

Interethnic Relations and Minorities in the Republic of Macedonia

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ABSTRACT

Despite recent tensions and problems, the democratization process in the Republic of Macedonia has brought some relaxation in the country with regard to interethnic relations. The members of nationalities in Macedonia enjoy protection of their ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious identity and are represented in the institutions of the system. The model established for the protection of minority rights in Macedonia is grounded in a historically deeply-rooted feeling of mutual understanding and tolerance in the collective memory of the people, as well as in standards of international law and practice in this sphere.

This article discusses interethnic relations in Macedonia, with a particular focus on the Albanian population. It traces legal and political developments during the past decade and seeks to identify reasons for the recent violence in Macedonia.

1. Introduction

Having maintained a more or less successful coexistence between various nationalities, and having made efforts to improve the situation and to solve the problems that appeared concerning periodic ethnic tensions, the Republic of Macedonia succeeded in not participating in the war that followed the dissolution of former Yugoslavia, and gained independence by peaceful means.

The Albanian nationality is the most numerous nationality in the Republic of Macedonia. One-third lives concentrated in areas of western Macedonia near to neighboring Albania and Kosovo. Albanians in Macedonia, despite the constant complains about their treatment as “second-class citizens” in the post independence political system, have, unlike their Kosovo brethren, used

their constitutional and political opportunities to play a significant role in national politics. In 1990, the Albanian nationality in the Republic of Macedonia formed political parties that have been included in all post-communist Macedonian governments. Twenty-five Albanians (from two Albanian parties), one Roma from the Party of the Romas in Macedonia, and several Serbs, Turks and Vlachs, won seats in the 1998 parliamentary elections.

The government coalition, in power since November 1998, gives the DPA (Democratic Party of Albanians) one deputy prime minister, five ministers, five deputy ministers, and a proportional share in the management of public institutions. DPA is willing to work within the structures of the Macedonian state as long as Albanians are treated equally. Their demands for improved education, especially an Albanian-language university, and equal employment opportunities, are aimed at improving Albanian status as a community within the state structures rather than creating a parallel society as in Kosovo.

However, the February 2001 occupation of Tanusevci, an ethnic Albanian village on Macedonia's northern border, by ethnic Albanian extremists, as well as violent conflicts in the region of Tetovo and Kumanovo, opened a new phase of security and inter-ethnic instability in Macedonia, and in the region. The troubles in Kosovo and southern Serbia appear to be spreading to Macedonia, perhaps with the aim of destroying the Macedonian model of good interethnic and intercultural relations, and could jeopardize the stability of the region and of Europe.

2. The Status of the Nationalities in the Republic of Macedonia

According to the census of 20 June 1994, alongside 1,295,964 Macedonians (66.6% of a total of 1,945,932 inhabitants) in the Republic of Macedonia also live 441,104 Albanians (22.7%), 78,019 Turks (4%), 43,707 Romas (2.2%), 40,228 Serbs (2.1%), 15,418 Muslims (0.8%), 8,601 Vlachs (0.4%), and 22,891 members of other nationalities (1.2%).¹

Since its independence in 1991, the Republic of Macedonia has made serious efforts to improve the quality of life of the national minorities ("nationalities" according to the country's constitution). Throughout history and in the collective memory of Macedonia, there have been no major interethnic conflicts, which makes the coexistence of the Macedonian people and the nationalities easier (that is, it helps to alleviate the occasional interethnic tensions).

The Albanians, as the most numerous nationality, live in compact settlements in the western part of Macedonia (near the border with Albania) and in the northwestern part (towards the border with Kosovo), as well as in Skopje and Kumanovo. They comprise the majority of the population in Tetovo, Gostivar, Debar, and other towns. According to data from previous censuses, the number of Albanians has grown constantly since 1953, due to their significantly higher birth rate in comparison with the other inhabitants of Macedonia. They

comprised 13% in 1961; 279,871 (17%) in 1971; 377,726 (19.7%) in 1981; and 21% in 1991.

Table 1: Structure of the population according to the national affiliation

	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991	1994
TOTAL	1,304,514	1,406,003	1,647,308	1,909,136	2,033,964	1,945,932
Macedonian	860,699	1,000,854	1,142,375	1,279,323	1,328,187	1,295,964
Albanian	162,524	183,108	279,871	377,208	441,987	441,104
Vlach	8,668	8,046	7,190	6,384	7,764	8,601
Roma	20,462	20,606	24,505	43,125	52,103	43,707
Turkish	203,938	131,484	108,552	86,591	77,080	78,019
Serbian	35,112	42,728	46,465	44,468	42,775	40,228

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Macedonia

The numerical strength of the Turkish nationality in the censuses in Macedonia oscillates—in 1948, there were 95,940 Turks; in 1953, there were 203,938; and in 1961 only 131,481. This can be explained by the fact that, in the first census, a considerable number of Turks declared themselves as Albanians and, after the split with the Inform-Bureau, a considerable number of Albanians declared themselves as Turks. Of the highest number of Turks cited (in 1953), 32,392 stated that Macedonian was their mother tongue and 27,086 stated that they speak Albanian, while the number of those declared as Albanians decreased from 179,389 in 1948 to 165,524 in 1953. After 1953, a large emigration of the Turkish nationality from Yugoslavia (and from Macedonia) took place—around 80,000 according to Yugoslav data and over 150,000 according to Turkish sources. We must bear in mind, however, that many of these emigrants did not speak Turkish, but were Muslim Albanians, who, fearing for their positions in Yugoslavia, claimed that they were Turks to obtain the possibility to emigrate.² In the census of 1971, 108,552 declared themselves as Turks, and in 1981 their number fell to 86,891. This decrease, although the birth rate of the Muslim Turks would suggest an increase of 20,000 in that period, is a result of the fact that when their emigration stopped, some of them declared themselves to be Albanians, Muslims, or Roma.

The number of Romas in Macedonia did not change significantly until 1981, when it rose from 24,505 to 43,223, and it maintained this level in both the 1991 (47,223) and 1994 (43,707) censuses. Macedonia was the first post-Yugoslav state whose constitution granted Roma the status of nationality. The Roma in Macedonia are “better educated than in many other countries, less despised than in Romania, the Czech Republic, or Slovakia, and less impoverished than in Bulgaria.”³ Despite a general social stigma, Roma are admired and emulated for some of their accomplishments, especially in the field of music, and professional musicians from the Romany community are invited by the other ethnic groups to play on special occasions.

