed the meaning of security. Today, the great powers play important role to protect the regional security and international peace.

The geographic region of Macedonia, as well as the republic of Macedonia, carry specific strategic and geographical importance. After the declaration of independence Macedonia has taken a role of an independent and sovereign state in the international arena.

The demand for support of the UN peace forces on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia came from the Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov on November, 1992. The UN Security Council decided to send a UN Protection Force 'UNPROFOR' to Macedonia on December

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adoption of alphabet (may 3,1945). See; Council for research into South-Eastern Europe, (1993), Macedonia and its relationship with Greece, p. 105-111

<sup>24</sup> Danforth, (1995), p.66-69

<sup>25</sup> Johnstone, (5.30.2001), Albanians In Macedonia: Facts and Fictions, <http://www.antiwar.com/rep/johnstone1.html>

<sup>26</sup> Kiro Gligorov, the president of the Republic of Macedonia, visited Albania in the beginning of June 1992. Sali Berisha, the Albanian president and Kiro Gligorov, have proposed a Balkan Zone without borders "from Adriatic to the Black Sea" in a bid to end conflicts and pave the way towards a peaceful, prosperous future. 'International Affairs Agency (INAF), (1993), The Rising Sun in the Balkans: The Republic of Macedonia, p. 23



1992. The main intention was the maintenance of the United Nations existence on the republic's borders with Albania and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This force was later named as the UN Preventive Deployment 'UNPREDEP'.<sup>27</sup>

The United Nations Preventive Deployment Force in Macedonia is the first mission in the history of United Nations peacekeeping with a preventive purpose. The mission's aim is to prevent disputes and serious conflicts by using troop deployment, mediation, negotiation, conciliation and other peaceful means. The mission also focused on other responsibilities like strengthening mutual dialogue among political parties and monitoring human rights and inter-ethnic relations in the country. Almost half of these forces were American. This gives an indication of how important Macedonia is in the eyes of the international community in general and of the United States in particular.<sup>28</sup> After November 30, 1997 the Security Council faced a dilemma regarding UNPREDEP's evaluation and continuation. Mainly because Macedonia established the diplomatic relations with Taiwan. As a result China in the Security Council of the UN refused to extend the mission of UNPREDEP and mission was terminated on August 31, 1998.

The European Union did not show much interest in the Balkans in the beginning. Furthermore, Greece tried very hard to prevent the recognition of Macedonia. The EU generally stayed close to Athen's position. With the formation of the Badinter Commission, the EU designated the conditions of the recognition of the newly established independent states. The Badinter commission used several criteria namely human rights, minority rights, democracy, and free market economy in order to evaluate the maturity of new states to recognition.

Greece objected to the name of the Republic of Macedonia. They claimed it to be irredentist. Macedonia did not agree. The EU established a committee under the leadership of the Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court of France to resolve this issue. In its report, committee stressed that name of the new state does not constitute irredentist claim on any neighboring territory.<sup>29</sup> Consequently, Macedonia prepared two amendments for its constitution declaring that it will not interfere in the sovereign rights of other states or in their internal affairs. It was also made clear that the republic of Macedonia had no territorial claim towards any neighboring state. Despite of the Greek objections, European states began to establish good relationship with the new state. Finally, the EU recognized the new state on December 1993.

Republic of Macedonia is the first country that started the negotiations of the Stabilisation and Association Agreements with the EU. The SAA provided a new framework for the development of relations between the newly established Balkan countries and the European

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<sup>27</sup>With the UN Resolution 983 the UNPROFOR officially became UNPREDEP in 1995. UNPREDEP's military mission included monitoring and reporting any security related issue. Because the lack of border markers between the two countries, the borders were drawn by the UN forces. With the Resolution 908 in March 1994, a civilian mission was added regarding the mediation of inter-ethnic conflicts. The tasks also included monitoring the border areas with Albania and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; strengthening the country's security and stability and reporting any developments that could threaten the country. Cvetkovska, Vankovska, B., (online Journal of Peace and Conflict resolution), UNPREDEP in Macedonia: Achievement and limits of Preventive Diplomacy, [http://members.aol.com/peacejnl1/2\\_1vankov.htm](http://members.aol.com/peacejnl1/2_1vankov.htm)

see also Ryan, S., (1995), *Ethnic Conflict and International Relations*, p.170-171

<sup>28</sup> Shea, (1997), p.1

<sup>29</sup> Akgönenç, O., (1993), *Turkish Review of Balkan Studies*, Foundation For Middle East and Balkan Studies (OBIV), (Annual 1), Isis, İstanbul, p.137-138

Union. The SAA sets political and economic conditions, such as the need for regional co-operation, the respect of fundamental rights, human rights and ethnic minorities<sup>30</sup>

The negotiations started in Skopje on 5 March 2000 and SAA was signed on 24 November 2000.<sup>31</sup> An Interim Agreement between the European Community and the Republic of Macedonia was also signed in Luxembourg on 9 April 2001. With the Interim Agreement the Parties allowed trade-related matters of the SAA to enter in to force on 1 June 2001 without waiting for the approval by the national Parliaments of the EU Member States.<sup>32</sup>

Today the republic of Macedonia has been acknowledged by the European states. The republic is now being supported by the USA, EU, NATO, UN, and even Balkan states. Despite of all the positive developments, the threat to the security of this young state may come from within its borders. Therefore, it is important to diagnose the dynamics of the problems in Macedonia. As a result appropriate solutions could be found to ensure the security of this young state.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, (6 April 2001), [http://europa.eu.int/comm/external\\_relations/see/news/memo01\\_127.htm](http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/see/news/memo01_127.htm)

<sup>31</sup> The Stabilization and Association Agreement with the Republic of Macedonia focuses on the following main elements: The respect of international peace and stability, the development of good neighborly relations, democratic principles and human rights, minority rights, international law principles and the rule of law. The political importance of the Agreement is very high because it gives the Republic of Macedonia the status of potential candidate, opening up the possibility of future accession to the European Union. See on the road to Europe (6 April 2001) [http://europa.eu.int/comm/external\\_relations/see/news/memo01\\_127.htm](http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/see/news/memo01_127.htm)

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, On the road to Europe, (6 April 2001) Brussels, [http://europa.eu.int/comm/external\\_relations/see/news/memo01\\_127.htm](http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/see/news/memo01_127.htm)



## CHAPTER III: INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS IN MACEDONIA AND SECURITY CONCERNS.

### 3.1. Ethnic Structure of the Macedonian Society

There are roughly seven different ethnic groups living in Macedonia. It seems that the ethnic Albanians are the biggest ethnic group in Macedonia after Macedonians. But according to the ethnic Albanians, they are forty percent of the population.<sup>1</sup> The other ethnic groups do not exceed five percent each.<sup>2</sup> It appears that there is imbalance between the ethnic groups within Macedonia.

Peace and security have always been dependent both on internal and external factors in Macedonia. If an ethnic group has members in the neighboring countries, this situation could affect that country's security atmosphere. This could easily be seen in Macedonia. In fact, ethnic Albanians of Macedonia have good relations with the Albanians living in other Balkan countries. For example, this relationship was clearly to be seen during the Kosovo crises and even in Macedonia's latest ethnic events. The Macedonians are worried because the future of Kosovo is not known and the majority of Kosovars are of Albanian ethnic origin. There is a concern that the Albanians of Macedonia will work to gain autonomy within Macedonia and later to join brethren Kosovo Albanians to establish the dream of the Greater Albania. After speaking to a group of Slav-Macedonian scholars in Skopje, Volkan, notes that they often discuss their shared identity, explaining worry about its security. For example, they spoke of Moslem Albanians in Macedonia having more babies as a threat to their shared identity.<sup>3</sup> It appears that the status of the ethnic Albanians as well as the Macedonians could be defined as difficult cohabitation.

When we look at the past, we may see that there have always been strong links between Kosovar and Macedonian Albanians. Albanians in Macedonia were sensitive to every development in the neighboring autonomous province of Kosovo. In addition Kosovo was a cultural, political and economic place for Albanians within the former Yugoslavia. Therefore Kosovars and Albanians of Macedonia developed strong emotional and personal relationship.

According to Dr. Biljana Vankovska<sup>4</sup> Albanians in Yugoslavia created their own ethno-cultural community. This may explain why the relationship between Albanians in Macedonia and Kosovo has traditionally been closer than contacts between them and the Albanians in Albania.<sup>5</sup> Volkan on the other hand suggests that Albanians in Macedonia did not experience a gap in their history. Therefore, they are not regressed in the same way as Albanians of Albania are, but they may experience their own regression.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Shea, (1997), p. 229

<sup>2</sup> Simoska, E., (June-August, 1997), Macedonia: A view on the Inter Ethnic Relations, Perceptions, Vol II, Number 2, p.94

<sup>3</sup> Volkan, V., (April, 2002) Unpublished article titled A "Paranoid Society": The Legacy of Albania's Enver Hoxha,

<sup>4</sup> Associate Professor, University of Skopje.

<sup>5</sup> Vankovska, B., (1999), Macedonia After The Kosovo War, <http://www.transnational.org/forum/meet/Macedoniaafterwar.html>.

<sup>6</sup> 'After World War I, Albania was governed by Ahmet Bey Zogu, (King Zog I). In 1939, Italy invaded Albania and Zog escaped to Greece. When independence came again in 1944, Albania found itself under the leadership of Communist Enver Hoxha, who ruled the country over forty years until his death in April 1985, and was



According the Macedonian constitution (article 9) all citizens of Macedonia are equal under the Macedonian law. The constitution provides for the protection of the ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious identities of minorities. All the basic freedoms are given to ethnic minorities. In addition there are programs on the TV and radio, even newspapers in the languages of the minorities. But, despite all equalities of the minority rights, the expectations of the ethnic Albanians could not be satisfied.

The ethnicity policies of the states are very important to establish a harmony among the ethnic groups. Every ethnic group usually wants to gain more rights for their cultural, linguistic, religious and educational activities. If the states ethnicity policies are insufficient, each ethnic group will naturally try to protect their communities and their basic rights and privileges. All of the ethnic groups have political organizations and parties in Macedonia. These parties try to serve their community interest and to protect their own rights.

In fact, Albanians and Macedonians have different language, religion and cultural characteristics. The findings of Emilija Simoska's research on the inter-ethnic relations in Macedonia show that 42 percent of the Albanians and the Serbs stressed that they felt themselves to be second-class citizens. On the other hand 90 % of Turks and Vlachs regarded themselves as equal citizens. Findings also suggest that 87 % of Albanians, less than 10 % of the Turks and the Vlachs and 50 % of the Roma and Serbs saw themselves as discriminate persons.<sup>7</sup>

The important question is why aren't these people happy in the Macedonia. And why do these people feel themselves discriminated as second-class citizens? In fact all minorities have equal rights under the constitution. But despite these minority rights, the inter-ethnic relations should be further examined in Macedonia. The fact is the ethnic Albanians want to gain more rights.<sup>8</sup>

In the former Socialist Federated States of Yugoslavia, the constitution of the republic of the Macedonia described the Macedonian state as belonging to the Turks, Albanians and Macedonians. The Albanians of Macedonia were reduced to minority status after the independence.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, the Albanians boycotted the declaration of independence in 1991. They found the new constitutional preamble not acceptable. The preamble defined that the republic of Macedonia belonged to the founding Macedonian nation, and other minority citizens.<sup>10</sup>

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replaced by Ramiz Ali. In March 1992, the Albanian Democratic Party, Sali Berisha came to power. He initiated economic reforms but he began using anti-democratic methods in order to turn his country into a "democratic" state. Albania continued to be the poorest country in Europe. After the collapse of the pyramid scheme in Albania a national uprising occurred in which 1,500 people were killed. A multinational protection force restored order and set up new elections which resulted in the defeat of President Sali Berisha and brought Fatos Nano to power as the Prime Minister in 1997. Volkan, V., (April, 2002) Unpublished article titled A "Paranoid Society": The Legacy of Albania's Enver Hoxha

<sup>7</sup> Simoska, E., (1997), Macedonia: A View on the Inter-Ethnic Relations, Perceptions, Volume II, Number 2, June-August 1997, p.96

<sup>8</sup> Vankovska, B., (1999), Macedonia After The Kosovo War, <http://www.transnational.org/forum/meet/Macedoniaafterwar.html>,

<sup>9</sup> Gürkan, İ., Situation in Macedonia: Impressions of a Recent Trip, Turkish Review of Balkan Studies (Annual, 1993), Isis Publishing, Istanbul, p.116

<sup>10</sup> Gürkan, İ., Situation in Macedonia: Impressions of a Recent Trip, Turkish Review of Balkan Studies (Annual, 1993), Isis Publishing, Istanbul, p.116



In December 15, 2001, Macedonia adopted a new constitution, and the definition of the minorities in the preamble as second class citizens was removed.<sup>11</sup> The question is, Will we be able to say that ethnic Albanian demands end after the arrangement of the preamble of constitution? This is an important matter. Macedonia has many responsibilities to protect its stability and even security in the region, because the all minorities have different ways of life, customs, traditions, and habits.

Many Albanians work in the agricultural and civil engineering fields, but many Macedonians work in the public sector, police and state institutions. In addition many ethnic Albanians in Macedonia are less active in politics than Macedonians and there is little interaction between them. The fact is that there is an unbalance or inequality between the other ethnic groups members and Macedonians.

