

THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL SECURITY ON THE SECURITY POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF NORTH MACEDONIA

Gjurovski Marjan, Ph.D.
Alimovska Sibela, MsC

Abstract: The concept of national security belongs to the so-called old, traditional approaches to security. Its focus is on the survival of the sovereign state, which is its territorial integrity and political independence (sovereignty) protected by diplomatic, intelligence and military capacities, which is ability to repel military aggression or respond successfully. It is therefore justifiably called the concept of state security. In the real socialist countries, state security meant the state of protection of the state from political crime, as well as the security of the (socialist, communist) regime. Therefore, national or state security was in principle divided into so-called external (security from armed aggression) and internal (security of the regime and the state from the internal enemy).

The primary bearers of the fight against all occurrences of security threats, as well as the functioning of the security function of the state, are the institutions, organizations and security services. The intelligence and security services as an integral part of the security and intelligence system work to detect, prevent and suppress any occurrence of security threats to a particular country or social union. Through the establishment and organization of a security system or security-intelligence system, the state strives to achieve its vital interests, to preserve its sovereignty, territorial integrity, constitutional order and the freedoms and rights of its citizens, in order to achieve the strategic goals of the state - membership in NATO and the European Union, which will bring even greater regional and continental security and stability. The focus of the modern concept of national security is the security of the state, society and the individual. Our country must strive for internal reforms, in terms of restoring the criteria of the rule of law, freedom of the media, control over the executive branch, which have long been considered unfulfilled.

Introduction

The concept of national identity, for political and security communication, is considered one of the most researched in academic circles because it is a very important issue for the improvement of regional international politics.

Anthony D. Smith (1991) emphasizes that national identity today has a much more powerful and lasting identity than other forms of identification. This topic becomes more important when it is in the context of some geopolitical changes, specifically for the breakup of Yugoslavia and the formation of the Republic of Macedonia. According to Wodak (Wodak 1999), national identity is constructed and transmitted in discourse, mostly in narratives of national culture. Thus, national identity is a product of discourse.

National identity is the common identity of the inhabitants of a certain politically geographically defined space, that is, a nation (Briggs, Cobley, 2005). Although the definition of national identity is familiar to us, it is difficult to determine what national identity really is and how to recognize the identity of a particular nation. The primary values that determine national identity are: language; traditions, culture; the space; the confessional provisions that together make up the national ideology that defines the strategic goals and priorities towards others, especially neighboring nations and states.

An instrumental analysis of identity can begin with the book *Republic*, in which Plato begins his search for a definition of justice. He associates justice with one of three categories, according to which all things can be classified. What he points out is that there are things that people want to own, not because they bring any benefit, but just for their own sake. There are things that people desire both for their own sake and for some benefit they will receive later. There are also things that are not desired in themselves, but are sought after for the benefit they bring. Accordingly, Plato's conclusion is that justice belongs to the second, most just category, man seeks something for his own good and because it will bring him some benefit - although justice in itself is considered something sublime, its use provides him happiness to the one who practices it. What Plato says about justice can also be said about identity. Just as people respect themselves or others for being just and take pride in being just, they also respect having a social identity and take pride in that identity. In this regard, identity can only be seen as a goal. But identity is also valued because it is perceived to confer benefits on the possessor of that identity. If we assume that a person has no identity or has a negative identity, then that person is rejected or considered a burden. Thus, identity can be considered as a means to an end. This means that the identity is used to lead us to the recognition and acceptance of others¹.

The metaphor taken from the chameleon plays an important role in the concept of goals arising from social identity. Since it has no ability to become invisible in an at-

¹ Ethnic conflicts, religion, identity and politics, S.A. Yanakos, p.7

tempt to survive in order to avoid being detected by a predator it is forced to use a defense mechanism based on changing color in order to avoid physical injury or death. By promoting survival itself, what applies to the chameleon also applies to humans, the difference being that the chameleon relies on changing color in order to protect itself and humans rely on social structures as natural extensions of human needs and desires whether they are instinctive or cognitive. Hence individuals identify with social structures that provide a higher degree of security and less with those that offer less security. In addition to this, it is clearly seen that the primary identity serves for physical security and therefore the individual develops his attachment to that social structure that provides him with physical security. The form of shared identity is conceptualized in terms of how individuals identify with family, clan, nation, village, city, even the world. Different time intervals and different spaces create different structural features. On the other hand, the concept of this identity is based on the security of the individual, which can be achieved in that social environment in which security depends on cooperation with others.

With the concept of community identity, a person can make a reasonable comparison between different ways of manifesting identity in different spaces and at different times, distinguish between nationalism and patriotism, and avoid many misconceptions in the comparative sense of different manifestations of identity and its content when compared across time and space.