The number of Serbs in Macedonia has decreased: 3% in 1961, 2.8% in 1971, 2.4% in 1981, 2.2% in 1991, and 2.1% in the last census in 1994. This last decrease was abetted by the April 1992 withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army (dominated by Serbs) from the Republic of Macedonia. The decrease of the number of Serbs certainly correlates with an increase in the number of those who declared themselves as Yugoslavs: from 3,562 (0.2%) in 1971 to 14,240 (0.8%) in 1981. The number of Vlachs, who live in and around Bitola, Resen, and Krushevo, has not fluctuated much: 8,669 in 1953; 6,392 in 1981; 7,190 in 1991; and 8,601 in 1994.

3. Nationalities under the Constitution and the Laws; Political Life in Macedonia

The Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia of 1991, which guarantees the rights and freedoms of individuals and citizens, also contains provisions referring to the rights of the nationalities, aiming to achieve real equality of their civic status and the protection of their ethnic, cultural, and religious identity. The preamble to the constitution proclaims that "Macedonia is constituted as the national state of the Macedonian people, which ensures complete equality of its citizens and lasting co-existence of the Macedonian people with the Albanians, Turks, Vlachs, Romas and the other nationalities that live in the Republic of Macedonia." In the part of the preamble setting forth the aims of the constitution, in relation to the nationalities, the following aims are established: "to guarantee the human rights, civil freedoms, and national equality; to ensure peace and co-existence of the Macedonian people with the nationalities that live in the Republic of Macedonia." The preamble extends the nationalities named in the previous constitution (Constitution of the SR of Macedonia of 1974), so that apart from Albanians and Turks, it lists the Vlachs and Romas as a significant part of the total population and opens the possibility of recognition for other nationalities that live in the Republic of Macedonia.

Article 9 of the constitution states that "the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia are equal in their freedoms and rights regardless of sex, race, skin color, national and social origin, political or religious beliefs, or social or economic status." Article 19 guarantees the freedom of religion, that is, "the free and public expression of their religion, individually or in community with others."

The free expression of nationality is one of the fundamental values of the constitutional order of the Republic of Macedonia and is contained in article 8, paragraph 2 of the constitution. Traditionally, Macedonia provides for nationality in the censuses, which makes possible "the official existence" of the members of the minorities. During the census of 1994, in accordance with the Census Law, the census forms for each nationality were published bilingually (in Macedonian and in one of the languages of the nationalities).

Article 48 states that: “The Republic guarantees the protection of the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of the nationalities.” According to this article, “members of the nationalities have the right freely to express, maintain and develop their identity and national characteristics,” “to establish cultural and artistic institutions, scientific and other associations in order to express, maintain and develop their identity,” and “to education in their own language in elementary and secondary schooling, in a way determined by law.” In connection with the latter right it is added that “in schools where instruction is carried out in the language of the nationality, the Macedonian language is also studied.”⁴

Article 7 of the constitution provides that in the units of local self government, where members of the nationalities live as a majority or in significant number, apart from the Macedonian language and the Cyrillic alphabet, the language and the alphabet of the nationalities shall also be in official use as determined by law. This provision introduces bilingualism or multilingualism in the units of local self government, on the basis of the criteria of “majority” and “significant number,” which in article 88 of the Law on Local Self Government are defined as “over 50%,” or “over 20%” of the population in the local unit, respectively.⁵

In accordance with article 78 of the constitution, the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia founded a Council for Interethnic Relations (this does not represent an instrument for the resolution of crisis situations). This body “considers questions of interethnic relations and gives views and propositions for their resolution,” and it is the obligation of the assembly to consider them and make decisions in their regard. The council should contribute effectively to avoid interethnic tensions, and, if they do occur, should participate actively in their successful resolution. The council consists of the president of the assembly and two members each of Macedonians, Albanians, Turks, Romas, Serbs, Vlachs, and the other nationalities. However, in practice this forum has not so far played a significant role in addressing issues of interethnic relations in Macedonia.

In the Law on Criminal Procedure and the Law on Lawsuit Procedure, those involved in the procedures are guaranteed the right to use their mother tongue; official organs have the obligation to ensure free translation.

The Law on Personal Identity Cards (article 5) makes it possible for the names of members of the nationalities to be written on their personal identity cards bilingually, that is, in the official Macedonian language in the Cyrillic alphabet as well as in the language and alphabet of the nationality. According to article 9 of the Law on Registries of Births, Deaths and Marriages, the personal name of a child born into a nationality is also registered in the language and alphabet of the nationality.⁶

After the adoption of the Law on Political Parties, 55 political parties began to operate actively in the Republic of Macedonia, 15 (30.91%) of which are political parties of the nationalities. Albanian parties among them include, for

example, the Party for Democratic Prosperity (PDP), the National Democratic Party (NDP), the Party for Democratic Prosperity of Albanians (PDPA), the Republican Party, and the Albanian Democratic Union–Liberal Party. Among the numerous organizations of other nationalities are: the Democratic Party of the Turks, the Party for the Full Emancipation of the Romas, the Democratic Progressive Party of the Romas in Macedonia, the Egyptian Association of Citizens, the Democratic Party of the Serbs, the Association of Serbs and Montenegrins in Macedonia, and the League of the Vlachs.

Twenty-five Albanians (from two Albanian parties), 1 Roma from the Party of the Romas in Macedonia, and several Serbs, Turks and Vlachs won seats in the parliamentary elections in 1998. Fearing a repeat of 1994, when confrontation between the two main Macedonian Albanian parties reduced the total number of Albanian representatives to 19, in 1998 the PDP and DPA agreed to cooperate. Their cooperation was obviously successful, winning a combined total of 25 seats, the highest ever.

The 1998 election results revealed a new level of maturity in the Macedonian political parties and the electorate. Macedonians voted overwhelmingly for the opposition—a coalition between Ljubco Georgievski's VMRO-DPMNE and Vasil Tupurkovski's Democratic Alliance—largely in protest against the failed policies of the previous SDSM-led government. Contrary to some perceptions, the victory was not based on nationalism, for which VMRO-DPMNE had built a reputation, but on economy. It was a surprise that VMRO-DPMNE, the Macedonian nationalist party, had invited a nationalist ethnic Albanian party—DPA—into the government. DPA, headed by Arben Xhaferi since the party split from the PDP in 1994, had been labeled extremist and secessionist. Furthermore, the application of the PDPA and the NDP to the appellate court, and before that to the lower court of Skopje, to create the DPA was rejected because the new party's statutes were found to violate the constitution of the Republic of Macedonia. But such views failed to understand that the DPA was and is willing to work within the structures of the Macedonian state to improve the status of the Albanian community as long as Albanians are treated equally.

