



Republic of Macedonia and NATO:
one step forward two steps backward

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REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA AND EURO-ATLANTIC INTEGRATIONS

Key moments

NATO

- ◆ PfP, 1995
- ◆ MAP, 1999
- ◆ Bucharest Summit, 2008
- ◆ Warsaw Summit, 2016

MACEDONIA AND GREECE

Different perception on the term "Macedonia"?

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- ✦ **Greek hypersensitivity:**
- ✦ issue of Hellenic cultural heritage,
 - ✦ the Macedonian minority in Greece,
 - ✦ Greece's northern provinces
- ✦ **Macedonian claim:**
- the name "Macedonia" as the designation of both its state and its people

NAME ISSUE AND INTERIM ACCORD

US meditation role

Party of the First Part (Greece) agrees **not to object to the application by or the membership** of the Party of the Second Part (Republic of Macedonia) **in international, multilateral and regional organizations and institution of which the Party of the First Part is member**, however the Party of the First Part reserves the right to object to any membership referred to above if and to the extent the Party of the Second Part is to be referred to in such organizations or institutions differently than (“Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”) in paragraph 2 of United Nations Security Council resolutions 817 (1993).

(Signed, 1995)

KEY POINTS

THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA V. GREECE

The Court has ruled:

Greece violated the 1995 Interim Accord by objecting the Republic of Macedonia's accession to NATO in the lead-up to 2008 Bucharest Summit

Greece is expected not to repeat the violation of international law (by default "good faith" is presumed)

Macedonia can continue to use its constitutional name in its relations with Greece and within international organizations

Greece's allegations of the Republic of Macedonia breaching Interim Accord were *all rejected*

✦ (INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE JUDGMENT OF

✦ DECEMBER 5, 2011)

STRENGTHENING NATIONAL PRIDE:

The new Government's policy

✱ *“We cannot give up our identity, culture and literacy as they are among crucial prerequisites for prosperous, lasting future of each nation... there is no administrative mechanism for erasing the memory about who and what we are... there is no substitute for the identity ...therefore we shall join Europe in no other way but as Macedonians...although one EU, NATO member state has been making attempts to prevent our Euro-Atlantic integration by denying our national identity and uniqueness, we are firmly committed to join these institutions in a dignified manner, as a nation whose culture and language are one of the pillars of the European culture.”*



Speech by PM Nikola Gruevski, Rome, 25 May 2008

PROJECT: SKOPJE 2014



Current challenges facing Macedonia

Stability vis a vis democracy

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- ◆ a poor country with weak institutions,
 - ◆ no tradition of democracy,
 - ◆ a legacy of ethnic resentment,
 - ◆ traditional patronage-based system, which subordinates the rule of law to raw political power.

Current challenges

Scandal with communications interception

✦ The opposition SDSM, led by Zaev, began to release recordings it **alleges** to be of *PM Gruevski* and a host of *government officials* and figures documenting *crimes and abuses of power*.

✦ Zaev claims that the government *has tapped the phone lines of 20,000 people*.



Current challenges

Protests calling for Gruevski to step down

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- ✦ On May 5 2015, when Zaev released a recording he alleged *documents the attempted cover-up of police culpability in the beating death of an opposition supporter, Martin Neškovski, on election night in June 2011.*
 - Popular protests, *not organized by the SDSM, drew thousands to protest in downtown*



Current challenges

Police operation in Kumanovo

- ✦ On May 12 2015, a police operation took place in the northern city of Kumanovo that reportedly left *eight police* and an initially reported *14 Albanian militants dead*, with many more wounded.
- ✦ The latter figure was later revised down to 10 Albanians killed , *nine of whom were Kosovo Albanians and KLA veterans* with ties to KLA leadership.



Current challenges

Two big protests

Anti Government protests

17 May 2015



Pro Government protests

18 May 2015



Current challenges

EU mediation role

Przino Agreement

June, July 2015

- ✦ *Commitment to EU and democratic principles*
- ✦ *Early elections in April 2016*
- ✦ *“Transitional period”*

Johannes Han

EU Commissioner for European Neighborhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations



Current challenges

“Transitional period”

Agreed

The government agreed to form a **transitional administration which included the political opposition, and Gruevski to step down** as prime minister.

The government also agreed to **clean up Macedonia’s electoral lists, and give the opposition equitable access to the state-owned media.**

In parallel, the EU demanded the appointment of **an independent Special Prosecutor** to investigate the evidence contained in the leaked recordings.

Obstructions

- ✦ Government **failed to amend the electoral lists and open up the media**, leading to a postponement of the elections, first to June.
- ✦ Meanwhile, the president of Macedonia, issued **pardon to all those under investigation by the Special Prosecutor**

Current challenges

the Colourful Revolution

- ✦ An enraged populace returned to the streets, demanding the resignation of the government and the president in what was now being called **the Colourful Revolution**.



Current challenges

IC approach and Government responses

IC approach

- ✦ Intensified pressure on the country leaderships
- ✦ The EU warned it would not recognise a government elected after a flawed ballot.
- ✦ Germany, dispatched its own mediator to put pressure on the locals, starting with a halt to the sham elections.

Results

- ✦ The president withdraw his pardons
- ✦ New agreement, election postponed to December 2016 on condition that four party leaders would agree that all preconditions are full field for fair elections .

Current challenges

Charlie's Angels

Disputes regarding Special Prosecutor Office

✦ **Opposition** *supports* its work

✦ **Government and President** are *making obstacles*



Exit scenario

Best case scenario

Transitional Government will create the conditions for free and fair elections in December this year.

The **arrival of new political figures**,

The **EU and the US would demand that Greece lifted its 25-year blockade** and set Macedonia on a course of westward integration.

But,.....

- ✦ **Gruevski is unlikely to give up power voluntarily**, can rely on a caucus of supporters, who depend on the party's survival for their jobs and livelihoods
- ✦ **The EU** can escalate pressure on Gruevski, but it's not clear there would be **consent for this among the Central Europeans**
- ✦ **USA involvement?**
- ✦ **DUI** wants something in return, and that something is very likely to be **the federalisation of Macedonia.**