With the adaptation of the new constitution on December 2001, more rights were given to ethnic Albanians such as recognition of Albanian as an official language, increased access to the public sector jobs, and police. All of the positive developments could satisfy some demands of ethnic Albanians.<sup>12</sup>

### 3.2. The Question of Ethnic Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia

With the declaration of independence, the first problem with the ethnic Albanians appeared on the census of 1991. According the 1991 census, the Albanian of Macedonia comprised 21.7 % of the total population Macedonia.<sup>13</sup>

On November 17, 1991, the parliament adopted the Macedonian constitution. There were some unjust requirements of Macedonian citizenship laws. Someone who has lived in the republic of Macedonia for at least fifteen years, also people born in Macedonia or have parents born in Macedonia could become a citizen. On the other hand, Sobranie provided right to citizenship to the ethnic Macedonians who live out of the country.

In 1994, the census was assisted and observed by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). The results indicated that ethnic Albanians consist 23 % of the total population. Majority of the ethnic Albanians live in the western region of Macedonia in several towns like Tetovo, Gostivar and Debar. Macedonians mainly live in the central and eastern region in cities of Skopje, Strumica, Krushevo and Veles.

Ethnic Albanians held an illegal referendum in 1992, for the establishment of the Illirida Republic. The referendum showed that all ethnic Albanians supported an autonomous state. The lack of the proportional representation in the public sector, police and even military forces was another issue that concerned all ethnic Albanians.

The main goal of all ethnic Albanian parties is to obtain more rights for ethnic Albanians of Macedonia. Party for Democratic Prosperity (PDP) is the first Albanian party. The National Democratic Party (NDP) is a more radical party and a split from the PDP.

<sup>11</sup> Key Elements of Peace Accord By The Associated Press,  
<http://www.alb-net.com/amcc/cgi-bin/viewnews.cgi?newsid997798503,93642>,

<sup>12</sup> Key Elements of Peace Accord By The Associated Press,  
<http://www.alb-net.com/amcc/cgi-bin/viewnews.cgi?newsid997798503,93642>,

<sup>13</sup> Johnstone, D., Albanians in Macedonia: Facts and Fictions, <http://www.antiwar.com/rep/johnstone1.html>



Party for Democratic Prosperity for the Albanians (PDPA) is also a radical party. The PDPA challenged the superiority of the PDP in the national and local affairs. Democratic Party of the Albanians (DPA) was formed by unification of the NDP and PDPA.

Two new ethnic Albanian parties were established in the year 2000. The Democratic Alliance of the Albanians (DAA) was founded by Mevaip Ramadani. The party adopted the principle of the 'fighting for the rights of Albanians in Macedonia'.<sup>14</sup> The party leader of Ramadani condemned the PDP, DPA and their policy, because they failed to accomplish any of its promises, like the changes in the constitution and in other laws that do not fulfill the rights of the minorities.<sup>15</sup> Another party, Democratic Union of Albanians (DUA) created by Vasil Tupurkovski also challenged the PDP and DPA.

In general, ethnic Albanian demands can be categorized under five headings.<sup>16</sup>

- I. To gain founding nation status in the constitution,
- II. To redefine the Macedonian Republic as a bi-national state;
- III. To extend the linguistic rights and to affirm the Albanian language as a second official language; to have education in mother tongue on all levels including the University level;
- IV. To have more adequate and proportionate representation in all political and public sectors (especially in the security and military forces),
- V. To have greater autonomy of local government.

It seems that ethnic Albanians of Macedonia focus on to obtain more rights for themselves. On the other hand, Macedonians fear that the ethnic Albanians want to establish their autonomous state, even to destroy the Macedonian state. Nationalism in the Eastern Europe was created on myths of the past and the dreams of the future.<sup>17</sup> An important question again may hit the minds, Is Greater Albania possible? This question will be examined in chapter IV.

What are the causes of Ethnic Conflict? The causes of ethnic conflict are complex. According to Brown, ethnic conflict can exist if a mixed ethnic community live in one country. And at least one ethnic group in a community must feel discrimination and inequality.<sup>18</sup> If people can't voice their opinion with political channel, violence may be a choice.

Academic studies about the causes of ethnic conflict, generally try to explain at three levels of analysis. The systemic level, the domestic level and the perceptual level.<sup>19</sup> The systemic level focuses on the structure of the security systems within the country. According to this level of analysis, two or more ethnic groups must live close in a country which is the case in Macedonia. Secondly, national and international authorities must be inefficient to provide security for each ethnic group. As we know, the national authorities failed to prevent violence in Macedonia. The international community also was not effective in the beginning, as we will discuss this issue later.

<sup>14</sup> ICG Balkans Report, N 98, (2 August 2000), Macedonia's Ethnic Albanians: Bridging The Gulf, [http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/balkans/Macedonia/reports/A400015\\_02082000.pdf](http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/balkans/Macedonia/reports/A400015_02082000.pdf)

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, ICG Balkans Report, (2, August, 2000), [http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/balkans/Macedonia/reports/A400015\\_02082000.pdf](http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/balkans/Macedonia/reports/A400015_02082000.pdf)

<sup>16</sup> Vankovska, B., (1999), Macedonia After The Kosovo War, <http://www.transnational.org/forum/meet/Macedoniaafterwar.html>, also see, ICG Balkans Report N 38 (11 August 1998), The Albanian Question In Macedonia: Implications of the Kosovo for Inter-Ethnic Relations in Macedonia, p.6 <http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/showreport.cfm?reportid=161>

<sup>17</sup> Griffiths, S., I., (1998), Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict, Threats to European Security, p.11-12

<sup>18</sup> Brown, M., E., (1993), p.6

<sup>19</sup> Brown, M., E., (1993), p.6



Domestic explanations focus on the impact of nationalism and democratization on inter-ethnic relations.<sup>20</sup> Jack Synder argues that people expect from states to provide security and economic prosperity. Nationalism is necessary to establish such states. New state structures were created but not all of them provided security and prosperity. If the state structure is weak, nationalism is based on ethnic definitions. Therefore, ethnic nationalism depends on culture not institutions.<sup>21</sup> It seems emergence of ethnic nationalism makes ethnic conflict inevitable.

The rise of ethnic nationalism in one group can be seen threatening by others and can lead to similar reaction. As a result, they might demand their own states and secessionism.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, the rise of ethnic national consciousness in ethnic Albanians of Macedonia is seen by the Macedonians as threatening.

De Nevers suggest that if one group is larger than the other, then it is possible that majority group can dominate political discussions about the political arrangements,<sup>23</sup> and the minority interests will be neglected. This is exactly the case in Macedonia. The Slav Macedonians are majority (%66) in total population. Therefore, they dominate political arrangements. The interest of ethnic Albanians of Macedonia are ignored.

Perceptual explanation of ethnic conflict focuses on the false histories of ethnic groups. Synder argues these histories pass from generation to generation by word of mouth and are not necessarily scientifically proven. Their interpretations of events are prejudiced and exaggerated. They generally present one group as heroic and other as satanic.<sup>24</sup> The Serbs for example see themselves as heroic defenders of Europe and see Croats as murderers. The Croats see themselves as victims and see the Serbs as aggressors.<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, there is no evidence that proves Macedonians feeling themselves as heroic and feeling Albanians as satanic. According to Simoskas research, more than %70 of the total population in Macedonia did not show an emotional hatred or aggressiveness towards other ethnicities.<sup>26</sup>

In general, there are some common facts in states where there are ethnic conflicts. First, smaller ethnic groups have ethnic ties across the borders. The ethnic Albanians of Macedonia have very close ties with Albanians of Kosovo across the borders. Second, the ethnic groups have common views about other ethnic groups. Simoska's research indicated that Macedonians considered ethnic Albanians primitive and backward. According to the ethnic Albanians the Macedonians were dishonest. Both the Albanians and Macedonians showed prejudice against each other.<sup>27</sup> Third, extremist ethnic approach is a tool in political competition,<sup>28</sup> and this tool sometimes is used in Macedonia by both the ethnic Albanians and Macedonians.

After the declaration of independence, there were three important events that increased the ethnic tension between the Albanians and Macedonians. First, was the Bit Pazar Event,

<sup>20</sup> Brown, M., E., (1993), p.8-11

<sup>21</sup> Brown, M., E., (1993), p.8-11

<sup>22</sup> Brown, M., E., (1993), p.9

<sup>23</sup> Brown, M., E., (1993), p.9-10

<sup>24</sup> Brown, M., E., (1993), p.11

<sup>25</sup> Brown, M., E., (1993), p.11

<sup>26</sup> Simoska, E., (1997)p.98.

<sup>27</sup> Simoska, E., (1997)p.98-99

<sup>28</sup> Nevers, R. Brown., M.E., *Democratization and Ethnic Conflict*, (1993), *Ethnic Conflict and International Security*, p.61-64



second, were the events of Tetovo University, the third one was the Flag Issue. It seems that these three events marked the inter-ethnic relations in Macedonia.

The first major inter-ethnic incident is known as the Bit Pazar incident after the declaration of independence. It happened in the ethnic Albanian neighborhood of Bit Pazar in Skopje on November 6, 1992. A young ethnic Albanian was illegally selling cigarettes. Macedonian policeman beat him very badly. After the beating, the Albanian people clashed with the state police. As a result four people died and 36 ethnic Albanians and police were injured.

The right to education is very important for the ethnic Albanians. As it was mentioned ethnic Albanians demand to use their language and alphabet in official business. They want to have educational instruction in Albanian at all levels. They feel that they need education to improve their living standards. This issue has great importance on the inter-ethnic relations of Macedonia.

Ethnic Albanians established a private university in Mala Recica near the town of Tetovo in 1994. It was called the Tetovo University. All ethnic Albanians and the ethnic Albanian parties supported the Tetovo University. On the other hand, the Macedonian government declared that the university was illegal under the current provisions of constitution.

Macedonian police was ordered to enter the university in December 1994. Despite the government warnings the university reopened its doors two months later. The police raided the university again and destroyed the main buildings of the university. Several ethnic Albanian people including the president of the University of Tetovo, Fadil Sulejmani and many other administrators were arrested. The University reopened the following day. The confrontation continued between the police and the ethnic Albanians. At the end, despite all this confrontations, the government was unable to prevent the Tetovo University and finally they chose to ignore it.<sup>29</sup>

Ethnic Albanian residents of elected, DPA members Aljdin Demiri and Rufi Osmani were elected as mayors by the residents of Gostivar and Tetovo. Rufi Osmani who was mayor of the Gostivar in 1997, hanged the Turkish and Albanian flags next to the Macedonian state flag in the municipal buildings.

Macedonian court decided that the Albanian flag could fly on holidays and only beside a Macedonian flag on the municipal buildings, and the government wanted to lower these flags from the Gostivar Municipal hall. A large group of ethnic Albanian people wanted to prevent the police from entering the town hall to lower the flags. The police response was violent. As a result, two Albanians were killed, many ethnic Albanians including the mayor of Gostivar, Rufi Osmani were arrested. Osmani was sentenced to seven years and eight months in prison. The Gostivar city council president Refik Dauti, Tetovo mayor Alajdin Demiri, also Tetovo city Council President Vehbi Bexheti were arrested.

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<sup>29</sup> ICG Balkans Report N 38 (11 August 1998), The Albanian Question In Macedonia: Implications of the Kosovo for Inter-Ethnic Relations in Macedonia, p.5  
<http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/showreport.cfm?reportid=161>



It appears that these three events caused a great psychological trauma among the ethnic Albanians of Macedonia. Vamik Volkan<sup>30</sup> examines psychological traumas under three sections.

The first kind is caused by nature, like earthquakes, volcanic eruptions. The next is manmade for example Chernobyl disaster. The third one is intentionally caused by humans. That means somebody deliberately hurts other people. For example the activities could be assassinations of leaders, terrorism, genocide, ethnic conflict and war. That kind of trauma is a very different psychological trauma.<sup>31</sup>

According to Volkan ethnic conflict traumas may be distinguished from the natural disaster traumas. The effects of the ethnic conflict can produce important social and political changes. These changes do not only affect this generation but also next generations. People may lose trust in order, may have difficulty mourning and may not be able to stop hopelessness. They may not be able to change humiliation. Volkan described this as "psychobiological degeneration."<sup>32</sup>

After the ethnic conflict, societies generally expect younger generation to remember traumatic historical events. Traumatized adults may transfer their traumatized self-images into the developing identities of their children.<sup>33</sup> The main task of the younger generation is to keep alive the mental representation of the ancestors trauma. They are expected to reverse the humiliation and hopelessness that their ancestors suffered.<sup>34</sup> The younger generation is also expected to establish ethnic boundaries. The boundaries divide one traumatized ethnic group from another. Now the next generation shares the same image of the event. Each new generation's burden reinforces the large group identity. This is called 'trans-generational transmission'. The image becomes part of the groups identity and a ethnic sign on the ethnic tent canvas.<sup>35</sup> Volkan calls this mental representations of the large group a 'chosen trauma'.<sup>36</sup> According to Volkan, shared trauma which was caused by a common enemy, increase the sense of large group identity or "we-ness". It also causes a larger distance between "us and them." If the trauma is big, the group members stick to their group identity harder.

Chosen traumas link enemies with hate and sense of revenge.<sup>37</sup> Such traumas affect large group identity.<sup>38</sup> Chosen traumas can be reactivated to maintain hatred. A chosen trauma can

<sup>30</sup>Vamik Volkan is Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Virginia, and Founder and Director of the Center for the Study of Mind and Human Interaction.(CHMI) He is at the University of Virginia School of Medicine, Charlottesville, Virginia. The Center for the Study of Mind and Human Interactions studies large groups in conflict.