Since November 1998, the DPA has held the positions of one deputy prime minister, five ministers, five deputy ministers, and a proportional share in the management of public institutions. Continued Albanian participation in the government (the PDP, with five ministers members of the Albanian nationality, participated in the governmental coalitions from 1992 to 1998) is essential for the long-term stability of the country.

4. Status of the Nationalities in Education, in the Media and in State Administration

In the field of education, apart from equal access to the educational institutions for all citizens, the members of the nationalities have the right to education in their mother tongue in elementary and high schools. To this end, the state guarantees free elementary school, which is obligatory for everyone. The constitution, moreover, provides for the possibility of founding private educational institutions in secondary and tertiary education under conditions determined by law.

In elementary education, instruction is carried out in Macedonian, Albanian, Turkish, and Serbian (the 1995/96 school year saw the beginning of supplementary education in Aromanian and optional instruction in the Romany language began in 1996/97). In the 1996/97 school year, 72,517 students attended instruction in Albanian, with textbooks in Albanian for all subjects. There is a trend to increase instruction in Albanian in elementary schooling in relation to previous school years: in 1992/93 the number of students who studied in Albanian was 26.8% of the total number of students, in 1993/94, 26.95%, and in 1994/95, 27.46%.

In fact, the continued increase in the numerical strength of the Albanian nationality in Macedonia was reflected in a continuing increase in the numbers of students who received instruction in Albanian since World War II (except for the period towards the end of the 1980s and in 1990/91). Thus, for example, in 1950/51 there were 214 elementary schools in Macedonia, where 409 Albanian teachers taught 26,702 students in 556 classes in the Albanian language. In the same school year, 62 teachers in 13 high schools taught 1917 students in 55 classes in Albanian. In 1980/81, 3,050 teachers in 289 elementary schools taught 75,676 students in 2,594 classes in Albanian, and in 39 high schools, 564 teachers taught in Albanian to 9,754 students in 39 classes. In 1990/91, however, there was a certain decrease in the number of students who were studying in their mother tongue: in 279 elementary schools, 3,571 teachers taught in Albanian to 72,121 students in 2,694 classes, and in 5 high schools, 148 teachers taught 2,535 students in 72 classes.

In the 1996/97 school year, 5,835 (2.24%) students received instruction in the Turkish language in elementary schools, which represents an increase in relation to previous years (5,368 (2.07%) in 1993/94; 5,456 (2.09%) in 1994/95; and 5,670 (2.17%) in 1995/96). In the 1996/97 school year, 617 students received instruction in the Serbian language, which represents a decrease in relation to previous years (798 (0.32%) in 1993/94; 753 (0.29%) in 1994/95; 735 (0.28%) in 1995/96). During the 1996/97 school year a total of 554 students in four elementary schools attended optional instruction in the Romany language for the purpose of which the first primer, reader, and grammar books were published in the Romany language.⁷

The members of the Turkish minority in Macedonia enjoyed educational and cultural rights immediately after the end of the Second World War: in the 1944/45 school year, 3,334 students studied in the Turkish language at 60 elementary schools.⁸

Table 2: *Number of students in secondary schools according to the language of instruction*

	Macedonian	Albanian	Turkish	Total
1991/92		2.875	193	70.250
	95,6%	4,0%	0,3%	100,0%
1992/93	65.855			70.243
	93.7%	5.9%	0.3%	100%
1993/94			260	
	92.2%	7.4%	0,4%	100%
1994/95				
	89.8%	9.8%	0.3%	100%
1995/96		8.812	465	
	88.4%	11.0%	0.6%	100%

Source: The Ministry of Education and Physical Culture

Instruction in secondary education also takes place in Albanian and in Turkish. Secondary schools are equally accessible to all interested students who meet the conditions according to an open competition and within the prescribed number of classes and enrolments, regardless of their religious or ethnic background. In order to assure wider participation of nationalities, in the last few years, the open competition for enrolling students in secondary schools has contained a provision for formation of classes with instruction in the mother tongue of the students wherever there is adequate interest. Thus, in 1995/96, 8,812 students (11% of the total of 79,907 students) attended high schools in Albanian and 465 students (0.6%) in Turkish. This represents a considerable increase in the number and percentage of students studying in Albanian: from 2,875 (4.0%) in 1991/92; 4,619 (5.9%) in 1992/93; 5,350 (7.4%) in 1993/94; to 7,371 (9.8%) in 1994/95. The number and percentage of students studying in Turkish, after the fluctuations of the previous years, increased twofold.⁹

Along with the right of the nationalities to schooling in their mother tongue comes the need to educate qualified and well prepared staff from the nationalities to carry out that schooling. At the Pedagogical Faculty in Skopje (open through the end of 1980s and reinstated in early 1997) there are four-year courses in Macedonian, Albanian, and Turkish for preschool education and in Albanian and Turkish for junior primary education. Members of nationalities may also study in their mother tongue at the Philological Faculty at the University of Skopje, in the departments of Albanian language and literature and

Turkish language and literature. Students can also study Serbian as a subject at this faculty. In the Faculty of Dramatic Arts, there is a separate group of students who attend classes in their core subjects in Albanian and Turkish. Through these departments, members of nationalities have the ability to obtain their schooling in areas important to the preservation of their cultural and national identity and to later work for the nationalities. Furthermore, there has been a department for Albanian language and literature within the undergraduate program at the University of Skopje since 1970. To date, 450 students have graduated from this department, and in the 1994/95 academic year there were 180 enrolments.