Ethnic identity is only one of the possible identities that a person acquires during life. It is not immutable nor is it given once and for all, but it is created, emphasized, changed, hidden, abandoned or replaced with a new one according to needs. The person is a chooser, constantly making a choice in the strategy of exposing or hiding the identity. Therefore, individuals can also manipulate their identity. The person will publicly express that identity which in a given situation can be useful or which is socially valued. There are also multiple identities built on an ethnic basis, which a person feels and expresses without them being in conflict. An individual may define himself first tribally or regionally and then ethnically, and he may also feel that he belongs equally to two or more identities. Different identities can also manifest in different areas of communication. In one area of communication group members can manifest tribal identity, in the other regional or ethnic. Ethnic identity is created by distinguishing between the classes "WE" and "THEM" or members of a group and those outside it.

Analyzing the Macedonian identity in time and space, one will see a wide spectrum of diversity from several aspects. As hardly any collective identity in the world causes so many controversies, disagreements, prejudices and conflicts on the one hand, but also attempts of different groups and collectivities to identify with that identity, as well as to deny the right of others to identify with it, while referring to exclusivity in identification.

Several scholars agree that throughout time and space there are several variants of the Macedonian/Macedonian identity. There are also different scientific approaches to the observation and interpretation of these identities across space and time, by

different scientists depending on their ideologies. Greek scientists, in the service of defending the Greek positions in their dispute with the name Macedonia, have on several occasions emphasized most variants of the Macedonian identity. On the internet portal "Macedonian heritage, an on-line review of Macedonian affairs, history and culture", you can find articles by the main intellectual and scientific "fighters" in defending the Greek states in the name dispute, such as: Evangelos Kofos, Sofia Vouri, Iakovos Michaelidis, Nikolaos Zafariadis and others².

We will call the different variants "models of the Macedonian identity" and the explanations of the Greek scholars can be seen in the "Frequently asked (rhetoric) questions" section. Here you can see, according to them, there are 5 models of the Macedonian identity. Greek scholars extend the thesis that the ancient model of the Macedonian identity, which is associated with the ancient Macedonians and a purely regional identity, which signified a member of a tribe of "Greek culture and language". According to them, Philip and Alexander "spread the Greek culture and language to the then-known borders of the world." The second model, according to Greek scientific circles, is the concept of Macedonians (Makethones) as a regional Greek name, which existed for centuries in Byzantine and Ottoman times, and we are talking about a Greek-phonetic population that identified itself as Macedonian in a regional and cultural sense. According to them, after the revival of the Greek cultural heritage, the educated "Maketones" combined their Greek identity with elements of the ancient Macedonian heritage and proudly referred to Alexander, Philip and their generals Philotas, Krater, etc., unlike the Slavic population in that time in Macedonia which identified itself with the medieval Bulgarian tradition and mostly preferred names such as Boris, Ivan, etc. The third model of Macedonian identity, according to Greek scholars, is Macedonians as a regional Bulgarian name, which appeared during the Bulgarian revival in the 19th century and the national-liberation uprisings of the Bulgarians, who, like the Greeks, used regional names as additions to their ethnic Bulgarian names in their identification. The Macedonian identity in this model was used to differentiate between Bulgarians from Macedonia and Danubians, Thracians, etc. The name Macedonians gained importance after the formation of the Bulgarian national state in 1878, as well as in the uprisings at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, especially in making the difference between, as they say, "Bulgarians from Macedonia and those from Bulgaria provinces". The fourth model of Macedonian identity is Macedonians as an ethnic identification of the Slavic population in the region of Macedonia.

According to Greek scholars, but not only Greek scholars, but also Bulgarian, Serbian and others, Macedonian identity in the ethnic sense is a controversial issue, denying the uniqueness of the Macedonian language and culture, highlighting the so-called "Comintern input" during the 30s of the 20th century, for the political goal of creating a Macedonian ethnic identity. The last, the fifth model of Macedonian identity in space and time, is a Macedonian in the sense of a nation, with which, according

² <http://www.macedonian-heritage.gr>

to Greek scientists, "the citizens of FYROM are identified, in which identity not only the Slavo-Macedonians are recognized, but also the Albanians, the Vlachs, the Serbs and other citizens of the state."

Today, the Macedonian issue is a dispute over the name of a sovereign state that uses its legitimate right to be called the Republic of Macedonia, a dispute over history, language, ethnonyms, symbols and myths, the Macedonian cultural heritage, the church, the construction of identity, exclusivity, human and minority rights. rights etc. A dispute about what it means to be Macedonian, whether and how to use the Macedonian identity, as well as adjectives and attributes for the Macedonian language, Macedonian culture, Macedonian church, etc. In such a context, many processes and phenomena can be observed in the scientific and other public, but also in society or societies. In the fight for the Macedonian identity, there is a strong emission charge from all sides, scientific and non-scientific discussions, political party platforms and strategies, cultural and other events, etc. All stakeholders feel threatened and every occurrence or decision related in any way to the Macedonian identity is received with huge emotions.