<sup>31</sup>Volkan, D., V., *Traumatized Societies and Psychological Care: ,expanding the Concept of Preventive Medicine*, Vol 11, Number 3, p. 178. see Barsalou, J., *Training to Help Traumatized Populations, Trauma Caused by Ethnic Conflict*, (17 December2001), see <http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr79.html>

<sup>32</sup>Barsalou, J., *Training to Help Traumatized Populations, Trauma Caused by Ethnic Conflict*

<sup>33</sup> Volkan, D., V., *Traumatized Societies and Psychological Care: ,expanding the Concept of Preventive Medicine*, Vol 11, Number 3, p186

<sup>34</sup> Volkan, V., D., Kanbağı: *Etnik Gururdan Etnik Teröre*, Bağlam Yayınları, 1999, p57

<sup>35</sup> Volkan resembles ethnicity to a tent made of canvas. The pole of the tent is the leader of the large ethnic group and the canvas is 'ethnicity'. The people live under this tent but are not aware of it. If something tries to damage the tent ,people will become aware of the tent and try to protect it from danger. They try to support the pole of the tent which is their leader. Lecture notes, Analysis of IR and Current International Problems, Prof.Dr. Jouni Suistola, Near East University, Nicosia, 1997

<sup>36</sup>Volkan,V., *Fundamentalism, Violence and Its Consequences* October 13,2001  
<http://www.theapm.org/cont/Volkantext.html>

<sup>37</sup>Volkan, D., V., Kanbağı: *Etnik Gururdan Etnik Teröre*, 1999, Bağlam Yayınları, p.101-122



continue to exist for centuries. Whenever there is an ethnic conflict, the leaders may use memories of past chosen traumas in order to unite the group emotionally and ideologically.<sup>39</sup>

In the 600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Kosovo War, Milosevic excavated the body of prince Lazar who was the leader of Serbian army killed in the battle of Kosovo in 1389. The mummified body of Lazar was carried in a coffin from one Serbian village after another. Milosevic reactivated a chosen trauma and refreshed the mourning process as if Prince Lazar died yesterday.<sup>40</sup>

According to Volkan, historical glories or victories can bring together the members of large groups and increase group confidence. Vamik refers to this 'chosen glories'. A chosen glory gradually becomes a mythology like chosen trauma but has less effect on the group identity rather than trauma.<sup>41</sup>

Volkan asserts that large group psychology has two main principles; first a group never becomes same as the other group. Second, a psychological barrier has to be maintained between neighboring large groups. If anxiety and distress increase within a large group than these two principles can become more visible. What are the causes of anxiety and distress in a large group? The answer can be the collapse of economy, war, death of a leader.<sup>42</sup>

How can we understand the beginning of ethnic conflict and how can we end the ethnic conflict? First of all an ethnic conflict can start with changes of political and economic factors. As the situation becomes worse, the order of society could be lost. The chaos could become inevitable. People start to become aware of their identity. They will want to protect it and to support their leader. On the other hand people will accuse the others for causing the conflict. Finally something triggers the conflict. Civilians are killed, mass murders and rape may take place.

In the past it was easy to end some wars with treaties, truce and cease fire agreements. In fact it is not easy to stop an ethnic conflict. The consequences of ethnic conflicts can be a peaceful reconciliation, a peaceful separation or War.<sup>43</sup> The groups might agree to live together, agree to live separately or fight. Ethnic reconciliation may require a new political and legal framework. Parties may agree to solve specific concerns in the constitution.

More local autonomy and more minority rights and guarantees must be provided. Ethnic separation may be necessary if the groups are unable to establish a new constitutional arrangement that satisfies all parties. They may decide to dissolve their ties as for example in the break up of the Soviet Union. Ethnic war is also another possible outcome in ethnic conflicts. Many ethnic disputes become violent and result as inter-ethnic war. Another possibility is, the minority group might be able to secede and declare independence. It might

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Barsalou, J., Training to Help Traumatized Populations, Trauma Caused by Ethnic Conflict, (17 December 2001), see <http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr79.html>

<sup>38</sup> Volkan, D., V., Traumatized Societies and Psychological Care: ,expanding the Concept of Preventive Medicine, Vol 11, Number 3, p.178

<sup>39</sup> Volkan, D., V., Traumatized Societies and Psychological Care: ,expanding the Concept of Preventive Medicine, Vol 11, Number 3, p.186

<sup>40</sup>Volkan, D., V., Bosnia-Herzegovina: Ancient Fuel of a Modern Inferno, Mind and Human Interaction, Vol 7, Number 3, August 1996, p 123

Barsalou, J., Training to Help Traumatized Populations, Trauma Caused by Ethnic Conflict, (17 December 2001), see <http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr79.html>

<sup>41</sup> Volkan, V., D., Kanbağı: Etnik Gururdan Etnik Teröre, Bağlam Yayınları, 1999, p. 101-122

<sup>42</sup> Volkan, D., V., (1999), p.235, see Volkan, D., V., Traumatized Societies and Psychological Care: ,expanding the Concept of Preventive Medicine, Vol 11, Number 3, p. 181

<sup>43</sup> Brown, (1993), p.12-15



demand an independent state within a confederation of states, or independent political entity within a new federal structure. The group might want more political economic, cultural, administrative autonomy within existing structure.<sup>44</sup>

The groups must be brought together to form a political solution with way of dialogue. Volkan offers opportunity for reducing ethnic tensions and promoting peaceful co-existence between opposing large groups.

'The Tree Model' of Volkan helps us to understand large-group identity and the behaviours to protect, maintain, or repair this shared identity.<sup>45</sup> According to this approach an interdisciplinary team that includes psychoanalysts, psychiatrists, diplomats, historians, and other social scientists can help opposing parties. This will decrease or remove the psychological barriers between them. As a result they can start more realistic negotiations. The Tree Model has three components: 1) Psychopolitical diagnosis (roots of the tree); 2) Psychopolitical dialogues (the body of the tree); 3) Institution building (branches of the tree).<sup>46</sup>

The first step is evaluation or diagnosis of the problems. It is important to diagnose problems on location. The interdisciplinary team studies the history and culture of the opposing groups, collects information, and identifies problems before traveling to region. After diagnosis, the next step is to establish a series of psycho-political dialogues among members of the opposing groups. Ten to fifteen participants from each side meet for four days at a time, several times a year. The dialogues try to change rigid positions on both sides and bring hidden aspects of the relationship to the surface. This way they can be discussed and solved. Once the psychological conscious or unconscious "poisons" removed, participants can design programs and projects.<sup>47</sup>

The facilitating team intervenes and guides the discussions to remove the psychological barriers. As a result the groups will communicate better with each other.

The aim of third component of the Tree Model is transform ideas into actions. The local contact group tries to create models for co-existence or collaboration. The most important task for the contact group is "teach" them to gain political power, and become NGOs. This model applied in Estonia. Estonia gained its independence from the Soviet Union in 1991. The new state consists one-third ethnic Russian population, just like one third of Macedonias population are Albanians. Volkan suggests Estonians' also had strong emotions about the Russian minority. There were serious questions about how to integrate them into Estonian society. The Center for the Study of Mind and Human Interaction (CSMHI) at the University of Virginia, done long-term preparatory work based on a psychoanalytic understanding of human relationships in Estonia beginning in 1991. Three years after the psycho-political dialogues a model of peaceful coexistence was build in three different places (a small village,

<sup>44</sup> Brown, (1993), p.12-15

<sup>45</sup> Volkan, V., *Psycho-political Approach for the Reduction of Ethnic or Other Large-Group Regression* Center for Development Research (ZEF Bonn): Facing Ethnic Conflicts (14-16 December 2000)

[http://www.zef.de/zef\\_englisch/veranstaltung/ethnic\\_conflicts.htm](http://www.zef.de/zef_englisch/veranstaltung/ethnic_conflicts.htm)

<sup>46</sup> Volkan, V., *Psycho-political Approach for the Reduction of Ethnic or Other Large-Group Regression* [http://www.zef.de/zef\\_englisch/veranstaltung/ethnic\\_conflicts.htm](http://www.zef.de/zef_englisch/veranstaltung/ethnic_conflicts.htm)

<sup>47</sup> Volkan, V. (1999). The tree model: a comprehensive psychopolitical approach to unofficial diplomacy and the reduction of ethnic tension. *Mind and Human Interaction*, 10: 142-206.



a suburb and a town) in Estonia. This way decisions can be made by the participants themselves: Estonians, Russian-speakers in Estonia, and representatives of Russia.<sup>48</sup>

It appears that the Tree Model of Volkan may offer a great opportunity to build bridges between the ethnic Albanians and Slav Macedonians in Macedonia. First, an interdisciplinary team must be built. This is not an easy process. Psychoanalysts and other clinicians must be experienced in international relations especially in the issues of the Balkans. They will work with diplomats, political scientists, and historians. The team must study the existing problems and its historical stages in detail. The team will study history and the culture of the antagonist groups of Macedonia before going on location.

At the end of this preparatory time a list of problems formed. In Macedonia, interdisciplinary team will conduct interviews with many people including government officials, parliamentarians, civic leaders, media people, scholars (historians, psychologists and others), NGO representatives. They examine problems to recognize peoples worries, fantasies, expectations. The team must visit important ethnic locations, monuments, cemeteries with each ethnic group representatives. This is important for the facilitating team to understand each ethnic groups sensitivities. After their data collection, they will identify and establish correct diagnosis. As a result a list of problem issues will be created in order to define secret issues which Volkan calls 'hidden transcripts' Some hidden transcripts for the Slav Macedonians could be the possibility of ethnic Albanians autonomy within the territories of Macedonia. Other would be fast increase of the ethnic Albanians population.

Second, a group of influential citizens from both ethnic Albanian and Macedonian community will come together and work collectively to remove psychological barriers. The facilitators in small group discussions are important because they can help establish functional working groups. With the psychopolitical dialogues a healthy trunk of a tree can grow. Because a healthy trunk will protect the tree from danger.

According to Sanders there are five stages for dialogues to change a conflictual relationship<sup>49</sup>. First of all there must be a wish to find a way for a peaceful co-existence among the representative citizens. Secondly, the ethnic Albanian and Slav Macedonian relationship will be analyzed.(Mapping the relationship).The relationship is examined to promote a wish to find a solution. Fourth, some scenarios should be designed to change the Ethnic Albanian and Slav Macedonian relations. For example an art project, a festival or a cultural project such as a theatrical event for participation from both communities. At last, the scenarios put in action.

After the dialogue, rigid opinions, accusations will decrease. The sides begin to focus on describing their points, then the negotiation can be easier. During the dialogue process local contact groups will be formed. The facilitators will encourage local contact groups to interact as a unit and form a new working group. These groups aim to create NGO's at the end. This is called institution building 'the branches of the Tree'.

Building institutions is necessary to establish peaceful solutions by psychopolitical dialogues. The NGO's can influence the government and the public in Macedonia.

This process is similar to the growing of a tree. But the tree needs water which is money. At this stage, international organizations and the NGOs must step in. The EU and OSCE, NATO

<sup>48</sup> Volkan,V.,( April,2002) Unpublished article titled A "Paranoid Society":The Legacy of Albania's Enver Hoxha,

<sup>49</sup> Weiner,E.,The Handbook of Inter-ethnic Co-existence,Volkan,V., 'The Three Model' p.355



must support financially this multi year project. This model must be used patiently in Macedonia. This process will take many years before the fruits of the tree can be seen by everyone.<sup>50</sup>

After the three incidents involving ethnic Albanians of Macedonia, the Macedonians became more aware of the Albanian demands. It is clear that Macedonians must better understand ethnic Albanians views. If the state decides to provide better economic conditions, welfare for the ethnic Albanians within the state, the term of ethnicity will lose its influence on the people just like Ernest Gellner suggested.

Inversely, if Macedonian state does not find acceptable solution, there is potential for ethnicity to become more radical. As a result ethnicity may turn to nationalism and even to a religious movement. For this reason, Macedonia still appears to be a fragile country. Unless some answers to the problems of the ethnic citizens of Macedonia is found, the disintegration may become a strong possibility.

### 3.2.1. The Security Link Between Kosovo and Macedonia

According to some scholars the relations of the Serbian and Albanian residents in Kosovo resembles Macedonian and ethnic Albanian relations in Macedonia. This opinion may remind us a possible correlation. Is there a similarity between Kosovo Serbs and Macedons? Some radical Albanians believe that the similarity between these groups is that they always want to assimilate the Albanian people within their state.

Actually the Kosovon question is very different from the Macedonian question. But these two states share same problem; the Albanian Question in the Balkans. During the Kosovon crisis, Macedonia and international community feared that the impact of Kosovon crisis would exceed its borders. The crises might reach deep into Macedonia. Because there is a strong relationship between Kosovon Albanians and ethnic Albanians of Macedonia. According to some authors most Albanians consider Kosovo as the motherland of all Albanians including the Kosovon and Macedonian Albanians. On the other hand, majority of Serbians believes that Kosovo is their motherland as well. The Serbian argument goes back to the Stefan Dushans medieval Empire (1331-1355). The Serbs refer Kosovo 'old Serbia'. They claimed that the territories of Kosovo, the central and northern zones of Macedonia and the Sancak of Novi Bazar belonged to the Stephen Dushans Empire. Therefore Serbia claims that it has historical rights over Macedonia, Albania and Kosovo.<sup>51</sup>

Because of this, it seems that there is a historical trauma between the Serbs and the Albanians over Kosovo. During the former Yugoslavian era, 'Kosovo' was accepted as a political, cultural, and economic center by the Albanians. As a result, a strong relationship was established between Kosovo Albanians and ethnic Albanians of Macedonia. The 1974 constitution of the Former Yugoslavia, increased the rights of ethnic Albanians of Kosovo. On the other hand, 1974 constitution did not bring any solution to the Albanian question.