In the area of higher education, members of nationalities apply under equal conditions to study at one of the 29 faculties at the two universities in Skopje and Bitola. Moreover, since the 1992/93 academic year, there has been a special quota for members of nationalities, that is, in addition to the regular enrolments, the number of students can be increased by 10% to accommodate each nationality (since 1996/97, the quota has been calculated separately for each nationality and determined according to its representation in the total population).¹⁰

Macedonian Television (MTV) transmits two hours daily in Albanian, one hour daily in Turkish, and 30 minutes of weekly programs in Aromanian, Romany, and Serbian. The program in Albanian on MTV has been in operation since 1967. Apart from state television, there are 250 private TV stations, some of which transmit programs entirely in the languages of the nationalities. Macedonian radio transmits, in total, fifteen hours of daily programs in the languages of the nationalities (nine and a half hours in Albanian and four and a half hours in Turkish). The programs in Aromanian and Romany are transmitted two hours per week. The program in Turkish was introduced in 1945, and the Albanian one in 1948. The program in Albanian is also transmitted on public local radio stations in six municipalities around the country (Gostivar, Debar, Kichevo, Kumanovo, Struga, and Tetovo), in Turkish in four (Gostivar, Debar, Struga, and Tetovo), in Romany in two (Kumanovo and Tetovo) and in Aromanian in two municipalities (Gevgelija and Shtip).

The daily newspaper *Flaka e vellazerimit* is published in the Albanian language. In April 1998, a new Albanian language daily, *Fakti*, appeared. It is less pro-government and more independent, and tends also to be critical of both major Albanian parties (PDP and DPA) in Macedonia. The newspaper *Birlik* is published in Turkish three times a week. The newspaper *Polog* is a monthly, published in several of the languages of the nationalities, and the paper *Phoenix* comes out in Aromanian and Macedonian. The paper *Macedonian Vlach Woman* is published in Aromanian every three months.

There are cultural institutions for the nationalities in Skopje such as the Cultural Association of the Romas, *Pralipe* (Brotherhood), and the Theater of the Nationalities, with separate sections in Albanian (the Albanian drama) and in Turkish (the Turkish drama). There are several cultural artistic societies in

Macedonia, financed partially by the state (8 Albanian, 4 Turkish, and 1 Roma). In addition, there are mixed societies (two Macedonian-Albanian, two Macedonian-Roma, one Macedonian-Turkish, and one Macedonian-Albanian-Turkish-Roma), theater groups, and sporting clubs.

The Republic of Macedonia, since its independence, has made considerable efforts to improve the position of the nationalities in various areas, even in the police, army, and the judiciary. Within the Ministry for Internal Affairs, the number of members of nationalities is 8.7% of the total number of employees, representing almost a twofold increase from 1993 to 1996. The quota for employment of Albanian policemen has been increased by 50%, and the number of Albanian women in this area has increased considerably.

Among army recruits, Albanian soldiers are represented with 16–26%, depending on the year of recruitment, and the number of soldiers of the other nationalities corresponds almost entirely to their proportional participation in the structure of the population. In the Ministry of Defense and the Army, the number of nationality civil personnel is 8.16%, of which 4.8% are Serbs, 2.87% are Albanians and 0.4% are Turks. The nationalities are also represented in the judiciary: in the Constitutional Court, three of the nine members, and in the Judicial Council of the Republic, two of the seven members, belong to nationalities. In the basic courts, 87% of the 477 elected judges are Macedonians, 6.9% are Albanians, 2.5% are Vlachs, 1.8% are Serbs, 0.6% are Turks and Muslims each, and 0.8% belong to other nationalities. In the courts of appeal, 84% of the 88 elected judges are Macedonians, 9.1% are Albanians, 2.2% are Turks and Serbs, and 1.14% are Vlachs and other nationalities. In the Supreme Court of the Republic of Macedonia, four of the 25 judges are Albanians and one member is of the Vlach nationality.¹¹ It should be taken into account that the increasing trend of representation of persons belonging to nationalities in the state administration is because of affirmative action by the state during last ten years. Yet, there are some limits for state affirmative action, considering that educational structures prevent persons belonging to nationalities from wider participation in some fields such as, for example, the judiciary.¹²

5. The Albanian Nationality in the Republic of Macedonia after 1991

Despite periodic tensions and problems, the democratization process in the Republic of Macedonia has brought some relaxation with regard to interethnic relations in Macedonia. Members of the Albanian and other nationalities enjoy protection of their ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious identities, and they are represented in public institutions. The state also implements policies of affirmative action with the aim of increasing the representation of the members of the nationalities in many areas, such as the police, the army, education, and the judicial system. Political parties of the Albanian nationality in the Republic of Macedonia, first formed in 1990, have been included in all post-communist Macedonian governments.

The primary goal on the political agenda of the Albanian parties is to gain and extend their collective, rather than individual, rights. Their activities are directed towards the achievement of a different constitutional status for their ethnic group (redefinition of the Macedonian Republic as a bi-national state); the extension of linguistic rights (affirmation of the Albanian language as a second official language); education in the mother tongue on all levels, including university level; proportionate representation of Albanians in all political and public sectors (especially within the security and military forces); and development of greater autonomy for local government. As a report by the International Crisis Group correctly pointed out, the parties are divided over the means of raising the status of Macedonia's ethnic Albanians.¹³

In 1991, the Albanian parliamentary group boycotted the adoption of the new Macedonian constitution. After that, some Albanian politicians in the Republic of Macedonia have radicalized their demands for collective political rights, including demands for territorial autonomy for the so-called region of Illyrida in the west of Macedonia in 1992; the formation of a paramilitary organization in early November 1993; and the creation of "parallel authorities" for Albanians in different segments of life in the Republic of Macedonia (this demand was made by members of the moderate wing of the PDP among whom were the former secretary general of the party and the deputy ministers for health and defense).¹⁴ Further steps towards creating parallel institutions included the opening of the unofficial, private, Albanian-language university in Tetovo in late 1994 (still one of the hottest issues in Macedonia) as well as the anti-constitutional raising of the Albanian flag in front of the town halls in Gostivar and Tetovo in 1997.