For decades this term was put under the carpet because its every awakening created tension and heat due to the complexity of historical studies and scientific discussions. The events remembered after the collapse of the SFRY led to the creation of new national identities in various states, often based on a special interpretation of history or ethnicity. Within Yugoslavia, the Macedonian identity was not an obstacle as long as it adhered to the Serbian idea of Macedonia and the Macedonians. After the breakup of the union, the ethnic Macedonian national identity came out into the open and restless sea where it clashed with other competing identities. Certain analysts sensed the return of nationalism that shook the region and Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century and cooled inter-ethnic relations.

Bearing in mind that in the Balkans the states were built as national (Mazover M., 2003: 147-180) and the development of nations is viewed on an ethnic basis (ethnonationalism), very often there is an intertwining of ethnic, national and even religious and state identity. This intertwining also leads to confusion and a general confusion of identity. Such a mixture is most likely a consequence of the ethnopolitics of Yugoslav communism and the post-communist birth of ethnic consciousness, when the ethnic and ethno-religious identity, interpreted and institutionalized by modern political means, became a national identity (Vlaisavljevic U. 2003: 10). In some of the reactions that can be followed by politicians and some prominent intellectuals in Macedonia, it is said that "if the state identity changes, the national identity will be threatened", referring to the ethnic identity. Such claims are not only unscientific but also tendentious because state and ethnic identity are two completely different categories of identities, and they are nowhere, even in R. Macedonia, they do not arise and develop together. The ethnic identity of the Macedonians is much older and arose centuries before the state identity, and extends over a territory much larger than R. Macedonia. Identity is essentially a subjective category, and tends to objectify it. The objective parame-

ters of the ethnic identity of Macedonians are of one nature (language, ethnogenesis, ethnic history, material, social and spiritual culture), and of the held identity are of a completely different nature (state system, organs of the state, territory on which the state functions, borders, population structure, legal system, international recognition, history of the state, etc.).

A real social and scientific problem in R. Macedonia is the construction of national identity. Not all citizens of the Republic of Macedonia are identified under the term Macedonian in the sense of nation. Macedonia. Exclusivity is normally the dominant ethnic group, but also the dominant Orthodox Christian religion. Between ethnic Macedonians with a Christian orientation and ethnic Macedonians with an Islamic orientation, there is a huge social and identity gap, which is very difficult to overcome and grows into a process of ethnic distance and ethnic particularization (Limanoski N. 1993: 365). Despite the fact that they speak the same language, it is even said and thought that the purest, most indigenous and most archaic Macedonian language is preserved and spoken among Macedonians with the Islamic religion (Limanoski N. 1995: 21), the majority of Macedonians with an orthodox Christian orientation do not. Macedonians with an Islamic orientation imagine within their ethnic, but also national borders. Macedonia is also facing the crisis of its identity and the unresolved disputes with its neighbors. "The failure to define the political concepts of Macedonia in a clear and concrete way reflects uncertainty in relations with other neighbors as well.

Macedonia's dispute with Greece related to the name brought to light a chain of other issues related to identity and language. The eastern neighbor Bulgaria recognized the name of the country as such, but never recognized the Macedonian language and the Macedonian nation. All this does not end here, the northeastern neighbor Serbia refuses to accept the autocephalous Macedonian Orthodox Church, claiming that the only autocephalous church is the Serbian Orthodox Church³. And the relations with Kosovo continue to be fragile. Due to these disputes with the neighbors, Professor Blerim Reka rightly states that in recent years "in Macedonia, there was a deadlock in the implementation of the Ohrid Agreement and in general, inter-ethnic relations were put on the back burner¹⁰⁷. This cultural-ideological matrix as an Ottoman legacy is shown on the ground as an insurmountable obstacle in the process of building Macedonian modernization.

The retreat of the religious identity, as a form of collective identity that dominated the Balkans and Macedonia for a long time, its fluctuation of the weakening and strengthening of the role in the shaping of the ethnic identity, led to dramatic metamorphoses in the historical constitution of the ethnic, and therefore the non-national identities. .

³ Albulena Halili, Fatmir Arifi, "The Unresolved Issues that Cross the Way to Euro-Atlantic Integrations: The Case of the Western Balkans", *The Western Balkans Policy Review*, Volume 1, Issue 1, Jan/June 2010, Kosovo Public Policy Center, p. 87-104