Hypothetically, if there is a conflict between the Serbs and the Albanians in Kosovo, then, the ethnic Albanians of Macedonia will probably support the Albanians in Kosovo. Similarly, if

<sup>50</sup> Volkan, V., (14-16 December 2000)

See [http://www.zef.de/zef\\_englisch/veranstaltung/ethnic\\_conflicts.htm](http://www.zef.de/zef_englisch/veranstaltung/ethnic_conflicts.htm)

<sup>51</sup> International Affairs Agency Research Center, (December 1993), *The Rising Sun in the Balkans: The republic of Macedonia*, Promat Printing, Istanbul, p22.



there is a conflict between the ethnic Albanians and Macedonians in Macedonia, Kosovan Albanians will possibly help ethnic Albanians of Macedonia.

As it was mentioned, the relationship between Albanians of Kosovo and Macedonia is very strong. But Macedonian and ethnic Albanian relationship is not so strong as the relationship of the Kosovan Albanians and ethnic Albanians of Macedonia. Because Macedonian and ethnic Albanians cultural, social, and economic interactions are very limited. Their difficulty to understand each other's similarities and differences plays a big role in this. Stability of Macedonia can be easily affected by the internal or external factors. Therefore, any conflict around Macedonia's neighbors may spread over Macedonia's borders.

Multi-ethnic structure of Macedonia may be a reason for potential conflict. It appears that for the majority Macedonians, the influence of the ethnic Albanians is the main potential conflict issue. Some authors suggest that the ethnic Albanian claims for independence in Kosovo will lead to similar claims from Albanians living in Macedonia. Kosovan crisis might have spilt over its borders and created threat over the Macedonian fragile ethnic balance. Furthermore, the international community and NGO's tried to prevent potential conflict to spill over into the neighboring countries during the Kosovan crisis.

There has always been a minority problem between Kosovo Albanians and the Serbians. For example, the Albanians are minority in Serbia, the Serbs are minority in Kosovo. The population of Serbia was 21 % in Kosovo in 1971.<sup>52</sup> Today, the Serbian population is roughly about 10 % in Kosovo.

The relationship between Kosovar and Macedonian Albanians has become stronger after the establishment of the Phristine University in Kosovo. As a result many ethnic Albanian went to Kosovo for higher education. Many ethnic Albanian leaders were educated in Phristine University. The leader of the DPA, Arben Xhaferi is one of them. Macedonian ethnic Albanians showed a great performance to support their brethren in Kosovo during the Kosovan crises. Ethnic Albanians of Macedonia also supported Kosovos independence.

An important question comes to mind, if Kosovo became independent, and was recognized as the 'Kosovo Republic what would be the future of the ethnic Albanians in the region?

It is a possibility that radical ethnic Albanians may demand a new negotiation process over their status in Macedonia. As a result ethnic Albanians may start a conflict to re-gain more rights and establish territorial autonomy in Macedonia.

Some Serbian politicians thought that Kosovo could be annexed to Serbia during the period of 1944-45. Ethnic Albanians of Kosovo perceived Tito as a hero after the Second World War, because Tito had given autonomy for Kosovan Albanians. Kosovo was given an autonomous region status under the name of Kosovo-Metohija in 1945. New Yugoslav constitution was approved in 1946 and Kosovo-Voyvodina was given autonomous status by the national assembly of the former Yugoslavia. After a year Kosovo gained rights of autonomy such as the promotion of cultural and economic rights, planning of budget, citizenship rights etc.<sup>53</sup>

During that time, Albanians of Kosovo demanded to use Albanian language freely in education, official business and their daily life. As a result Albanian language was accepted in

<sup>52</sup> Malcom, N., (1999), *Kosova Balkanları Anlamak İçin*, p.385

<sup>53</sup> Malcom, N., (1999), p.374-75



theory and gained an equal status with the Slavic and Croat language. This issue was never used in practice. Nevertheless, some privileges were given for Albanians in the field of education. There were 252 schools before the WWII in Kosovo. The language of education was Slavic in these schools. The number of schools was increased to 392 at the end of 1945 and Albanian language was used in some schools.<sup>54</sup>

Tito and Stalin were split over the Tito's idea of Balkan Federation in 1948. In the 1963 constitution of Yugoslavia, it was indicated that Kosovo was given autonomous region status. In fact, the constitutional status of Kosovo was abolished at federal level and linked to the internal arrangements of the republic of Serbia. This situation was re-examined in the 1968 constitution. A Paragraph was added to the constitution defining autonomous regions. The 7<sup>th</sup> appendix indicated that autonomous region of Kosovo belonged to Serbia and the federal government. During that time the name Kosovo-Metohija was abolished and the region was called Kosovo. Protests and nationalist movements by the Kosovon Albanians increased after this decision. Many Albanians of Kosovo supported the idea of independent republic of Kosovo. Many Albanians began to organize around this goal.<sup>55</sup>

Several demonstrations were held. Main topic of the demonstrations was to demand education in Albanian language. The demonstrators openly supported Albania in their slogans ie. "Long live Albania, We want University, Condemn the colonial policies of Kosovo by the Serbian administration"<sup>56</sup> During the street demonstrations in 27 November, 1968 people for the first time used the slogan "Kosova Republic". Serbian police interfered and disbanded demonstrations.

Albanians of Kosovo started using Albanian flag as their national emblem in 1969. Also the university of Pristhine was established in 1969. The students were given lectures in Albanian language in this university. The 1974 constitution of Yugoslavia gave an equal status to Kosovo. It was the same as the other six republic of Yugoslavia. Also, the autonomous regions would be able to create own constitution. According to the Serbs, the people of Kosovo were a nationality not a nation, because the Albanian people have their nation state in Albania. For the Serbs, Kosovo belonged to the Serbs.<sup>57</sup>

Albanian nationalism increased during the year 1981. Demonstrations by the ethnic Albanians of Kosovo continued. In this demonstrations people shouted "Republic of Kosovo, We are Albanians not Yugoslavians" The Serbs tried oppression policy against the Albanians during this period. Consequently, Serbian leader Milosevic abolished autonomous status of Kosovo in 1989. Later assimilation policies are applied again. In the beginning of the year 1990, some ethnic Albanian students have been poisoned with a chemical matter. This same chemical matter was found in the Yugoslavian army five years later.

It is clear that, if the influence of the Albanians grows and as a result, if Kosovo becomes independent, the demands of the ethnic Albanians of Macedonia will increase. The ethnic Albanians of Macedonia will also demand autonomy. Because of this, Serbia and Macedonia must contribute to maintain the peace in the Balkans. Jouni Suistola suggests: "The risk of Greater Albania exists in the future. If Kosovo and Montenegro become independent this

<sup>54</sup> Malcom, N., (1999), p.377

<sup>55</sup> Malcom, N., (1999), p.378-383

<sup>56</sup> Malcom, N., (1999), p.383

<sup>57</sup> Malcom, N., (1999), p.384-388



possibility will be further increased. This is why the international community and the USA do not support Kosovo and Montenegro's independence."<sup>58</sup>

### 3.3. Influence of the Ethnic Groups: Macedonian Albanians

Macedonia struggled hard to survive after the declaration of independence. This young state struggled various internal and external problems after the independence. The name issue with Greece has been one of the main issues between Greece and the Republic of Macedonia in the 90's.

The fact is that Greece still does not recognize ethnic Macedonian identity. The government of Greece did not grant the minority rights to Macedonian minority living in Aegean Macedonia. The recognition issue, the flag issue, the political/trade embargo were some of the other important problems between Greece and Macedonia in the 90's. On the other hand, the 'Greater Albania' dream of the Albanians of the Balkans was another threat for the stability and the security of Macedonia. Furthermore, the ethnic Albanians attempted to establish 'Independent Republic of Ilirida' in 1992. This worried the young Macedonian state.

The question of the ethnic Macedonian identity and the language of the Macedonians were the main issues between Macedonia and Bulgaria after the independence. It appears that it is the destiny of the young Macedonian state to deal with the ethnic problems. On the other hand, Macedonia's relations with neighbors are improving. But, the problems of the ethnic Albanians of Macedonia still are a potential threat. Ernest Gellner's approach shows some important reflections on the subject.

According to Ernest Gellner, there are few criteria to determine the effect potential of an ethnic group. These are;

#### 1. Numbers:

The comparative population of the minorities is very important. Also their comparison with the total population is another important indicator. The ratio of effectiveness is generally at or around 10%. However, its comparison with other minorities is also important.<sup>59</sup> It appears that the ethnic Albanians of Macedonia fits with this criteria. According to the latest census results, the ratio of the ethnic Albanians in Macedonia is 23.9 % The Macedonians consist of 66.5 % of the total population. The ratio of other ethnic groups Turks (4%), Roma (2.2%), Serbs (2.1%), Vlach (0.4), Bulgarians (1%), Greeks (1%), Yugoslavs (1%), others (0.4%).<sup>60</sup>

#### 2. Density:

Are the members of the group scattered inside the country borders? Do they live in groups in certain cities or towns within the country? The answers may show the effectiveness of the density of the ethnic group.<sup>61</sup> It appears that this criteria is also suitable for the ethnic Albanians of Macedonia. The ethnic Albanians of Macedonia live mainly in the towns of western Macedonia such as Tetovo, Gostivar and Struga. The isolation of the Ethnic Albanian cities and the limited inter-ethnic relations of the communities may increase the separation.

<sup>58</sup> Discussion with Prof. Dr. Jouni Suistola, January 10, 2002 Nicosia.

<sup>59</sup> Özgür, N., Sönmezoğlu, F. (editor), (1998), *Uluslararası Politikada Yeni Alanlar Yeni Bakışlar*, 216-217

<sup>60</sup> Johnstone, D., (5.30.2001), *Albanians In Macedonia: Facts and Fictions*,  
<http://www.antiwar.com/rep/johnstone1.html>

<sup>61</sup> Özgür, N., Sönmezoğlu, F. (editors), (1998), *Uluslararası Politikada Yeni Alanlar Yeni Bakışlar*, *Der Yayınları*, İstanbul, 216-217



### 3. Historical Continuity:

The existence of an active historical consciousness, the wish to protect cultural, linguistic and religious traditions is an important factor for an ethnic community. The existence to feed the activities with nationalist perspective is equally important.<sup>62</sup>

This criteria also conforms to the ethnic Albanian population. The ethnic Albanians of Macedonia both inside and outside try to maintain their historical ties with the other Albanians. There is also a religious integrity among the ethnic Albanians of Macedonia. However, the ethnic Albanians of Macedonia are in endless struggle with the government to win the educational rights for their people. As we mentioned earlier in Chapter II, they attempted to establish an Albanian Language University of Tetovo.

### 4. Motivation:

This criteria will be examined under four categories.

#### a. Geopolitical factor: The location of the ethnic group

- in the center or near the border region
- near or far from the motherland
- Situated in a geopolitical/strategic location.<sup>63</sup>

This criteria also conforms to the ethnic Albanian population of Macedonia as well. Macedonia has a great importance because it is geographically on route to Asia and Europe. The majority of the ethnic Albanian population live near the borders of Kosovo, Serbia and Albania. The ethnic Albanian population in Macedonia lives close to their Motherland Albania.

#### b. The possibility of Irredentism:

If the ethnic group is settled near their ethnic Motherland or people of same ethnic origin is settled in neighboring country, in that case there is a higher possibility of irredentism.<sup>64</sup> The motherland of the ethnic Albanians of Macedonia is very near Macedonia's northwest borders. The ethnic Albanians of Macedonia also have brethrens in the neighboring countries Albania, Kosovo and Serbia.

#### c. International Conjecture:

The approach of the international actors to the minority issues can be in general and/or in particular as concerned or unconcerned, positive or negative, supportive or restraining.<sup>65</sup> It is clear that, the international community does not always support the ethnic Albanian struggle in Macedonia, because the ethnic Albanians generally have different image in the international arena. For example, it is claimed that they are involved in international drug trafficking and weapon smuggling. Because of this the international community generally support the policies of Macedonian state.

#### d. The expectations:

The satisfaction or non-satisfaction of the expectations of an ethnic group from the state should also be focused.<sup>66</sup> The state of Macedonia started to give more rights to the ethnic Albanian population of Macedonia. The ethnic Albanians of Macedonia have a right to

<sup>62</sup> Özgür, N., Sönmezoğlu, F. (editors), (1998), p.216-217

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, Özgür, N., Sönmezoğlu, F. (editor), (1998), p.216-217

<sup>64</sup> Özgür, N., Sönmezoğlu, F. (editor), (1998), 216-217

<sup>65</sup> Özgür, Sönmezoğlu, F. (editor), (1998), p.216-217

<sup>66</sup> Özgür, Sönmezoğlu, (editor), (1998), p.216-217



establish their own political parties. Also there is a local press for the ethnic Albanians such as the daily newspaper 'Flaka'. It seems that some demands of the Ethnic Albanians are satisfied. But, there are still many unsolved issues. It appears that if Ernest Gellner's approach about the effect potential of an ethnic group is applied to the ethnic Albanians of Macedonia, the degree of their influence can be better understood.

### 3.4. Problems of the other Ethnic Groups in Macedonia

The minorities of Macedonia are the Serbs, the Turks, the Roma, the Vlachs, the Bosnians, and the others. These minorities all have equal minority rights in the Macedonian constitution. According to the late census results the Serbs consist 2% of the total population. The Serbs generally live in the northeastern part of the country. Their language is distinct from the Macedonian majority. Also, they belong to the Serbian Orthodox Church. Their political party is called Democratic Party of the Serbs (DPS).