The Macedonian government's reactions varied. Some Albanian motions were answered with harsh repression; sometimes they were ignored or tolerated. Government sometimes practiced an "ostrich tactic," and sometimes manipulated ethnic issues in order to divert public attention from hot social and economic problems.¹⁵

In the "minority flags" case, the mayors of Gostivar and Tetovo, Rufi Osmani and Alajdin Demiri, were arrested after violent clashes in July 1997. Macedonian special police forces entered the city of Gostivar, in western Macedonia, to forcibly remove an Albanian flag flying over the city hall. According to the Flag Law, the Albanian flag could fly only on holidays and only alongside the Macedonian flag. Ethnic Albanian demonstrators gathered to prevent the police from entering the town hall, and the state security officers responded with brutal force. In the violent confrontations between the police and ethnic Albanians, three people were killed and more than 200 injured. On 17 September 1997, Osmani was sentenced to thirteen years and eight months in prison for violating Articles 319 ("inciting national, racial, and religious hatred, discord, and intolerance") and 377 ("neglect to exercise a court ruling") of the Macedonian Penal Code. Gostivar City Council Chairman Refik Dauti received a three-year prison sentence. Demiri and Tetovo City Council Chairman Vehbi

Bexheti were each sentenced to two years and six months. Osmani's sentence was later reduced to seven years and eight months, which he began serving in April 1998. The sentences of the other defendants were also reduced.

After the parliamentary elections in fall 1998, the new coalition government elected proposed, and the Macedonian parliament passed (in January 1999), an amnesty act with the main aim of releasing the ethnic Albanian politicians. In order to release Osmani, Demiri, and the others, the sentences of almost 1,000 persons convicted of a variety of crimes were also reduced.¹⁶

In the name of the human rights of minorities and for a stable resolution of internal conflicts, some representatives of the international community devoted significant attention to the rights of the Albanians, especially in Serbia and Macedonia. These activities often stirred and gave legitimacy to Albanian national aspirations. It was not uncommon to see the international community acting in contradictory ways, for example, with its activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In its policies towards the Republic of Macedonia during 1993, the international community seemed to make the same mistake. It started from the premise that interethnic conflict was the primary source of the instability that could escalate into armed hostilities and war, and so it made the human rights of the Albanian minority the focus of its activities. This was done in a situation where Albanian politicians had already demanded the status of a constitutive nation and the rights deriving from that, including the guarantee that human rights would be protected in constitutional, legal and political provisions implemented equally for all individuals and minority groups. Singling out the largest minority, the Albanian one, for special treatment, was in full contradiction of this principle. In the beginning of 1994, however, the international community determined that the Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia should have the right to territorial autonomy in the western regions, and that the non-recognition of that right would be a violation of their human rights. In this, not only did it allow for the ambiguity of legitimate Serbian rule in Kosovo by signaling its support for the Albanian desire for a separate state, but it also appeared to be helping this project along toward its goal of linking up with the Albanians in Macedonia and Albania.¹⁷

In the Republic of Macedonia, the representatives of the international community wanted to prevent war from breaking out and spreading beyond the borders. So they endeavored to: (1) prevent the connections between Albanians in Kosovo and Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia, by exerting pressure on the Macedonian Government to guarantee minority rights for Albanians in Macedonia; and (2) prevent the internal destabilization of interethnic relations between Macedonians and Albanians. In reality, the sustained attention devoted to the Albanians by the missions of the international community had the opposite effect, stimulating Albanian radicals to put forward their demands for national rights on a territorial basis in Macedonia. This forced the political moderates in

the Albanian community, who preferred to approach the issue via civil rights, to address their voters with an election platform in which they demanded the status of a constitutive nation in the Republic of Macedonia.

In the Republic of Macedonia just as in the other former Yugoslav republics, placing separate ethnic groups in the forefront, rather than developing stable democratic political institutions or assisting with the economic reforms and development, was counterproductive.¹⁸

Until 1997, Albania continually conditioned its relations with Macedonia on the advancement of the status of the Albanian minority, as well as on satisfaction of all its demands for tertiary education in Albanian and for representation in the institutions of the state. (On the other hand, Tirana did not endeavor to make any reciprocal moves to advance the position of the Macedonian national minority in Albania.) After the 1997 riots in Albania and the collapse of Sali Berisha's government, the new government of Fatos Nano came to power, and the situation changed. Tirana did not give up its support for the Albanians living in the Republic of Macedonia and its obligation to support their advancement, but it determined that the minority rights of Albanians should be satisfied according to European standards and within the institutions of the system, and not by disloyalty towards the state, in the streets, and through parallel institutions.

Visiting the Republic of Macedonia on 15 and 16 January 1998,¹⁹ the Albanian premier Fatos Nano stated that Tirana officially saw "the Albanian question" in the Balkans within a future united Europe. He stressed that Albania would always stand for the protection of the aspirations of Albanians when they were expressed in a democratic and modern way as a condition for integration into the European processes. Nano rejected the national radicalism imposed by his predecessor, stressing that "national-patriotism is an antiquated thing;" and that "separate institutions, parallel institutions, ghettoization... cannot assist the spirit of cohabitation, of common living and progress."²⁰

During the most recent events on the border between Macedonia and Kosovo after February 2001, Tirana officially condemned "extremist" ethnic Albanian violence. Albanian Prime Minister Ilir Meta said that "maintaining [Macedonia's] territorial integrity and sovereignty is as essential for Albania as it is for regional stability."²¹

6. The Higher Education Issue

The increased interest in university studies among Albanian students in the Republic of Macedonia is related to the discontinuation of instruction in the Albanian language at the University in Prishtina in 1991. Before the disintegration of SFR Yugoslavia, around 1,800 students from Macedonia studied at other universities in Yugoslavia, 1,200 of whom (almost all of these belonging to the Albanian nationality) studied at the University in Prishtina. In

the new circumstances, a small number of Albanian students from the Republic of Macedonia study at faculties in Albania.

In late 1994, a private Albanian university was established in Tetovo, a majority ethnic Albanian town in western Macedonia.²² The government declared the university illegal and police raided the premises in December 1994. Despite government warnings, the university reopened two months later. Two days later, the police again raided the university, destroying parts of the building, confiscating equipment, and arresting several administrators, including the president of the university, Fadil Sulejmani. One Albanian died in the clashes between ethnic Albanians and Macedonian police. The university reopened the following month and continues to operate, unrecognized by the government but no longer closed down by the authorities. Operating outside the legal framework, its degrees are not recognized anywhere, except in Albania.

For the Albanians, university education in their mother tongue is seen as a key means of achieving social and economic parity with the ethnic Macedonian majority. But the formation of the university in Tetovo in the Albanian language has led to the ghettoization of the Albanian nationality relative to other Macedonian citizens. The fact that representatives of radical Albanians forced its establishment led to the abovementioned reactions by the authorities. Unfortunately, the question of the university in Tetovo was posited as a political issue, not an educational one, by both the radical Albanians and the Macedonian authorities.