On the other hand, the ethnic Vlachs are much more acceptable in the imagined community of the Macedonian nation than the dominant ethnic group. Despite the fact that the Vlachs spoke (and today they speak very little) a completely different language from Macedonian, probably due to the same religious commitment, the process of ethnic symbiosis was much easier. Macedonians and Vlachs feel for "Ours", not for "Others". But the Macedonians and the Vlachs in a certain sense share the Macedonian identity because the Vlachs are considered as direct descendants of the ancient Macedonians, they are considered "real Macedonians" (Stefanoski - Dabiža B. 2005:209-215), it was used and is still used the ethnic identification "Ar'mn Macedonians" which in translation means "non-Roman Macedonians", and they use symbols from ancient Macedonia. They took an active part in the national liberation movements of all countries, and especially in the Macedonian national liberation movement in VMRO and MRO, in the Ilidean Uprising, etc. (Celakovski N. 2005: 239-246). The Macedonian identity in the sense of a modern political nation is not accepted by the members of the Albanian ethnic group living in R. Macedonia, nor the Macedonian adjectives for self-identification, such as the term "Macedonian Albanians". And they do not prefer the symbols of the Macedonian nation (the flag, the anthem, the coat of arms) as their symbols. Despite the fact that the state Macedonian symbols are different from the symbols of the ethnic Macedonians, the Albanian population in Macedonia considers them "ethnic Macedonian" and prefers the ethnic Albanian symbols, which are also symbols of R. Albania⁴.

On one occasion, a prominent intellectual from this ethnic group in Macedonia Hisen Ramadani will say: "The epithet Macedonian, the adjective Macedonian, belongs only to Macedonians and not to me as an Albanian." I lived in Macedonia, I am a patriot who loves Macedonia, I also love the people who live in Macedonia, but I am not a Macedonian patriot, I cannot be, I am an Albanian patriot who lives in Macedonia and who loves all others who are patriots of his country" (Markoska Milchin E. (ed.), 2006: 35).

But on the other hand, the Macedonians also do not feel that the members of the Albanian ethnic group in the Republic of Macedonia are their own within their national borders. Macedonia. The ethnic distance is huge, and inter-ethnic relations and relations in everyday life are weaker and weaker. The separate life between ethnic Macedonians and ethnic Albanians in Macedonia grows into parallel worlds, in all spheres of life. However, Albanians from Albania, Kosovo and other areas where ethnic Albanian population lives, Albanians from Macedonia identify them as Macedonians (Macedonas) in everyday life, which they do not oppose.

The situation is more relaxed with the other ethnic communities living in the Republic of Macedonia, the Turkish community, the Vlach, the Serbian, the Roma, the Bosniak, the Croatian, the Montenegrin, the Balkan Egyptian, the Jewish and other

⁴ "Albanians in Macedonia do not want to be called Macedonians", newspaper "Dnevnik", November 29 2002 year.

communities, who accept the national or state Macedonian identity, in addition to their ethnic symbols respect and emphasize the symbols of the nation or the state. Despite the fact that they feel neglected in public life, due to the overemphasized ethno-political and ethno-cultural Macedonian-Albanian conflict in R. Macedonia, are trying to preserve the ethnic and cultural uniqueness. These communities from the dominant Macedonian ethnic group are considered loyal citizens, contrary to the image of the Albanians, but they are also not considered their own within the Macedonian nation, but "Others", especially if they are of the Islamic faith.

A significant place in the analysis of the Macedonian identity is occupied by the problems with the Macedonian national minority in the neighboring countries, but also with the Macedonian diaspora. Thus, the problems of recognition or non-recognition of the Macedonian national minority in neighboring countries are accepted quite emotionally in Macedonia, especially when it comes to the Macedonians in Greece (Voskopoulos P. 2002 and 200), Bulgaria and Albania (Fetahu K. 2003). On the other hand, the state R. Macedonia and the public are much more interested in the citizens of R. Macedonia from the dominant Macedonian ethnic group that are found in European and across the ocean countries, than for the citizens of R. Macedonia in the same countries that do not belong to the dominant Macedonian Orthodox collectivity, and which are quite numerous in number. Such a constellation and stratification of the Macedonian society in the Republic of Macedonia, which society according to the dominant Macedonian ethnic group should strive to build a Macedonian nation-state, according to the Albanians to building a binational conception of society and the state, and according to other communities to a multicultural society which reality should be mirrored in the state system, it shows that R. Macedonia essentially lives in a plural society of several ethnic, ethno-cultural and ethno-religious and other communities that live side by side with a unique interaction in the economy and the market, and that seek their place under the sun of recognition of identity and respect of cultural distinctiveness Macedonian identity in time and space, as a collective identity, which has its roots since the oldest times in these spaces, has experienced many processes and changes. From the collective identity of the largest country in the world and history in terms of its expanse on three continents, through an identity that needs to be destroyed, that needs to be appropriated, denied, and even to a demand to change. An identity with which different communities are identified, depending on the subjective perception, but also an identity that is not accepted by a part of the people (ethnos) with a different religious orientation, as well as a part of the political nation. For these reasons, in anthropological, ethnological and other sciences, this represents a unique identity phenomenon. The Macedonian is recognizable in his non-existence or suspicious in his absence, says the famous Slavic ethnologist Bozidar Jezernik⁵.