The Serbian minorities of Macedonia complain about discrimination in education. They demand education in Serbian language and more access to Serbian language media. The Serbian minority accuses the government that they are being assimilated by the state. They complain about religious discrimination of the Serbian Orthodox Church by the Macedonian Orthodox Church. The discrimination in the work place is also complained.<sup>67</sup>

The Serbs are not mentioned as protected minorities in the Macedonian constitution. They wanted to obtain a constitutional guarantee. An agreement between the government and the ethnic Serbs of Macedonia was signed on August 27, 1993.<sup>68</sup>

With the 'agreed minutes' the government started procedures to change the constitution in order to include recognition of the Serbs.<sup>69</sup> The Serbs obtained equal rights with other larger minorities. This agreement stated that the constitution would be amended within eighteen months.<sup>70</sup> Finally, the government decided that the primary and secondary education in Serbian would be provided. But at least fifteen Serbian students were required to register.<sup>71</sup>

According to the latest census, approximately 4 % of the Macedonian population is ethnic Turks. The Turkish minority of Macedonia also complains about governmental, societal and cultural discrimination. The lack of Turkish-language education, insufficient media access, insufficient representation in government jobs and inadequate possibility of political participation are some of the other problems of the Turks of Macedonia.

They demand primary and secondary education in Turkish language for their children. But because not many children spoke Turkish, the government refused to teach in this language. As a result the families began to teach their children Turkish in order to change this decision. It is reported that four teachers demanded to teach students in Turkish. The government expelled them from the school in the Debar region. The Democratic Party of Turks claimed that Macedonia was assimilating the Turkish minorities by adding "ov", "i", and "ski" to the

<sup>67</sup> Mincheva, L., (07/01/99), Serbs in Macedonia, <http://www.bsos.umd.edu/cidcm/mar/macserbs.htm> Also you can see Poulton., (1995), p. 180

<sup>68</sup> Shea, J., (1997), p.232

<sup>69</sup> Poulton, (1995), p.180

<sup>70</sup> Shea, (1997), p.232

<sup>71</sup> Poulton, (1995), p.180



peoples last names. They also claimed that there were no Turks working in the state institutions by 1995.<sup>72</sup>

The Roma or Gypsies consists of roughly 2 or 2.3 % in Macedonia. The former president Gligorov recognized Romas as equal citizens. The main political party of Roma is Party for the Complete Emancipation of Romanies in Macedonia (PSERM). It appears that the Romas of Macedonia are integrated with the Macedonian society.

The other ethnic group is the Vlachs. According to 1994 census the Vlachs comprise 0.4 % of the total population of Macedonia. The Vlachs of Macedonia achieved a considerable degree of harmony with ethnic Macedonians. They have primary schools in their own language. In addition, the government stations have radio and TV broadcasts in the Vlach language. Radio Krushevo started broadcasting a radio program in the Vlach language called "panorama" in April 1994. This program is about Vlach culture and arts.<sup>73</sup>

The Bosnians are other ethnic minority in Macedonia. Macedonia accepted a number of refugees during the Bosnian crisis. Since the middle of the 1992, the government of Macedonia restricted the entry of refugees. There were some incidents at the refugee camps involving Bosnians and the Macedonians in 1993. Also in 1995, Bosnian Muslim villagers of Batinci near Skopje clashed with the police forces. The people were trying to protect a mosque from demolition.

It appears that the Vlachs and Romas have better rights than the other minorities. Probably because they lack national consciousness<sup>74</sup> and they are not a sizeable minority. Also, they are more integrated into the Macedonian society and assimilated.

It is evident that despite the demands of ethnic minorities, the Macedonian state continues to resist to make necessary changes. Macedonia must realize that it has to provide equal rights for all of its citizens no matter their ethnic background. It can be said that the stability of Macedonia depends on its minority policies.

<sup>72</sup> Shea, (1997), p.232-233

<sup>73</sup> Shea, (1997), p.232-233

<sup>74</sup> Harp Akademileri Komutanlığı Yayınları (1999), p.27



## CHAPTER IV: THE NEW MILLENIUM AND MACEDONIA

### 4.1. Rising Ethnic Tensions

Macedonia was one of the six republics of the former Socialist Federation of Yugoslavia. As we know Republic of Macedonia became independent in 1991. Its independence and sovereignty has been recognized by the international community. The young republic struggled very hard to maintain its stability. There were many threats coming from inside and outside. Despite of all Macedonia continued to survive until today.

Will Macedonia maintain its stability and stay as sovereign independent state in the new millennium? Or will there be similar problems threatening its sovereignty. Many scholars, journalist, politicians and the international relations specialists have examined these questions. What are the results? The answer is 'the uncertainty'. Because there may be a time bomb any where in the Balkans. It is ticking, even today and ready to explode at any minute.

As we know, the largest minority group status in Macedonia belongs to Albanians. There were many problems with the ethnic Albanian population since the declaration of independence in 1991. Ethnic Albanians of Macedonia had very limited minority rights after the 1981 period. They gained more rights after the declaration of independence. But these rights were not sufficient for them.

As we mentioned earlier there were some events that brought ethnic Albanians and the Macedonians into a conflict situation. Events like the Bit Pazar event, the flag event and the events of the Tetovo University. These events were the first signs of the possible future conflicts in this country. The inter-ethnic events that started in the early February 2001 were actually inevitable.

The situation was relatively calm until one policeman was killed and three others were injured in January 23, 2001. A police station was attacked in the village of Tearce, near the city of Tetovo. In March, 4 three members of the Army of the Republic of Macedonia, were killed when a land mine exploded their vehicle near the village of Tanusevci.

The increasing ethnic tensions of April 2001 proved the seriousness of the situation. Consequently, the sleeping international community woke up. In April 29 four policemen and four soldiers were killed near the village of Vejce by ethnic Albanian separatists. The rebels crossed into Macedonia from Kosovo, attacking four-army vehicles between the villages of Selce and Vejce. After the funerals of the eight Macedonian soldiers and policemen, the riots erupted in May 2, 2001. At least 10 shops in the ethnically mixed city of Bitola were destroyed and buildings damaged by young Slavs. Many Albanian and Turkish shops were attacked in, different towns. The foreign minister of Turkey called Macedonian administrations attention to the events which endangered the Turkish peoples life. A curfew was applied in Bitola after the rioting.

As Time reporter Dejan Anastasijevic wrote "We see people from the Slavic Macedonian community attacking Albanian civilians. In the town of Bitola on Tuesday, some 40 shops owned by Albanians were destroyed. The violence is no longer confined to clashes between the security forces and the rebels. Ordinary people from both sides are sucked in, which



means that what started as a security problem for Macedonia is turning into an ethnic conflict.”<sup>1</sup>

During the events of May, the secretary General of NATO, George Robertson arrived in Macedonia. He met with the leaders and the representatives of the ethnic Albanian and Macedonian political parties. He asked the leaders of the political parties to form a national unity government. The national unity coalition was finally established on May 12, 2001.<sup>2</sup>

The government declared that the constitution would be changed in June. The conflict continued even after declaration. The operations of the Macedonian army against the ethnic Albanian rebels also continued. The conflict spreaded to the town of Tetovo. The Macedonian soldiers bombed the rebels from the helicopters. Also, they attacked the rebels from the land.

The government of Macedonia considered the possibility that the rebels could receive financial support from the Albanian living in Europe. They feared that ethnic Albanians start smuggling weapons over the borders. The government requested the USA and western countries to help. NATO decided to send 400 soldiers to the region.

The prime Minister of Macedonia Ljupko Georgievski asked the assembly to declare state of war on 6, June. This caused a great concern in the west, NATO, the EU and other countries of the region. Javier Solana<sup>3</sup> requested from the government of Macedonia not to declare a state of war. Consequently, Macedonian government decided to take back the proposal.

The rebels began to move closer towards the capital of the republic Skopje. This worried majority of the people. Even the USA asked the Americans not to travel into the region. The rebels offered a peace plan to stop the fights in June. The rebels demanded immediate cease-fire, NATO intervention, constitutional reform, general amnesty, arms reduction and better rights for the ethnic Albanians of Macedonia.

The majority of the population was effected by the latest events. The UN High Commissioner for the Refugees, Khris Janesvki explained that roughly 28.000 people emigrated from Macedonia in one week only. Many refugees actually moved to the friends and families in Kosovo.

Two USA and the Russian federation agreed to have common policy in the case of Macedonia. They resumed negotiations in order to stop the conflict between the rebels and the Macedonian government.

Ceasefire was reannounced in Macedonia with ethnic Albanian rebels in July 5. This ceasefire was signed between the Macedonian government and NATO. NATO signed a similar

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,102794,00.html> "TIME.com: World -- 'Macedonia Civil War May Now Be Inevitable'

<sup>2</sup> It was announced that the Democratic Party of Albanians (DPA) would be in charge of the economic and labor ministries. The justice and local government will go to the Party for Democratic Prosperity (PDP). VMRO, keeps the interior ministry with transport and three other ministries. The SDSM will take the defense and foreign affairs ministries. Two other smaller Slav parties will take the ministries of environment and health. The coalition government planning to have the two-thirds majority necessary to approve constitutional reforms demanded by the ethnic Albanian minority, <http://Europe.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/Europe/05/13/macedonia.03/index.html>

<sup>3</sup> Javier Solana is the High representative of the common defense and foreign policy of the European Union.



agreement with the ethnic Albanian rebels a day before. After this agreement the EU envoy Francois Leotard offered a peace plan. But the ethnic Albanian rebels rejected this peace plan.

What were the demands of the ethnic Albanians? How were they going to end this conflict? Rebel leaders stressed that they would end their armed rebellion in Macedonia only if the state would grant ethnic Albanians equal rights. In July 10, 2001 CNN reported an interview about the conflict in Macedonia. The rebel Commandant Leka in an interview, claimed: "Albanians are discriminated against in every field" and continued: "... 90 % of Tetovo's (the main ethnic Albanian city in Macedonia) population is Albanian, but they have just two percent of the jobs and in some fields even less."<sup>4</sup>

The armed rebels claimed that they were fighting for greater rights and more political influence. The Macedonian government accused them of trying to capture lands and divide the state. The ethnic Albanian demands included a power of veto in the parliament, official recognition of the Albanian language, proportional contingencies for important government positions and state institutions, and a guarantee that either the president or vice president of the country will be an ethnic Albanian.<sup>5</sup> Ethnic Albanians want the constitution to define Macedonia as a state of its citizens, regardless of ethnicity, perhaps to become a bi-national entity. But Macedonians fear that the creation of bi-national entity would encourage the Albanian secessionism. Ethnic Albanians suggest that the constitution reduces them to second-class citizens and must be amended. Albanians say the authorities deny them the right to "feel Albanian" and to show national symbols. They want to have the right of veto over parliamentary decisions about Albanian issues.<sup>6</sup>

Who are the rebels? What do they want to get? The rebels who fought in the northern part of Macedonia called themselves the National Liberation Army (NLA). This group emerged only at the beginning of the year 2001. The National Liberation Army, known as Ushtria Clirimtare Kombetare, is a branch of the Kosovo Liberation Army<sup>7</sup> and is estimated to number about 200 rebels. The NLA claimed control of Tanusevci during the events in May 2001. NLA fought only in Macedonia against Slavic Macedonian injustice against Albanians of Macedonia.<sup>8</sup>

The NLA militants demanded a new Macedonian constitution and better rights for Albanians. The rebels stressed that they were only Macedonian born Albanians. But their number

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<sup>4</sup> Envoy joins Macedonia peace talks, July 10, 2001

<http://europe.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/europe/07/10/macedonia.resume/index.html>

<sup>5</sup> Macedonia Talks Amid Clashes, July 13, 2001,

<http://europe.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/europe/07/13/macedonia/index.html>

<sup>6</sup> BBC news, Macedonian Albanian Grievances, (Tuesday, 26 June, 2001),

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/world/europe/newsid\\_1224000/1224776.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/world/europe/newsid_1224000/1224776.stm)

<sup>7</sup> Kosovo Liberation Army, was active in Kosovo in the 1990s. Their aim was to fight for Kosovo's secession from Serbia and an independent state. Most members of the KLA, are now active in Kosovo politics. One of their leaders, Hashim Thaci, is leader of the second largest political party in Kosovo, Kosovo Democratic Party (PDK). The KLA united a few hundred ethnic Albanian supporters from Macedonia and the Presevo Valley. Some of those supporters are believed to support the UCPBM and the NLA. The KLA claimed 10,000 members joined the group during times of Serb-ethnic Albanian conflict. See, What are they fighting for? March 9, 2001 <http://europe.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/europe/03/09/macedonia.guerrillas/>

<sup>8</sup> What are they fighting for? March 9, 2001

<http://europe.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/europe/03/09/macedonia.guerrillas/>



included many who fought in Kosovo Liberation Army. NLA insisted that they do not want to break up Macedonia.

On the other hand, there was also an older established group on the Serbia Kosovo border, the Liberation Army of Presevo Medvadja and Bujanovac (UCPMB). The UCPBM is another branch of the former KLA. The groups aim is to join the southern part of Serbia (Presevo valley) to Kosovo. The UCPBM has about 300 to 500 members. It gave support to the NLA of Macedonia.

The UCPBM demanded the withdrawal of the Pristina unit of the Serb army. This demand received support by the international community. This unit was accused for the ethnic cleansing in Kosovo during the NATO bombing of 1999.<sup>9</sup> The UCPBM has more radical goals including the annexation by Kosovo and ethnic Albanian inhabited areas of southern Serbia, possibly western and northern Macedonia.

The rebellion in Presevo valley<sup>10</sup> came to end in May 2001. The peace agreement provided the reintegration of the region with Serbia and amnesty for the ethnic Albanian fighters.<sup>11</sup>

Perhaps the radical ethnic Albanians realized that Presevo valley incident was not enough to establish second Kosovo. Therefore they wanted to spread conflict into Macedonia. According to the Paul Wood report, the Rebel's Agenda indicated that the ethnic Albanian guerillas known as the National Liberation Army issued a statement. The report includes Military communique that explains the UCK's political aims. It calls for international mediation of the conflict and a new constitution that would stress that Macedonians and Albanians are equal national groups.