Along the lines of the constitutional stipulation for secondary schools with minority-language education, students at an Albanian-language university must also receive Macedonian-language education. If the Albanian-language system does not guarantee its students at least adequate command of the Macedonian language, their career chances are automatically limited. Furthermore, if ethnic Albanians do not study Macedonian properly, it will hamper their integration into society, further cement segregation, and ultimately undermine the stability of the state.²³

The question of the "University in Tetovo" received different treatment by the Albanian state after 1997. Visiting Macedonia in January 1998, Fatos Nano stressed that the question of education cannot be resolved in the streets with radicalism. He embraced the idea of a common Macedonian-Albanian and Albanian-American university, revising significantly the policy of the radicals among the Macedonian Albanians.²⁴

The OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, Max van der Stoep, put forth very interesting proposals in November 1998 and 2000 concerning the Macedonian Albanians' demands for higher education in the Albanian language and for increasing their representation in public administration. He suggested the establishment of a trilingual (English, Macedonian, and Albanian) university, with five faculties: Law, Public

Administration, Business Administration, Communication Sciences, and Pedagogical Sciences. The university would be private and financed through international financial assistance.

The adoption (and on-going implementation) of a long-postponed Higher Education Law (in force since 11 August 2000) should bring an answer to the question of whether it is possible to fit the students from “Tetovo University” into the educational system of the Republic of Macedonia. According to article 198, they can continue their studies at the appropriate level at recognized higher education institutions after requesting an assessment of their knowledge and on the basis of demonstrated results. Article 95 provides that education at private higher education institutions may also be performed in the languages of national minority members or in any other language. This is the basis for the possible transformation of “Tetovo University,” and for the establishment of “Stoel’s” private tri-lingual (Macedonian, Albanian, English) University. “Stoel’s” University shall have “a European, international and modern orientation, while being committed to the Albanian language and culture,”²⁵ and is expected to open its doors in October 2001.

7. The Impact of the Kosovo Conflict on Macedonia

When the Kosovo conflict broke out in 1998, Macedonian Albanians gave their clear support to Kosovo Albanians. After all, the relationship between Albanians in Macedonia and Kosovo has traditionally been closer even than with the Albanians in Albania. Due to the unrestricted internal mobility, Albanians in the former Yugoslavia were able to create their own ethno-cultural community, despite being situated in different federal units. The most prominent members of the Albanian community do not differentiate between citizenship of the Macedonian or Yugoslav state and perceive the Albanian community to be a whole. The strong emotional tie to Kosovo was explained in this way: “Albanians in Macedonia may feel an ethnic tie to Albania, but the big emotional tie is to Kosovo. Kosovo is the cultural and intellectual foundation for us. The writers, the journalists, the educators all came from Kosovo; anything of value is from there. We need to defend Kosovo.”²⁶

After 1998, the topic of Kosovo refugees was not publicly discussed in Macedonia. The refugees have officially been described as “guests” of Albanian families in the western part of Macedonia.

Under the influence of these Prishtina-educated Albanians eager to assume leadership in their community in Macedonia, ordinary citizens of Albanian origin are highly responsive to the currents in Kosovo, and they speak openly about their readiness to fight alongside their co-nationals and relatives in Kosovo.²⁷ Arben Xhaferi, the leader of the DPA, said that the situation in Kosovo “is pushing us to be soldiers, to think in a military way. We are good soldiers and we know how to fight.”²⁸

On the Albanian side of Macedonian society, there is no dilemma concerning how the problem of Kosovo should be resolved—its independence is not questioned.²⁹ Albanians in Macedonia openly called for NATO military intervention in Kosovo as the only way to stop the war.

After the Kosovo crisis exploded in March 1999, a huge influx of refugees from Kosovo arrived in Macedonia. According to Macedonian Red Cross, there were a total of around 360,000 Kosovo refugees in Macedonia after June 1999, which equals 18% of its population. Refugees from Kosovo after NATO began bombing Yugoslavia arrived in Macedonia in fleets of buses. From Prishtina, the Kosovo capital, thousands of vehicles (as well as trains) were directed along the main road to Macedonia. The intensified ethnic cleansing in Kosovo created a humanitarian disaster reminiscent of World War II. Although not proclaimed publicly even by militant Serbian nationalists, cleansing parts or even all of Kosovo of its Albanian population was on the hidden agenda of Milošević's regime.

The Kosovo conflict had several main points of impact in Macedonia:

a) Repercussions of the Kosovo conflict and of the influx of refugees nearly caused economic and social catastrophe. Macedonia emerged as an independent state with a burdensome legacy as the most underdeveloped and the poorest Yugoslav republic. At the center of a turbulent region, it could not attract foreign investments. In addition, for a long time Macedonia was under a dual embargo—one from the north, in the form of the UN sanctions against the FR of Yugoslavia, and the other from the south, dictated by the Greek government because of the dispute over the name "Macedonia." Trying to divorce the country from its turbulent neighborhood, Macedonia was faced with a war in Kosovo repeatedly cutting its economic traffic and trade connections with the FR of Yugoslavia. Prolongation of the Kosovo conflict could have brought disastrous consequences for the already feeble Macedonian economy.

The sheer volume of the refugee crisis threatened to destabilize Macedonia (and Albania) in economic and social terms. The collapse of the economies of these two countries under the weight of the refugee crisis will be Milošević's indirect revenge on the region.

b) The wave of refugees could upset Macedonians' own delicate demographic balance by emboldening its Albanian and Serb nationalities, leading to the same kind of ethnic and religious polarization that has torn apart the rest of the region.

Macedonia's ability to receive refugees is limited; contingency planning assumed only 20,000 refugees. With 360,000 refugees, Macedonia faced the possibility of a general chaos that could have resulted in turmoil and breakdown. Despite all the difficulties, Skopje accepted refugees according to international standards, with the assistance of the UNHCR, during the Kosovo war.

There was speculation that many of the refugees would have preferred to stay in Macedonia rather than to go to the impoverished mother country. Indeed, only 951 Kosovo Albanians left Macedonia for Albania. 81,705 of them left Macedonia for developed countries under the UNHCR's humanitarian evacuation program.

Macedonia also worried about the impact that more than 360,000 Albanian refugees might have on its own ethnic mix. Such a large Albanian population would disturb the Republic's fragile demographic balance.