The ethnic identity of the Albanians and Macedonians played a big role, but perhaps in the mobilization of the people and in order to create an atmosphere of ten-

⁵ Bozidar Jezernik (Qubqana, Slovenija) Macedonians: Suspicious because of their absence

sion by the ethno-political leaders in the race for political power. If we use the theories of conflict between groups, we will see that ethnic identity and community symbols were used in the form of harsh rhetoric in order to influence the perception of both ethnic Macedonians and ethnic Albanians. Rhetoric was systematically used in everyday life and daily politics by ethno-political leaders in order to divert the attention of citizens from the real problems to the question of the field of ethno-politics (Harff and Gurr 2004). When biological theories of ethnic conflict were completely rejected, scholars took the cognitive approach as more suitable for explaining ethnic conflict, emphasizing the organization of knowledge and the way in which a system of behaviors and beliefs produces perceptions or viewpoints (Ellis 2006:14). The ethnic identity of the Albanians and Macedonians in Macedonia was manipulated by the ethno-political leadership in order to gain political power on the Macedonian political scene and the possibility of creating a lawless gray zone in the northeastern part of the country where organized crime groups could operate unhindered. Similarly, Macedonian identity was manipulated by Macedonian political leaders with the motto "he who is not with us is against us". The lack of higher education in the Albanian language could be solved by political dialogue, not by the use of weapons. It can be confirmed that this was not enough to start the conflict, but it was still needed as a reason and a way to articulate the dissatisfaction. The new leadership of the ethnic Albanians sought to seize power by taking up arms and thus may have reduced the credibility of the existing political representatives of the Albanians. The negative attitude and policy towards our country by its neighbors, who in the 21st century, entered the new international relations with the burden of the past and anachronistic big-state ambitions, prejudices, contributed the most to the escalation of interest in issues related to the Macedonian identity in Macedonia. and nationalist aspirations towards the Macedonian nation, its language, history, culture and territories. These are the main reasons that the concept of identity, as a mechanism to protect against attacks, has become massively used (also by the media). It also became the main argument for defending the constitutional name of the state of Macedonia against the requests to change the name from neighboring Greece, which as a condition for the Republic of Macedonia to find its rightful place in the community of other European states with EU and NATO membership illogically demands The Republic of Macedonia to agree to change the national identity. Considering the constructivist identity paradigm, such unprincipled pressure could be justified by the view that in the interest of higher goals, interventions in national identity markers can be carried out. But it is one thing to (re)construct the national identity as a result of one's own identification with certain and not some other histories and traditions, and quite another to condition the identification from "external" positions⁶.

⁶ Biljana Rajchinova-Nikolova, *The concept of identity seen through the Macedonian print media*, p-123, University "St. Cyril and Methodius", 2016 Skopje, Macedonia,

The concept of one nation – one state – one language is a very rare situation in the world (in Europe, for example, Iceland and Portugal), so the so-called “holy trinity” as a romantic and nationalist ideal since the 18th century. today is, in fact, largely a utopia. However, that aspiration still firmly persists and is the basis for various political manipulations⁷. The problem is that language is usually considered one of the most important, if not the most important, feature of a certain ethnicity’s identity, although in reality it is not always the case. For example, there are nations in the world that speak one language (Hungarians, Czechs, Albanians, Japanese), then one nation can be served with several languages (Belgians, Swiss, Canadians) and, conversely, one language can serve several nations. (English, Spanish, French). Also, the language can be replaced over time, which is especially common in immigrant conditions, and some communities, on the other hand, are fundamentally multilingual, so their identity can hardly be tied to one language (Jews, Kurds, Roma).

Although within the former Yugoslavia, the Macedonian language was recognized as equal, it had a lower status than the Serbo-Croatian language, which was the official language at the federal level, the language of international communication, the language of the military, etc. The Serbo-Croatian language was a compulsory subject in primary schools, while the other languages were not (Slovenian, Macedonian, etc. were not taught in the other republics). Thus, after the independence of the Republic of Macedonia, the Macedonian language experienced a kind of rebirth - the feeling of inferiority to the Serbo-Croatian language slowly disappeared, intensified publishing activity in the Macedonian language began, etc. The status of the Albanian language in the Republic of Macedonia did not change much during that time. Albanian was represented in pre-school institutions, in primary and secondary schools and at the department of Albanian language and literature at the Faculty of Philology of the University “St. Cyril and Methodius” in Skopje. Thus, the Albanian minority was not satisfied with the status of their language. After the conflict in 2001, with the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, “we can identify a new ‘language regime’ that is used in the country”⁸.