The UCK stressed that they do not want anything to damage the integrity of the Macedonian state.<sup>12</sup> It seems NLA tried to prove the international community that they are not trying to achieve greater Albania or the partition of the country. On the other hand Misha Gleny reported that the European Union is worried about the growing strength of Albanian nationalism. During the Macedonian conflict the ethnic Albanian militants movement in Macedonia received support from Albanians in Kosovo.<sup>13</sup>

Elizabeth Blunt in her report explains that the rebels fighting in the borders demand only fair share of ministries in the government, more control in the areas where Albanians are majority, above all, their own public University. Blunt also reports that the rebel ethnic Albanians denied wanting to join Albania, which is a much poorer country.<sup>14</sup> On the other

<sup>9</sup> What are they fighting for? March 9, 2001

<http://europe.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/europe/03/09/macedonia.guerrillas/>

<sup>10</sup> Presevo valley is a piece of land 5 km wide and about 30 km long.

<sup>11</sup> BBC news, Q&A: Macedonia Peace Process, (Wednesday, 21 November, 2001)

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/europe/newsid\\_1331000/1331772.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/europe/newsid_1331000/1331772.stm)

<sup>12</sup> Wood, P., Rebel's Agenda, (Sunday, 11 March, 2001),

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/europe/newsid\\_1213000/1213887.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/europe/newsid_1213000/1213887.stm)

<sup>13</sup> Gleny, M., (Sunday, 1 July, 2001), Balkans Challenges for the West,

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/europe/newsid\\_1416000/1416145.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/europe/newsid_1416000/1416145.stm)

<sup>14</sup> Blunt, E., (Sunday, 18 March, 2001), Greater Albanian Question,

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/europe/newsid\\_1228000/1228380.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/europe/newsid_1228000/1228380.stm)



hand, Macedonian Slavs worried that radical ethnic Albanians desire greater Albanian entity that would unite Kosovo, northern and western part of Macedonia and the Presevo valley.<sup>15</sup>

The EU, NATO and the USA continued efforts to resolve the issue but there were no important improvement in July. Some Macedonians walked and protested the peace talks while the negotiations for peace continued. The people shouted: "This is Macedonia, Macedonia for Macedonians, No changes to our constitution," and "We want our homes back."<sup>16</sup>

The broken peace talks resumed in August. The two sides agreed this time while the fighting continued. Finally, the peace accord was signed in Macedonia on August 13. The Macedonian conflict gained a different dimension after this peace agreement.

#### 4.1.1. "A Greater Albania" in the Balkans, Is it Possible?

The long lasting Albanian question in the Balkans was examined by many historians, authors and academicians. They presented different opinions and comments. But there is a question, is the greater Albania project possible?

As we know, the ethnic Albanian conflict in Macedonia erupted after the Kosovon crisis. Will the new amendments to constitution bring conditions of peace and satisfy all the parties in Macedonia? What is the reason of the European, the USA and the other Balkan countries response? All of them worried about Macedonia's internal security. All of them showed a great determination to maintain Macedonia's integrity. It may be possible that the reason of this common response is the unnamed 'Albanian question'?

There are many problems in each of the Balkan countries waiting to be solved. Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, Bulgaria and Greece perhaps now expect the right time to come. In this expected new period the issues will be openly discussed from all angles. The majority of the issues actually involve ethnic Albanian populated areas future problems and expectations.

After examining the history, we could come to conclusion that there are four dimensions of the Albanian question in the Balkans. First, Kosovon issue, second the future of the ethnic Albanian population of Macedonia, third the greater Albania project and finally ethnic Albanian population of Montenegro and their problems. Let us remember the study of Ernest Gellner regarding the effect potential of an ethnic group. When we apply the criteria of the Ernest Gellner to the case of the ethnic Albanians, we could conclude that their ethnic effectiveness is positive. The ethnic Albanians of Macedonia, conform the criteria's of number (size of the population), density, historical continuity, motivation, geopolitical status, expectations and the possibility of irredentism.

The largest Albanian population in the Balkans is in the Albanian state. Albanians declared independence after the first Balkan War (1912-1913) In 1913, the European "Great Powers" (Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Austria, and Italy) recognized Albanian

<sup>15</sup> Partos, G., (Friday, 2 February, 2001), Presevo Valley Tension, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/europe/newsid\\_1043000/1043583.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/europe/newsid_1043000/1043583.stm)

<sup>16</sup> Macedonia Peace Talks Protest, July 16, 2001

<http://europe.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/europe/07/16/macedonia.protest/index.html>



independence. But they were reluctant to create a Greater Albania, because it would be the only Moslems dominated country in Europe, so they left half of the ethnic Albanian population outside of independent Albania. The independent state of Albania consists of 3.5 million Albanians. Today approximately there are two million Albanians in Kosovo, a little less than half a million in Macedonia, and a smaller number in Montenegro.<sup>17</sup> Their armed forces are small and not well equipped. Albania is recognized as the poorest country of the Balkans.<sup>18</sup>

The second largest density of the Albanian ethnic origin lives in the Kosovo region. Approximately 90 % of the Kosovan population is of Albanian ethnic origin. Many Albanians of Kosovo fled Kosovo, especially, after the 1989 events of Kosovo. Many of the Kosovar Albanians became refugees in the western countries. Majority of them, later moved back to Kosovo but many chose to stay in western countries.

The ethnic Albanian population of Macedonia is under dispute. Macedonian authorities officially declared that ethnic Albanians of Macedonia consists of 22.9 % of the total population in Macedonia.<sup>19</sup> The ethnic Albanians of Macedonia, on the other hand claim that their ratio is close to 40 percent. According to many specialists of the Balkan issues the population of the ethnic Albanians is one third of the total population. Montenegro is another country in which the ethnic Albanians live as an ethnic group. Montenegro's total population is 600.000. The ethnic Albanians in Montenegro comprise less than 10 % of the total population.

When we consider all of the above factors, possibility of the 'Greater Albania' project may once again show its face. Despite the fact that the ethnic Albanians of the region scores positive effect potential on Gellner's study, the re-unification scenario seems unlikely.

It seems that if Kosovo becomes independent, other ethnic Albanians of the region may move like the dominoes. This may remind us the importance of Domino theory once again in the region.<sup>20</sup> This possibility causes a fear among many authors. Possibility of the ethnic Macedonian uprising may follow Kosovo independence. As we know, the majority of the ethnic Albanians of Macedonia live close to the Kosovan borders. After evaluating the geopolitical situation, we may notice that Greater Albania is geographically a possibility. In fact, the population of ethnic Albanians living outside Albania equals to Albania's population. This fact shows us the serious nature of the issue; therefore we must examine the topic more thoroughly.

<sup>17</sup> Volkan, V., ( April, 2002) Unpublished article titled A "Paranoid Society": The Legacy of Albania's Enver Hoxha,

<sup>18</sup> The armed forces of Albania in the mid-1990's had 30.000 soldiers and 150.000 reservists. In addition there were 5000 security police. Military equipment was old. Shea, p.342

<sup>19</sup> A census funded and monitored by the auspices of Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) in 1994. According to this census 22.9 percent of total population is ethnic Albanian. International Crisis Group (ICG), (August 2000) Balkans Report No.98,4-5

Available at <http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/showreport.cfm?reportid=15>

<sup>20</sup> The term 'Domino Theory' was first used by President Eisenhower in 1964 regarding Vietnam at a press meeting. If America loses Vietnam war the allied powers would be influenced by the Chinese influence one after another. Gümüş, O., and Sevi, A., *Uluslararası İlişkiler Sözlüğü*, 1996, Ankara, p.229



To make a possibility a reality, is not an easy job. Majority of the ethnic Albanians of Macedonia are Sunni Muslims and a small percentage accepts Christianity. On the other hand, almost all of the ethnic Albanians of Kosovo are Sunni Muslims (except a small percentage is catholic). The majority of Albanians are Muslim, Roman Catholic, and Greek Orthodox.<sup>21</sup>

The Muslims belong to two groups in Albania, the majority to the Sunni branch and the Bektashi, which was born from the Shia branch.<sup>22</sup> As we can see it may not be easy to bring all of the Albanians under one collective framework with religious factors. This fact may be a weak hindrance, because there is a national consciousness among all Albanians.

Additionally, there is a great imbalance of the ethnic Albanians rights among the different countries. Social economical, military and political rights of the ethnic Albanians are not distributed equally. This is another factor making the unification of all Albanians difficult. Majority of them lack enough economic and military infrastructure. The possibility of Kosovos unification with the motherland Albania is far, because there is a great economic imbalance between Kosovo and Albania. Kosovo has better economic infrastructure than Albania.

There are a strong emotional ties between Kosovon Albanians and the ethnic Albanians of Macedonia. This fact worries many people. These two communities are also in religious harmony. They have common or similar cultural elements. Many ethnic Albanians of Macedonia received their higher education in the University of Pristine in Kosovo. Many of the ethnic Albanians of Macedonia married with Kosovar partners.

Although there are many similarities between Kosovo Albanians and the ethnic Albanians of Macedonia, there is one issue that breaks the balance. This issue is the political equality. The ethnic Albanians of Macedonia have many political rights, such as right to participate in democratic elections, right to vote, right to express freely political opinion, right to establish an ethnic Albanian party etc. The Albanians of Kosovo did not have such rights until the year 1989. From that perspective Albanians of Macedonia seem to be in a better position.

Despite the barriers, the mutual solidarity between Kosovon Albanians and the ethnic Albanians of Macedonia continued. Therefore, we are now faced with he possibility of 'Greater Kosovo'. This is also not an easy job to accomplish.

The incidents in Bosnia, Kosovo and Macedonia caused many refugees to escape into Albania. This helped Albanians to become more aware of the Albanians living outside Albania. A sense of solidarity developed among the Albanians of the region. Volkan suggests

<sup>21</sup>Excerpted from Compton's Interactive Encyclopedia. 1994, 1995 Compton's NewMedia, Inc.

<sup>22</sup> Bektashi emerged from Shia branch of the Muslim religion by Hajji Bektash Wali of Khorasan, in Iran, in the thirteenth century. Bektashis continue to exist in the Balkans, primarily in Albania, where their chief monastery is at Tirana. Bektashism was regarded as a tolerant Muslim divison. Shia is the smaller of the two great divisions of Islam. The Shia supported the claims of Ali. In 1944, when the communists gained power in Albania, about 25 percent of the country's Muslims belonged to the Shia branch known as Bektashi. See Library of Congress, Federal Research Division, Country Studies, Area Handbook Series, Albania [http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/albania/al\\_glos.html#Bektashi](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/albania/al_glos.html#Bektashi)



a kind of "Greater Albania" already exists.<sup>23</sup> Albanians are now more connected by nationalistic feelings with ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Macedonia. Each group's economic and social difficulties keep them busy with its own affairs. However, desire to unite the Albanians of Albania, Kosovo, and Macedonia under a single political umbrella still exists.<sup>24</sup>

It seems that the international community is aware of such possible developments, and they are also aware that these developments may become a potential for further troubles. But if the rights of ethnic Albanian community of Macedonia are not improved there is a good chance that the international community will continue to be faced with similar conflicts in the Balkans. Similarly, if Kosovo does not get its independence, the conflict is almost inevitable.

#### 4.2. Recent Developments in Relations with Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria

The international community and the neighbors of Macedonia gave full support to the government of Macedonia during the latest conflict. Both the governments of Bulgaria and Macedonia displayed co-operation on the defense issues. The government of Bulgaria also declared that they were ready to cooperate in fields of military and technical matters. The government of Bulgaria declared support to Macedonia's integrity and independence.

In March, 2001, all Macedonia's neighbors wanted that the conflict in Macedonia had to be stopped between the ethnic Albanian militants and Macedonian security forces. Bulgaria sent military aid to Macedonia to help stop fighting between ethnic Albanian militants and Macedonian forces. Bulgarian President, Peter Stayonav suggested that his country may send troops to protect the Macedonian border against infiltration from Kosovo. On the other hand, Macedonians worried because Bulgarians were still reluctant to recognize that Macedonians are a separate nation.<sup>25</sup>

The relationship between Athens and Skopje are highly complex. Greece has become the largest foreign investor in Macedonia. But it still hasn't fully normalized its relations with Greece. Greece continues to refuse Macedonia's name. During the Macedonian conflict, Belgrade argued that the ethnic Albanian militants of Kosovo, Macedonia and southern Serbia represented the main threat to Balkan stability. Albania also condemned the use of force by ethnic Albanian militants.<sup>26</sup>

The foreign minister of Turkey Ismail Cem visited Macedonia on February 2, 2001 and declared Turkey's support. Greece also from the beginning of the conflict in Macedonia showed great interest. Perhaps the Greek government hoped to become a regional influential power. Perhaps Greece wanted to gain an advantage in its competition with another potential regional influential power, Turkey. The Greek government decided to send 150 soldiers to NATO operation called Essential Harvest. This may also support this theory. The aim of the operation Essential Harvest was to collect illegal weapons from the rebels.

<sup>23</sup> Volkan, V., (April, 2002) Unpublished article titled A "Paranoid Society": The Legacy of Albania's Enver Hoxha,

<sup>24</sup> Volkan, V., (April, 2002) Unpublished article titled A "Paranoid Society": The Legacy of Albania's Enver Hoxha,

<sup>25</sup> Partos, G., (Friday, 9 March, 2001), Macedonia's Neighbors' Fears, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/world/europe/newsid\\_1212000/1212308.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/world/europe/newsid_1212000/1212308.stm)

<sup>26</sup> Partos, G., (Friday, 9 March, 2001), Macedonia's Neighbors' Fears



The South Eastern European Cooperation Process (SEEC or SEE) had a meeting on February 23, 2001 in Skopje. The topics of the meeting included ways to increase regional and economic co-operation in the Balkans, especially in the region of Macedonia. During the conflict in Macedonia, the prime ministers of Macedonia and Greece made statements declaring cooperation and mutual support.