Macedonia's predicament is but one of a number of destructive spillover effects that could result from newest phase of the Kosovo conflict. Macedonians fear they have the most to lose. "People are afraid that after Kosovo comes Macedonia... On the first day of NATO bombing the Christian segment of population was very quiet and the Muslim segment, especially the ethnic Albanians, were celebrating with music... Macedonia's polarization would be worse. It could lead to disintegration."³⁰

c) The Kosovo conflict might have a more direct impact on Macedonia's security. There was an increased risk of infiltration of some radical Albanian elements that might radicalize the situation in Macedonia. It is believed that the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) has been present in Macedonia from the early days of its establishment.

Macedonia also saw an increased flow of weapons from Albania after 1997. The Macedonian Army and security forces were poorly equipped to control the situation along the Macedonia-Albania border. It is estimated that the greater part of 700,000–800,000 small arms and light weapons stolen during the 1997 unrest in Albania have found their way into Kosovo, either directly from Albania, or through Macedonian territory. However, a certain suspicion remains as to whether the final destination of such weapons is in Macedonia or Kosovo.³¹

d) Unintentional involvement in the Kosovo conflict due to the actions undertaken by the international community was also possible. As hosts to 16,000 NATO troops keeping peace in Kosovo, many Macedonians feared that the Yugoslav Army would be turned against them. They also feared becoming a base for ground invasion against a neighbor whose vengeful memory may endure much longer than NATO's presence.³²

8. Concluding remarks about the recent conflict in Macedonia

A new phase of security and interethnic instability in Macedonia opened in February–March 2001, after 40 days of armed actions by Albanians, believed to have infiltrated from Kosovo into the northwestern territory of Macedonia, their occupation of Tanusevci (an ethnic Albanian village) and several more villages on Macedonia's northern border, and 12 days of siege over Tetovo, the

second largest town in Macedonia. Tetovo had been under machine-gun and sniper fire from armed Albanian groups.

Macedonian security forces have battled Albanian extremists along the country's northern border, and in the hills around Tetovo. The army launched a military offensive on 28 March 2001, in the border area centered on the villages of Gracane, Brest, Malino Malo and Gosince. The parts of the Albanian extremists were forced to retreat to Kosovo at the time.

According to security and media estimations, the number of armed rebels was between 500 and 1,000 people. They are called National Liberation Army (NLA, or UÇK in Albanian). Most of the rebels came from Kosovo, and were members of or trained by the UÇK/KLA of Kosovo. Among them a small number seemed to be foreign mercenaries. There were speculations by Western media (*The Observer*, *The Sunday Times*, *The Guardian*) that some of them were trained by former British SAS and Parachute Regiment officers and by the CIA in the days when NATO was confronting the Yugoslav Army during the Kosovo crisis. These extremists are in coordination with the Liberation Army of Presevo, Medvedje and Bujanovac (UCPMB), operating in southern Serbia. According to an article of the *Newsweek* magazine (March 26), a major role in the conflict is played by criminals and local thugs, who operate under the motto: "Stability isn't profitable, conflict is." Soon after the February 2001 event, several hundred Macedonian ethnic Albanians, most of them young and with extreme political views, joined the rebel forces.

In fact, Macedonia's borders with Kosovo were not properly patrolled by KFOR from the Kosovo side. It has also been through the American-controlled Sector B that the KLA infiltrated Southern Serbia several months ago.

The Albanian extremists' armed operations began at the moment when, and partly because, one big open issue had been resolved, namely the delineation of the common Yugoslav-Macedonian border. Talks on this issue between diplomatic and technical groups from both countries had been ongoing for years and, after Milošević's fall, the agreement was finally reached on 22 February 2001, when the Macedonian and Yugoslav presidents signed it. Every factor in the international community (Macedonia's neighbors, the EU, USA, NATO, etc.) welcomed this agreement as a further step towards reducing tension in the region. Among ethnic Albanians in southern Serbia and in Kosovo, however, there was open dissatisfaction with the border demarcation agreement.

One of the NLA aims was to destroy the Macedonian model of good interethnic and intercultural relations. Prior to the violence around Tanusevci and the hills above Tetovo Macedonia had been regarded by the international community as a unique example of conflict prevention in the Balkans. Not only did the country secede from the former Yugoslavia without violence, it also managed to avoid intra-state ethnic conflict, even during the peak of the Kosovo crisis in 1999 when 360,000 Kosovo Albanian refugees poured into the country. United Nations Special Envoy to the Balkans Carl Bildt summed up the situation

in Macedonia when he said (on 16 March 2001): “What is at stake here is not only Macedonia... (but) really everything that we have been trying to do in the Balkans: democracy, people living together, interethnic cooperation.”

Why did the troubles from Kosovo and southern Serbia begin to spread to Macedonia, creating not only the biggest security and political crisis in the country since its independence ten years ago, but also an extremely dangerous situation in the Balkans and a real threat of greater conflict in the region? As the former US Ambassador to the UN Richard Holbrooke said in an interview given for the Greek news magazine *To Vima* on 24 March 2001, extreme Albanian nationalism is the biggest threat to the stabilization of the Balkans, now.

Greater Serbian nationalism was vanquished during the last decade, after a series of defeats (in Croatia in 1991–1992 and 1995, in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992–1995, in Kosovo in 1999). However it seems that some Albanian extremists did not learn the lesson that it is impossible to create “greater” states in a space as small as the Balkans. Almost every Balkan state has had a dream to be greater than it is (Greater Greece, Greater Serbia, Greater Romania, Greater Bulgaria, Greater Albania, Greater Croatia, Greater Montenegro, Greater Macedonia, etc.), and very often their demands for a greater states have involved the same territories!

Finally, it is also possible that the minority-majority conflicts can spill over to other European countries outside the Balkans. In spite of the high level of economic and technological development, and the creation of supranational integration structures in Western Europe, radical minority movements have not disappeared e.g. the Cornish, the Scots, and the Welsh in UK or the Basque, Catalans, and Galicians in Spain, or the Flemish and Walloons in Belgium etc. All these European nationalisms can hardly wait for further Balkan instigation.

This article was submitted for publication in March 2001. It analyses inter-ethnic relations in the Republic of Macedonia in the period prior to the armed conflict that erupted in Spring 2001.

¹ 1994 Census, *Data on the Present and the Future: First Results* (Skopje: Republic Statistic Office, 1994).