After the independence of Macedonia and the mentioned social changes, it can be said that the processes were positive regarding the Macedonian language, its use and its status. The domains of its use increased to a considerable extent: in the media, the press and music, and thus it was more present in the general public, and its speakers became more aware of the quality of the language. In 1998 by the Assembly of R. Macedonia passed the Law on the Use of the Macedonian Language, which regulates the provisions regarding the spheres of use and protection of the language, thus institutionalizing the state’s concern for the Macedonian language. The status of

⁷ R. Bugarski, *Nova lica jezika*, Beograd 2002, c. 171.

⁸ J. Bliznakovski, Normative framework for the linguistic rights of minorities in Macedonia - in accordance with The Ohrid Framework Agreement, Eurodialog 14, *Journal of European Affairs*, NIP “Studentski svor”, Skopje, Center for Regional Research and Cooperation “Studiorum”, Skopje 2011, p. 133. http://evrodijalog.eu/pdf/ED14/EVRODIJALOG-Br14_06-Jovan-Bliznakovski.pdf

the Macedonian language has changed to a great extent after the adoption of the amendments to the Constitution of R. Macedonia in 2002 which resulted from the signing of the Framework Agreement in August 2001. In Article 7 of the Constitution, which regulates the status of Macedonian and other languages spoken in Macedonia, it is determined that “another language spoken by at least 20% of the citizens is also an official language and its script”, so that the institution - a second official language in Macedonia is introduced at a certain level, more specifically with the Law on the use of a language spoken by at least 20% of the citizens in the Republic of Macedonia and in local self-government units from 2008. It regulates the use of another language (except Macedonian) spoken by 20% of the citizens at the level of communication with ministries, in the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia, in court proceedings, personal documents, in the electoral process, in the field of broadcasting, etc. Within the framework of the local self-government, Article 41 regulates that: “In the municipalities, the official language is the Macedonian language and its Cyrillic script.” In the municipalities, in addition to Macedonian and its Cyrillic script, the official language is the language and script used by at least 20% of the municipality’s residents. The council of the municipality decides on the use of languages and scripts spoken by less than 20% of the inhabitants of the municipality.” All this process contributes to reducing the meaning and role of Macedonian as a cohesive language, i.e. a language that serves in all spheres of society: political, foreign policy, cultural, economic sphere, etc., and also in a certain sense reduces the territory of its use. This statement also applies to the use of the Cyrillic alphabet. The actual situation today is marked by the fact that in the municipalities where another language (besides Macedonian) is spoken by at least 20% of the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia, the toponyms of the traffic signs are stated (in order) in Macedonian, then in Latin and in Albanian, while in within the municipalities, institutions and municipal schools and universities (for example in Tetovo: State University in Tetovo and the University of Southeast Europe the inscriptions are first in Albanian, then in English and Macedonian). In this regard, in Article 40 of the Law on the use of a language spoken by at least 20% of the citizens, it is stipulated that: “In the municipality in which at least 20% of the citizens use another official language other than the Macedonian language, the name of the street, the square, the bridge and on another infrastructural object, in addition to the Macedonian language and its Cyrillic script, it is written in the language and script used by at least 20% of the citizens in that municipality.” It is obvious that a broader national strategy is needed for this in which direction will the nurturing of the status of the Macedonian language in Macedonia and other languages used in its territory take place⁹.

Inequality in terms of linguistic equipment and capacities can be a significant source of injustice between individuals. To determine whether, how, and to what extent it should be corrected, we can refer to the usual principles of distributive justice,

⁹ Aleksandra Gjurkova: Modern changes in the Macedonian standard, Institute for the Macedonian language “Krste Misirkov”, Skopje, Macedonia, p. 221

such as fairness and equity in distribution. On the other hand, there is a special perspective, in which it makes sense to discuss linguistic justice independently of other dimensions of justice. But to evaluate the fairness of the model of interaction that generates the benefit of communication between different linguistic communities, an appropriate criterion of fairness is needed, which will make it easier to understand the subject of linguistic justice. Justice between different linguistic communities can be understood as a fair sharing of the costs of constant change (when learning a “dominant” language by the current and all future generations whose mother tongue falls under the category of “dominant” languages), or as fair sharing of costs for a one-time change (where the “dominated” language would be replaced by the “dominant” as a common mother tongue)¹⁰.

Majoska evaluates the language policy as a model for disintegration between Macedonians and Albanians. The Albanian minority speaks and is educated mostly exclusively in the Albanian language, in the workplace they also use the Albanian language, follow the media in the Albanian language. The differences are increasing and the mistrust on the part of the Macedonians in the interest of the Albanians to live in a common state, as well as the revolt from constantly new demands, is growing. According to her, the right to use the Albanian language is not contested, but the non-use and ignorance of the Macedonian language by the Albanian minority, as well as the non-compliance with the legal regulations. The language policy implemented in the Republic of Macedonia should be under constant observation by all competent authorities and intervene by correcting certain irregularities. This is the only way to ensure peaceful coexistence in our multicultural community (Gruevska-Majoska, 2012: 232-233).