The border demarcation agreement was signed between the government of Serbia and Macedonia in March, 2001. The borders of the two countries were defined with this agreement. Additionally, the governments of both Serbia and Macedonia declared willingness to find solutions to common issues. Some of the issues between the two countries include the division of former Yugoslavian assets and the opening of a Serbian church in Macedonia.

Albania too declared that it condemned the rebel attacks in Macedonia. But because of the suspicion of 'Greater Albania' theory, Albania accepted a neutral policy. This did not mean that Albania failed to support the ethnic Albanians rights in the region. Because Albania recognizes the existence of the ethnic Macedonian minority in Albania, there are friendly relations between the governments of two countries.

#### 4.3 New Dimensions in the Macedonian Question

The Macedonian conflict gained new dimension after the peace deal was signed in August 2001. If this peace accord is fully applied will it bring a long lasting peace to this country? How will the security of Macedonia be provided after the peace agreement? NATO undertook the security related issues. Immediately, NATO decided to send 400 more troops in late August to begin the process of disarming ethnic Albanian rebels.

This NATO operation was called 'Operation Essential Harvest' NATO planned to collect roughly 3000 weapons within a month.<sup>27</sup> The British led NATO force during the essential harvest operation. It was planned that total of 3500 troops would be sent to Macedonia for this operation. The process of disarming ethnic Albanian rebels continued during the month of April, 2001.

It was agreed that the peace plan would be put in force after the Essential Harvest Operation was successfully concluded. What did this peace plan contain? Under this agreement, Albanian will become the second official language in Macedonia. In addition the number of ethnic Albanians in the police forces and the public administration will increase. The municipalities will be given some power. In return, the ethnic Albanians are forced to recognize the integrity of Macedonia.<sup>28</sup>

After the peace plan some of the refugees began to return. On 22 September, Macedonian politicians took the first steps to make constitutional changes to give greater rights for its ethnic Albanian population. The 4500 NATO troops finished their mission on September 26,

<sup>27</sup> Many European states participated in the Operation Essential Harvest. such as Belgium (90), Czech Republic (140), France (535), Germany (500), Greece (410), Italy (700), Netherlands (250), Norway (40), Turkey (150), UK (1900). Many European states participated the operation essential harvest. Such as Belgium (90), Czech Republic (140), France (535), Germany (500), Greece (410), Italy (700), Netherlands (250), Norway (40), Turkey (150), UK (1900). Also Canada (200),

Analysis: Nato's mission in Macedonia by BBC news online's Shelia Barter

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/world/europe/newsid\\_1490000/149549.stm#map](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/world/europe/newsid_1490000/149549.stm#map)

<sup>28</sup> Finn, P., Peace deal signed in Macedonia, August 14, 2001, Tuesday, Washington post foreign service, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn?pagename=article&node=&contentId=A6782-2001Aug13>



2001. More than 3800 rebel weapons were collected during the Operation Essential Harvest. At the end of the September, NATO decided to add 1000 soldiers to help provide security in still tense Macedonia. The new mission was called 'Operation Amber Fox'. Would be led by the Germans.<sup>29</sup>

Macedonian parliament granted amnesty to disarmed ethnic Albanian rebels in October. With this decision the government hoped to integrate the rebel territory. The ethnic Albanian rebels in Macedonia welcomed amnesty decision, but called for further steps. Finally Macedonian parliament adopted new constitution on November 15, 2001 (94 deputies voted in favor, 14 against). With the new constitution the ethnic Albanians gained new rights including the recognition of Albanian as an official language and increased access for ethnic Albanians to public sector jobs. Also, the deal includes increasing the proportion of ethnic Albanians in Macedonia's police force, from 5% to about 25%.

The status of the Albanian language was increased. Albanian language can be used in official institutions in areas where ethnic Albanians account for at least 20% of the population, as well as the national parliament. In addition, references in the preamble suggesting that minorities are second-class citizens were removed.<sup>30</sup>

Many people were hopeful after the approval of new constitution. But the uncertainties started to come back after some of the cabinet ministers resigned. By November 23, seven of the cabinet ministers resigned. The resigning ministers protested the government policy on the rebel Albanians, and the ethnic Albanian minority. They also protested and some of the provisions of the peace plan which was signed in August. According to the Macedonian laws if maximum of 7 ministers resign from the government, the government will fall. The government, therefore collapsed because of seven resigning ministers. This proves us that Macedonia still has a very fragile democracy.

Although, the Macedonian government granted more rights to its ethnic Albanian population, the chance for a potential conflict still exists. It must not be forgotten that the main demand of the ethnic Albanians of Macedonia was 'to become a founding nation'

It seems that the ethnic Albanian community of Macedonia gained more rights by ways of threat and violence. This scenario may be repeated again in the future to accomplish founding nation status. The ethnic Albanians of Macedonia are now armed with their new constitutional rights. But radical ethnic Albanians may consider this as a step towards a federal state.

<sup>29</sup> Nato Force of 1000 For Macedonia, November 8, 2001,  
<http://europe.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/europe/09/27/Macedonia.withdraw.0930/index.html>

<sup>30</sup> Key Elements of Peace Accord By The Associated Press,  
[http://www.alb-net.com/amcc/cgi-bin/viewnews.cgi?newsid997798503,93642,](http://www.alb-net.com/amcc/cgi-bin/viewnews.cgi?newsid997798503,93642)



## CONCLUSION

During the course of this study, the complexity of Macedonian question is often mentioned. The complexity of the issue is realized after examining the historical evidence. Each of the claims on the Macedonian territory by the others was examined separately. The main goal was to examine the subject without prejudice. Many books and variety of articles have been carefully studied. Actually, the history is examined from different perspective by the majority of the historians. Each of them reflecting their own interests and values. The Greeks, the Serbians, the Bulgarians, the Albanians all had different claims on the territory of the Macedonian state in the arena of the history.

After examining the historical data, Macedonian question before and after 1991 was examined. The history of the pre-1991 Macedonia was quite problematic. There were many conflicts and wars in the region. The ambition of the major powers led to the creation of multiethnic states in the Balkans.

The Ottomans ruled the Balkan region approximately 520 years. The millet system policy of the Ottomans gave opportunity to protect and maintain peoples distinct identity under the sultans rule. According to the millet system the non-Muslims could organize around their religious and educational institutions. When the Ottomans began to decline, the millet policy for the non-Muslim population gained a new dimension under the rule of the Ottoman Empire.

The ambition was to divide and destroy the Ottoman Empire by the major powers increased. It led to the tragedy among the Balkan people. The ethnic groups also increased movements of their national ideals. Especially the people of the Macedonia region suffered much.

As it is mentioned, the term Macedonia and Macedonian carries many meanings: the name of the geographic region in the Balkans, the group of people who live in the region and identify themselves as 'Slavs' and the citizens of the republic of Macedonia.

The Slavs of Macedonia began to realize their distinct identity characteristics in the mid-19th century. Bulgarian references claimed that the people known as the 'Macedonian Slavs' were actually Bulgarians. After the establishment of the Bulgarian exarchate in 1870, the Bulgarians increased their influence in Macedonia. This fact played an important role on the Macedonian Slavs effort to establish a nation in Macedonia.

Actually, the Bulgarian dream of "greater Bulgaria" came to its climax with the Ottoman decline. In fact, after the San Stefano treaty, which was signed after Turco-Russian war of 1877-78, the greater Bulgaria dream gained legitimacy. However, this treaty was never put in practice. Later, the San Stefano treaty was abolished with the Berlin treaty. The Berlin treaty gave back the control of the Macedonian region to the hands of the ottomans.

The Bulgarians did not accept the fact that Macedonian region was taken from their hands. On the other hand, the division of Macedonians caused a physical separation between Bulgaria and the so called "Macedonians of Bulgaria". As a result, the Bulgarian dream of greater Bulgaria weakened. The Greeks and the Serbs also followed an assimilation policy in Macedonia because of their claims and desires on the Macedonian region.





The Bulgarians did not give up their ideals about Macedonia. A new Bulgarian movement on the Macedonian territories was born in 1890's. This movement was named IMRO. The followers struggled to gain autonomy for Macedonia separate from the Balkans. After the Ilinden uprising, the Republic of Krushevo declared in 1903. But it was quickly destroyed by the Ottoman administration. After this date there was no serious Bulgarian movement in until the end of the 1911 Turco-Italian war.

After the 1912-13 Balkan wars the Ottoman domination in the region came to end. The territories of Macedonia were divided between Greece and Serbia, very small part of Macedonian territory, Pirin Macedonia was given to Bulgaria.

After the long lasting assimilation policy of Greece and Serbia, Greece began to identify these people as "Slav speaking Greeks" whereas Serbia called them "Southern Serbs".<sup>1</sup> After the world war two Macedonian Question became an internal problem of Yugoslavia. The communist party of Yugoslavia put pressure on Bulgaria and other states to recognize existence of Macedonian nation. In fact, the Comintern defended the idea of unified and independent Macedonia. This received support from Bulgaria too. The Comintern changed its line in 1933-35 and accepted that "the Macedonian Slavs are neither Bulgarians nor Serbs, they are a distinct nation".<sup>2</sup> This was suggested and supported by the Yugoslav communist party.

In search of the Balkan federation, Tito came up with the idea of Macedonian nation. Tito declared that the federation would recognize Macedonian state only within the federal structure of Yugoslavia. Tito clearly hoped that the Bulgarian claims and the claims of other neighbours could be stopped, If Macedonia stayed in Federal Yugoslavia as an independent republic. He also knew that the Slavs of Macedonia could be integrated into the federal structure.

Tito and Stalin split over Tito's Balkan federation concept. Stalin worried about Tito's growing influence in the Balkans. After Tito and Stalin split in 1945 a new nation was declared within the federal structure of Yugoslavia. Macedonia socialist republic became one of the six republics of the Yugoslav socialist federation.

Tito tried very hard to create and promote a national identity for this young republic. A new language was built which resembled Bulgarian. But this new language was different than Bulgarian. Later national literature and history was constructed with the establishment of research institute of the national literature and history. Soon after Macedonian Orthodox Church was also established.

The collapse of communism and the dissolution of Yugoslavia marked a new era for the Macedonian question. Tito was planning construction of Macedonian nation for one purpose. He hoped to establish a Balkan federation with Bulgaria and Greece. There would be no borders, no nations within this federation under the socialist ideals. But with the collapse of the communism new problems surfaced.

After Macedonians declaration of independence in 1991, the problems with Greece such as, the name, flag, constitution and minority issues was perhaps to biggest obstacle for this new states recognition. Bulgarian attitude regarding Macedonians language and non recognition of

<sup>1</sup> Yasamee, Saybaşı, Özcan (1997) p.80

<sup>2</sup> Yasamee, Saybaşı, Özcan (1997) p.81



a new Macedonian nation was also a major issue. The radical Serbs on the other hand claimed that Macedonian nation did not exist. They believed that the so called "Macedonian nation" was in fact Serbians and that the Macedonian territories belonged to southern Serbia.

In order to analyse the new world order it is very important to study past 1991 era and collect data. The post cold war era resembled a fresh air for the international community. The fight between two opposite ideologies namely communism and capitalism seemed to be over. The big loser was the communist team and its followers. The grey clouds of the ideological war had surrounded the international community. There was uncertainty everywhere. With the collapse of communism the bipolar world order also collapsed. In this new world order the meaning of ethnicity has gained influence. The ethnic nationalist era surrounded the eastern European countries and the smaller Balkan states. The increasing influence of ethnic nationalism put smaller Balkan countries in difficult position. Multi-ethnic structure of the Balkan states lead us to think about the future of the Balkans.

Ethnicity, national identity, ethnic nationalism issues reflected the international conjecture of the past 1990's in Eastern Europe and the Balkans. The globalisation and its efforts was the dominant characteristics of the new international environment. As Mr. Jouni Suistola asserted "the world has become a small global village".<sup>3</sup> What is the globalization? Does it have a relation to ethnicity? What is the meaning of the term minority?

Globalisation is contemporary and progressive for some people. To others globalisation is imperialist tendency of 21<sup>st</sup> century capitalism, it is the new world order. The fact is that globalisation is affecting the whole mankind.

Despite some estimates, ethnicity and the movement of ethnic nationalism increased throughout the world. The collapse of communism and the appearing new world order helped many countries to awake from a long sleep. This was a forced sleep to some countries. Because communism prevented the people from declaring themselves as a nation. Volkan explains that people who lived under communist rule were not sure of their identity. After the Soviet Union's collapse, peoples desired more to identify themselves with a special identity. For example in Kosovo, Serbs and Albanians stuck to their ethnic identities.<sup>4</sup> The delayed forces of nationalism under the rule of communism showed its bitter face after 1990's. New international order allowed minorities and ethnic groups to speak up and voice their opinion.

The leadership of the west in globalisation increased nationalistic movements in the Balkans. Is there a correlation between ethnic nationalism and globalisation? It may be. Today its clear that the western countries have great influence on the weaker democracies of the Balkan states, especially in the Macedonia.

The concept of ethnicity and nationalism have different meanings. The differences between these concepts have become interchangeable and indistinguishable in many studies. Nationalist problems became ethnic problems and vice versa.<sup>5</sup> It is possible to define the concept of minority from a sociological and legal perspective. However there is no definition of minorities which is accepted universally.