² Palmer, Stephen E. and Robert R. King, *Yugoslav Communism and the Macedonian Question* (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1971), p. 178.

³ Quoted from Eran Fraenkel of Search for Common Ground, who has worked in the region for more than 25 years. Latham, Judith, “Roma of the Former Yugoslavia,” *Nationalities Papers* 27, no. 2 (1999), p. 218.

⁴ Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia (Skopje: NIP “Magazin 21,” 1991), pp. 3–4, 8, 11 and 20.

⁵ The Law on Local Self-Government (part XIV: Official use of the languages in the units of local self-government) is quoted from *Sluzhben vesnik na Republika Makedonija*, no. 52/95.

⁶ The texts of the Law on Personal Identity Cards and the Law on Registries of Births, Deaths and Marriages can be found in *Sluzhben vesnik na Republika Makedonija*, no. 8/95.

⁷ “Facts About National Minorities in the Republic of Macedonia” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Skopje), pp. 12–13.

⁸ Kantardziev, Risto and Lazo Lazaroski, “Schools and Education,” p. 110.

⁹ “Facts About National Minorities in the Republic of Macedonia,” in Mihailo Apostolski and Haralampie Polenakovich (eds), *The Socialist Republic of Macedonia* (Skopje: Kultura, 1974), pp. 14–17; Ortakovski, Vladimir T., “Co-existence of Nationalities in Macedonia,” paper presented at the Roundtable “Update on Macedonia” (Washington DC, 27 April 1995), pp. 2–4.

¹⁰ Ortakovski Vladimir T., “Co-existence of Nationalities in Macedonia,” pp. 2–4.

¹¹ “Facts About National Minorities in the Republic of Macedonia,” pp. 24–31.

¹² For example, in the Republic of Macedonia there are a total of 350 Albanian law graduates, of whom only 90 have passed the bar examination, which is one of the preconditions for candidacy to be a judge.

¹³ “The Albanian Question In Macedonia: Implications of the Kosovo Conflict for Inter-Ethnic Relations in Macedonia,” report by the International Crisis Group (11 August 1998).

¹⁴ For this armed scandal in 1994, ten members of the Albanian nationality in the Republic of Macedonia, among them Mithad Emini, former secretary general of the PDP, were pronounced guilty for planning and organizing an Albanian irredentist army and were sentenced to five to eight years of imprisonment (the highest sentence was against Emini, who was later released under an amnesty).

¹⁵ Vankovska-Cvetkovska, Bilyana, “Between Preventive Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution: The Macedonian Perspective of the Kosovo Crisis,” paper presented at the 40th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association (Washington, DC, 16–20 February 1999), p. 12.

¹⁶ “Macedonia: New Faces in Skopje. Lessons from the Macedonian Elections and the Challenges Facing the New Government,” report by the International Crisis Group (8 January 1999).

¹⁷ Woodward, Susan L., *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution after the Cold War* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1995), pp. 340–343.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 393–394.

¹⁹ On 15 and 16 January 1998 in Skopje, the premiers of Albania and Macedonia, Fatos Nano and Branko Crvenkovski, held the first meeting of the two countries at the level of premiers, which followed a meeting between their ministers of foreign affairs in Tirana in

December 1997. The two countries signed a total of 14 interstate agreements for mutual cooperation in several areas. The Albanian premier also met with the representatives of the political parties of the Macedonian Albanians in Tetovo, and with Albanian students and lecturers from the Pedagogical Faculty and the department of Albanian language and literature at the Philological Faculty of the University of Skopje, but did not visit the university in Tetovo.”

²⁰ In the speech delivered by the Albanian premier Fatos Nano on 16 January 1998, at a meeting in Tetovo with the political parties of the Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia and with some of the Albanian intelligentsia, as well as in the interview given by Fatos Nano that same day for BBC and MTV, he stated:

I wish your country to be a modern European country... The position of the Albanians in Macedonia is good and your government should be commended for its policies towards the Albanians... Radicalism should be already a part of the past—so that what happened in Bosnia does not occur... I am convinced that Albanians, wherever they may be, see their future in a united Europe... in a civil society, and not in returning to the past... Democratic Albania wants to break out of the “ring” of national patriotism by directing its energy towards European integration.

Dzambazovski, Panta, “Nano’s Messages,” *Nova Makedonija* (21 January 1998), p. 2.

²¹ Quoted from Albanian Prime Minister Ilir Meta’s speech during his visit to France, Reuters (6 March 2001).

²² The funding for the university came mostly from remittances from the large Albanian diaspora communities in Germany, Switzerland, and the United States. Funding for political activities in Macedonia has, however, tapered off as contributions to Kosovo have risen. (In the early 1990s, the Albanian diaspora also funded the ethnic Albanian political parties in Macedonia.) See “The Albanian Question in Macedonia: Implications of the Kosovo Conflict for Inter-Ethnic Relations in Macedonia,” report by the International Crisis Group (11 August 1998).

²³ “Macedonia: New Faces in Skopje.”

²⁴ Mitrevska, Nevenka, “Macedonia-Albania: Running Away From Diplomatic Rhetoric,” *Puls* (22 January 1998), pp. 14–16, which also contains a wider commentary on the improvement of Macedonian-Albanian relations.

²⁵ Cited from Ordanoski, Saso, *Educational Policy in a Divided Society: The Case of the “Tetovo University,”* (Skopje: Forum—Center for Strategic Research and Documentation, December 2000), p. 15.

²⁶ “The Albanian Question In Macedonia: Implications of the Kosovo Conflict for Inter-Ethnic Relations in Macedonia,” p. 2.

²⁷ “Macedonia: The Politics of Ethnicity and Conflict,” report by the International Crisis Group (21 October 1997).

²⁸ “Macedonians Fear They Could Be Next,” *BBC News* (11 March 1998).

²⁹ See more about Albanian political parties' attitudes toward Kosovo in Rusi, Iso, "Speaking of Kosovo and the Corridor," *AIM Press* (10 February 1998).

³⁰ Dellios, Hugh, "Macedonians Fear Divisive Spillover," *Chicago Tribune* (29 March 1999), pp. 1, 12.

³¹ Vankovska-Cvetkovska, Bilyana, "Between Preventive Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution," p. 8.

³² Ortakovski, Vladimir T., "The Kosovo Conflict and Macedonia," paper presented at the Fourth Annual Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University (New York, 16 April 1999).