In terms of the status of languages, the promotion of the position of one of the minority languages, as opposed to the derogation of the Macedonian language and the policies for its promotion, the Institute for the Macedonian Language came out with a public reaction, from where it demanded the withdrawal of the law with a reasoned response that with this proposed law, the Macedonian language becomes one of the official languages in the Republic of Macedonia, thus losing the status of an official language in which all ethnic groups in the Republic of Macedonia will communicate, and that is not only Macedonians and ethnic Albanians, but also Turks, Roma, Vlachs, Bosnians, the Serbs, which represents their discrimination. Also, the formula “language spoken by at least 20 percent of the citizens” is removed and only the Albanian language is used as such, as opposed to the other languages spoken in the Republic of Macedonia (Reaction of the Macedonian Language Institute, 2017). From the aspect of actually overcoming divisions along ethnic lines, Madzovska believes that the proposed Law will lead to new divisions, impatience, conflicts and a tense atmosphere between Macedonians and Albanians. She also criticized the procedure and the way

¹⁰ Doctoral Dissertation Linguistic Diversity or Asymmetric Bilingualism: The Challenges of Linguistic Justice in the Republic of Macedonia

in which the language, after it has been voted, will be sent to the Venice Commission, explaining that it should have been sent to the commission first, and then voted on in the Assembly. Gruevska-Majoska also emphasizes the problematic position of the Agency for Languages, which in the multilingual Macedonian context should have a mission for the protection, promotion and advancement of all languages already when the law is named as the law for languages. With ZUJ, a situation is created where Albanians do not need to know the Macedonian language. In this way, a very bad atmosphere is created in society, that is, because two societies and two parallel worlds are created (Madzhovska, 2017).

According to Academician Katica Kjulavkova, the attempt to intervene in politics should be considered in a wider context in order to understand its meaning and impact, including the consequences it will cause on the unity of the state and the social integrity of the Republic of Macedonia. In view of the previous interventions, according to the Law of 2008, the Albanian language was introduced as the second official language in the Republic of Macedonia, with which this topic should have been removed from the agenda. That Law is so detailed and radical and responsive to the demands of the Macedonian Albanians, that it should have ended the story with language rights and not allow it to escalate from a project of language rights to some other strategic indicative political project (Kulavkova, 2017) .

Recent decades have witnessed the re-entry of religions into the public arena, involving the emergence of new religions as well as significant changes in old religions. This religious revival and this religious transformation are largely conditioned by the rapid growth of immigration and the creation of new "diaspora" communities that are, on a global level, networked. Religion plays an important role in the constitution of collective identities and in the shaping of both national and international cultural characteristics and boundaries. The frequency of tensions and conflicts, related to religion, have especially increased in the world, their motives can also be reflected on the cultural, political and socioeconomic spheres. However, a number of initiatives and projects focused on researching religious revival in Europe and the world have failed to assess the revival of religion in the context of other social and political processes. The world is in the middle of a transformation process that can be understood as a transition from religious pluralism to cultural and ethnic pluralism, which is often characterized by a strong religious basis. Despite the differences between the various national systems, in terms of church and state relations, some features can be recognized as common: the acceptance of religious communities by the public, the recognition of their specific characteristics, a certain degree of state control over them and selective and evaluated cooperation of public institutions with religious communities. One of the most important changes in today's global scene is the development of transnational, religious and/or ethnic virtual associations, communities and networks, including diaspora communities and networks. Under the influence of extensive migration movements, accompanied by globalization processes, a large number of such diaspora networks, communities and organizations have developed. It contributed to

a far-reaching transformation of the legislation on religious communities and their participation in public spheres and in the constitution of collective identities¹¹.

If we look at the Constitution and the laws, the Republic of Macedonia is a secular state in which politics is formally separated from religion, and the state from the Church, and at the same time full respect and protection of multi-confessionalism (religious pluralism) is ensured in our society. Unfortunately, we do not have any major empirical research, so we will limit ourselves to what each of us sees primarily through the media and which are mostly part of the daily politics of our political elites. For example, the “media circus” during major religious holidays when the state and party leader can only be seen in a Church or Mosque. However, if we understand this only as a folk political culture that essentially does not respect fundamental religious values such as humility, modesty, respect for one’s neighbor and so on, much more significant is the fusion between politics and religion at the level of the state and leading the state. For example, the government’s policy for large families is based on the religious teaching (both in Christianity and in Islam) that abortion is one of the greatest sins. This religious teaching, we would say dogma in a mild form, was also found in the Law regulating the issue of abortion. In essence, this law, as claimed by many non-governmental organizations, restricts women’s right to independently decide whether and how many children they will have. Furthermore, the attitude towards sexual orientation of our political elites is identical to the attitude of the two largest religious communities, the Macedonian Orthodox Church - Ohrid Patriarchate and the Islamic religious community. Namely, for both Islam and Christianity, homosexuality is contrary to the teachings of God expressed in the holy books, the Bible and the Koran. Today, to be a good and true Macedonian and a patriot means to be a Christian and Orthodox, while a “real” Albanian is primarily Muslim and Sunni. All this leads to the conclusion (although we have no relevant empirical research) that in our country, especially in the last ten years, we have a trend of connecting religion and politics, and with that, as Professor Eliezer Papo says, the state takes the biggest religions in our country under “its hat”. In essence, the ordinary religious citizen does not benefit at all, but primarily the benefit is on the side of the political elites and the religious clergy¹².