<sup>3</sup> Discussion with Prof.Dr.Jouni Suistola, January 10,2002, Nicosia

<sup>4</sup> Volkan, V., Interview by Pan E., (April 7, 1999) The Cavalier Daily, The University of Virginia  
See <http://www.cavalierdaily.com/archives/1999/april/8/lfyugo.asp>

<sup>5</sup> Griffiths, (1998), p.10



The main goal of this study was to evaluate the importance of ethnicity, and its impact on the security of Macedonian state. Ethnic Albanians of Macedonia who consists of one third of the total Macedonian population caused a great concern in the year 2001. The ethnic Albanians of Macedonia still refuse to be identified as a minority. They wish to gain a founding nation status.

Today there are some states with multi-ethnic demographic character which try to homogenize their population by way of assimilation. Greece and Bulgaria are two examples. Greece, for examples, still trying to prove that Turkish minority of western Thrace is actually Muslim minority. Therefore, they try to assimilate them by declaring them as 'Muslim Greeks'. Turkish minority in Bulgaria also suffered assimilation. They were forced to change their names. In addition, the Turkish people were forbidden to use Turkish language at schools. They could not practise their religion freely until the 90's.

This is unacceptable by the norms of 21<sup>st</sup> century and it is also against the human rights movements. The states today must not discriminate, they must accommodate. All of the citizens must be equal in front of the law and enjoy same rights and benefits regardless of their race, colour, language, religion and ethnic background. This is the way to be accommodating and inclusive. All the members of the society are therefore integrated into the states accommodate structure. Only then, the members of the various ethnic groups can co-exist peacefully. If there will be integration, Macedonia must seriously think about making reforms. If the government fails to make necessary reforms, the ethnic groups will surely continue their struggle to ensure that their demands are taken into account. Because ethnic nationalism focuses on the relationship between the minorities and the nation-state.

There has been very limited interaction between the members of the Slav Macedonians and ethnic Albanians in Macedonia. This situation is still unchanged even today. There is almost no inter-ethnic marriages, no evidence of association. On the other hand, the ethnic Albanians of Macedonia have established close associations with other Albanians of the region, especially from Kosovo. There was a real fear during the Kosovo events. It was feared that the crisis might spread to Macedonia. This did not take place. It seems that the west never understood the real dynamics of the conflicts in the Balkans for many years. Perhaps this was intentional. The Macedonian conflict was also as same. But the crisis in Kosovo actually awakened the international community from a long sleep.

It appears that Slav and Albanian Macedonians and Albanians in neighboring countries are sensitive to political propaganda and influence of political leaders. If we recall, there were three major ethnic incidents in Macedonia after the declaration of independence. Namely, the Bit Pazar event, the Events of Tetovo University and the flag issue. But the biggest event took place in the year 2001. The ethnic Albanians rebels chose armed action in order to gain more rights and voice their demands. The rebels fight with the government forces continued for 8 months. Finally, the conflict ended with some more question marks in the minds.

The rebel ethnic Albanians began attacking Macedonian security forces and military targets in January, 2001. Later, the rebels attacked and killed eight members of Macedonian security forces. The rising ethnic tensions proved the seriousness of the situation. Slav Macedonians began a riot and attacked many Albanian and Turkish shops in town of Bitola. Many people fled the towns resulting a refugee crisis. People from both sides suffered.



It seems that, the defenders of a Greater Albania, or Greater Kosovo may have intentionally spreaded violence to southern Serbia and Macedonia. Perhaps, they hoped to attach southern Serbia and western Macedonia to Kosovo. This aim does not seem easy to reach. But this extremist policy is effecting small part of the ethnic Albanian population in Macedonia. May be this is the reason some ethnic Albanians believe solution is autonomy.

The armed rebel conflict was becoming a very serious ethnic conflict in Macedonia. Volkan recalls in early June 2001, after armed conflict between Macedonian government forces and Albanian rebels, Georgi Efremov, chairman of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Macedonia (ASAM) suggested to divide Macedonia along ethnic lines.<sup>6</sup> According to Efremov's plan Macedonian-Albanians would be given the regions of Gostivar, Tetovo, and Debar, which later would be incorporated into Albania. In turn, Albania would give the town of Pogradec and the surrounding area near Prespa Lake to Macedonia. Volkan thinks 'such a suggestion violated Realpolitik: once a state is formed, it is usually quite difficult to partition it peacefully.'<sup>7</sup> But the international community, EU, NATO, OSCE intervened. First a national unity government was formed and began working on constitutional provisions. Finally, a compromise was found after the latest incidents with the rebel forces.

The government of Macedonia signed a peace accord on August 13, 2001 while the fighting continued. The Macedonian conflict gained a different dimension after this peace agreement. The Albanian language became the second official language, more proportional representation was promised for the ethnic Albanians in the Police, Army and in the government offices with the agreement. The ethnic minority definition was also removed from the preamble that was one of the main objections of the ethnic Albanian community.

The compromise was a positive development between the two sides but there is one disadvantage. The ethnic Albanians of Macedonia finally gained the rights after the long struggle. Although, the compromise came after the armed conflict with the rebel ethnic Albanians. There are still some of the demands of the ethnic Albanians of Macedonia must be satisfied. The recognition of ethnic Albanian community as the founder nation in the constitution is one of their demands that will occupy many peoples minds. There is a possibility that some of the radical ethnic Albanians may find an excuse to apply threat of armed conflict again. With other words, they may think of armed violence as the only way to pressure Macedonian government. As a result, this may serve as a precedent for the other minorities living elsewhere in the Balkans. Therefore it seems to be a dangerous possibility.

At this stage, the future of the Macedonian state remains uncertain. The 'greater Albania' ideal is still seen as a horrible dream by many Balkan states. The developed world divided ethnic Albanians during the Balkan and the global wars without hesitation. They probably thought that a small territory for the Albanian state would resolve the issue. Apparently, they failed to take the possibility of cold war's end and the collapse of communist bloc. Additionally, the ethnic minorities were compressed in the newly independent nation states of the 1990s. They also tried to be assimilated. Volkan suggests 'Political movements possibly combine nationalistic sentiments and propagandas to "unify" all Albanians, perhaps with powerful consequences.'<sup>8</sup> The latest rebel incidents could be an example.

<sup>6</sup> Volkan, V., Unpublished article titled A "Paranoid Society": The Legacy of Albania's Enver Hoxha, April, 2002

<sup>7</sup> Volkan, V., Unpublished article titled A "Paranoid Society": The Legacy of Albania's Enver Hoxha, April, 2002

<sup>8</sup> Volkan, V., Unpublished article titled A "Paranoid Society": The Legacy of Albania's Enver Hoxha, April, 2002



The terms ethnicity and the nationalism are closely interwoven at this point. The nationalist problems turn into ethnic problems and vice versa. The Macedonian state must see all the members of the society as its citizens regardless of their ethnic status. The term Macedonian citizenship and its rights and benefits must be promoted in all levels of social interaction. This must be done from all public and educational sectors to all private or other institutions.

If the members of the ethnic population within Macedonia become satisfied, then there may be more opportunity for friendly and cooperative interaction among the people. On the other hand, close association between the ethnic Albanians of Kosovo and Macedonia may make things more difficult. There is a fraction of radical people that seems reluctant to integrate into the existing state structure. At this point, the international community may support Macedonia to maintain its peace, harmony and security. The EU for example, may play a leading role in this process. Equal opportunity and economic prosperity for the citizens of Macedonia must be the main target. It is certain that improved economic and social conditions for all of the members of the society will reduce the ethnic tensions in social interactions. This will definitely require a more balanced and sensitive approach for the human rights policy of the state. This will also ensure the build up of public confidence to the government. The non-governmental organizations will have a major influence on the goal to build up a better economic and social infrastructure for the country. The NGOs may play a major role if they encourage and support the establishment of centres for people to interact and communicate with each other.

The ethnic Albanian demand of 'founding nation status' must be paid attention. Furthermore, the previous Socialist Federal republics of Yugoslavias constitution must be re-evaluated. In the 1974 constitution of the former Socialist Federal Republics of Yugoslavia, Macedonian state was referred as belonged to Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish people. The principle of 'the acquired rights may not be taken away' is very important. If the people are given less rights then they will demand their original rights. Naturally, this may eventually result in armed conflict. If the ethnic Albanians of Macedonia is granted a founding nation status, the tensions may be reduced in the region. The events of 2001 proved the impact of the inter-ethnic relations on Macedonias security.

Macedonia's bilateral and multi-lateral interactions with neighboring countries is also very important. New policy application for ethnic groups may jeopardize Macedonias relations with neighbors or other countries. There are still some problems between Macedonia and some of its neighbors. A number of issues still exist between Macedonia and its neighbours which dates back to the declaration of independence in 1991.

During the course of the study, we identified the centre of the Macedonian problem as an ethnic one and we tried to establish links between ethnicity and its possible effects on Macedonia's security. As we put this thesis into test, it became clear that problems directly depends on ethnicity in Macedonia. This is causing a great fear among all Macedonian people regardless of their ethnic background. These problems clearly potential threat to the security of this young state.

Because of the fact that there are more than seven different ethnic groups living in Macedonia, this problem becomes more complex. Especially, the ethnic Albanians of Macedonia's multilateral relations with the other Albanians of the region increases the fears among the Slav Macedonians. The autonomy dream of the majority ethnic Albanians of Macedonia makes this fear more intense.



The Vlach, Romas and Turks generally more integrated into Macedonian society. But in the case of a massive conflict between Macedonias Slavs and ethnic Albanians, the Serbs and the other Slavs of Macedonia may consider joining motherland. Although this is highly hypothetical.

Ethnic problems may become a security threat for the state as we saw in the latest events with the armed rebels. The events of the 2001 resulted with a compromise with the intervention of NATO. Because the Macedonian government could not end the crisis by itself. Simply, the government of Macedonia did not have military and economic means to end this confrontation. This resembles putting off a forest fire by the firefighters. It seems that the fire actually was not really extinguished. It is still simmering. A fraction of ethnic Albanians still not satisfied with the compromise and demand more. The Slav Macedonian on the other hand show signs of uncertainty. Some even complain too much concession was given to ethnic Albanians. Therefore if the ethnic demands of Macedonians is equally improved, it will certainly improve Macedonia's security and stability.

When we consider all of the problems, we wonder what will be the future of Macedonia? Will there be a Macedonian-Albanian federation? Will its name remain as the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia because of Greece pressure and claimed monopoly over the name 'Macedonia'? Will Macedonia recognize its origin of language as Bulgarian, mostly because of Bulgarians pressure? Will Greece recognize the Slav origin residents of Aegean Macedonia as Macedonian? As we can see, many questions remain unsolved that will affect the future of this fragile state.

The neighboring countries had objected to the concept of 'Macedonian nation' after Macedonia declared its independence. Some countries still insist on the same objection. Such as Bulgaria and Greece. More than ten years have passed after the declaration of independence. We now realize that despite all objections a big proportion of Macedonia's population continue to identify itself as Macedonian. The feeling of Macedonian exists. This has gradually improved since 1991.

There is a new era with new millennium. Democratization offers a great opportunity for solving ethnic conflicts. There is a chance to talk about issues and find answers with a negotiation process. But all groups must be included in the negotiation process. Also a desire is necessary to find a solution in the process.

The international community must understand sensitivities and human rights issues and must approach Macedonian question without prejudice. The international community must be supportive and impartial for Macedonia. They must pay attention to all sides sensitivities. The politicians and the international community must create conditions to solve the issues politically. Leaders of ethnic groups must convince their people that violence must be avoided. And try to reduce tensions. Moderation should be supported and extremism must not be used. Electoral structure must be reconstructed. As a result, no political party or individual will see extremism as advantage. The electoral system must be designed to provide equal distribution of power through proportional representation among different ethnic groups.<sup>9</sup> If opposing groups live in different part of the state, regional autonomy or self rule may be option.

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<sup>9</sup> Nevers, Brown, (1993), p.61-64



As the world changes, new methods must be found for preventing conflicts and reducing tensions between opposing groups. Volkan suggests that ethnic Macedonian-Albanian coexistence within the state of Macedonia as well as peaceful relationships between Macedonians and Albanians outside Macedonia require a systematic "vaccination" against the eruption of violence. This process will be more satisfactory to all parties and will be long lasting if it includes psychologically-informed strategies."<sup>10</sup>

However, as Volkan suggests without the examination of alternative proposals and without serious preparations we cannot go anywhere. Serious preparation must include analysis of identity issues and unconscious fears. Also examination of behavior and the symptoms of large-group regression is important. The regressions must be removed and behaviors must be turned into peaceful behavior.<sup>11</sup> Accordingly, the Tree Model of Volkan<sup>12</sup> seems to offer a new way of corrective diplomacy and may benefit Macedonia's multi-ethnic society.

To find a suitable and acceptable solution by all parties is the main goal in Macedonia and elsewhere in the Balkans. This unique formula of harmony between all ethnic groups in Macedonia may be a good example of the efforts of the small global village. This may bring many of us new hopes for the future. The next generations may inherit a better world in this future. As a result, the world may become a better place to live despite of all problems.

<sup>10</sup> Volkan, V., (April, 2002) Unpublished article titled A "Paranoid Society": The Legacy of Albania's Enver Hoxha,

<sup>11</sup> Volkan, V., (April, 2002) Unpublished article titled A "Paranoid Society": The Legacy of Albania's Enver Hoxha,

<sup>12</sup> Volkan, V., (14-16 December 2000) Psychopolitical Approach for the Reduction of Ethnic or other Large-Group Regression Center for Development Research (ZEF Bonn), Facing Ethnic Conflicts  
See [http://www.zef.de/zef\\_englisch/veranstaltung/ethnic\\_conflicts.htm](http://www.zef.de/zef_englisch/veranstaltung/ethnic_conflicts.htm)



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