From the above we can conclude that the Republic of Macedonia is a multi-ethnic reality that represents a fertile ground for political manipulation by encouraging nationalism and national hatred and intolerance, primarily with the help of party or group control over the means of public information. Practically until now, more or less separate structures from the government or from the opposition have consumed negative nationalism and religiosity in certain circumstances. The fact is that among some of the ethnic Macedonians there is dissatisfaction due to the collective perceptions that the Framework

¹¹ Strashko Stojanovski, Daniela Koceva, “Religion and the religious distance in the Republic of Macedonia”, p. 177

¹² Balkan Respectives, a magazine about facing the past, How religious elements contribute or not contribute to facing the past, 2017 Skopje, issue no. 07-06, p. 18-19

Agreement enormously tramples on the principle of ethnic equality and that the Albanian element in the country is disloyal and destabilizing, which suddenly threatens the territorial integrity in the state.

Among ethnic Albanians, there is dissatisfaction due to collective perceptions that the Framework Agreement is being implemented very slowly, but also that Macedonian society is too ethnocentric (especially with the "Skopje 2014" project) and permanently ignores identities and peculiarities. In our country, ethnocentric populism is mostly a substitute for the lack of professional and moral capacity among its politicians and leaders, but also a substitute for the failure to fulfill the numerous megalomaniac promises of the current political leaders who built their political careers by referring to the need to save the supposedly endangered national interests by creating controlled inter-ethnic tensions.

The deterioration of the inter-ethnic atmosphere represents a dangerous detonation for the country and the region. In conditions where we have an unfavorable economic and social situation in the country, it is very easy to destroy even that small existing dose of inter-ethnic cohesion. In inter-ethnic environments, due to the poor economic and social situation in the country, it feeds prejudices, stereotypes and frustrations between ethnic and religious communities. Economic and social problems by themselves produce political tensions, and in addition, in combination with inter-ethnic problems, tensions multiply and increase, and with it, collective discontent and aggressiveness grow. In an interview, university professor Cane Mojanovski says that in the Republic of Macedonia it becomes a practice before elections and when there are events that are related to or talk about evidence of crime in the government, to touch on topics or to fake events, which in the form of a controlled conflict, they should draw attention, heighten emotions and fuel nationalistic passions.

References

- Ethnic conflicts, religion, identity and politics, S.A. Yanakos, p.7
<http://www.macedonian-heritage.gr>
- Albulena Halili, Fatmir Arifi, "The Unresolved Issues that Cross the Way to Euro-Atlantic Integrations: The Case of the Western Balkans", *The Western Balkans Policy Review*, Volume 1, Issue 1, Jan/June 2010, Kosovo Public Policy Center, p. 87-104
- "Albanians in Macedonia do not want to be called Macedonians", newspaper "Dnevnik", November 29, 2002 year.
- Bozidar Jezernik (Qubqana, Slovenija) *Macedonians: Suspicious because of their absence*
- Biljana Rajchinova-Nikolova, *The concept of identity seen through the Macedonian print media*, p-123, University "St. Cyril and Methodius", 2016 Skopje, Macedonia
- R. Bugarski, *Nova lica jezika*, Beograd 2002, c. 171.

- J. Bliznakovski, Normative framework for the linguistic rights of minorities in Macedonia - in accordance with
The Ohrid Framework Agreement, Eurodialog 14, Journal of European Affairs, NIP "Studentski svor",
Skopje, Center for Regional Research and Cooperation "Studiorum", Skopje 2011, p. 133.
http://evrodijalog.eu/pdf/ED14/EVRODIJALOG-Br14_06-Jovan-Bliznakovski.pdf
- Aleksandra Gjirkova: Modern changes in the Macedonian standard, Institute for the Macedonian language "Krstev
Misirkov", Skopje, Macedonia, p. 221
- Doctoral Dissertation Linguistic Diversity or Asymmetric Bilingualism: The Challenges of Linguistic Justice
in the Republic of Macedonia
- Strashko Stojanovski, Daniela Koceva, "Religion and the religious distance in the Republic of Macedonia", p. 177
- Balkan Respectives, a magazine about facing the past, How religious elements contribute or not contribute to facing the past, 2017 Skopje, issue no. 07-06, p. 18-19