

WHAT ROLE HAS IDENTITY PLAYED  
IN THE FYROM-GREECE NAMING DISPUTE?

By

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science at George Mason University, and the degree of Master of Arts at the University of Malta

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## **DEDICATION**

To my inspirational wife, Josette, our inquisitive son, Chris, and our exemplary parents,

And,

To us - prudent, conflict-resolution specialists - trusting that we will always keep the bigger picture in mind.

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **WHAT ROLE HAS IDENTITY PLAYED IN THE FYROM-GREECE NAMING DISPUTE?**

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Thesis Project Director: Prof. Richard Rubenstein

The role of identity in the naming dispute between FYROM and Greece is critical. The three main parties – the ethnic Macedonians and the ethnic Albanians in FYROM and the Greeks - each have their own identity needs:

- 1.1 the Christian Orthodox, ethnic (Slavophone) Macedonians wish to be finally recognized as a sovereign people after having been dominated by fellow-Slavs and Ottoman Turks for over 1,400 years;
- 1.2 the Muslim, ethnic Albanian Macedonians wish to be granted the political and economic rights of a minority group within Macedonia after 600 years of subjugation, first under the Muslim Turkish Ottoman Empire, later under the Orthodox Christian, Slavophone Macedonian majority; and

1.3 the Christian Orthodox Greeks wish to be recognized as the sole propagators of Hellenism, created and diffused worldwide by Kings Philip II and Alexander the Great of Macedon 2,400 years ago.

The Muslim ethnic Albanian Macedonians are involved only indirectly in the naming dispute: firstly, because their support is essential to FYROM's ruling, nationalist VRMO-DPMNE government; and secondly, because they are especially keen on securing protective rights as a minority community via FYROM's accession to NATO and the EU.

As we shall see, identity as "part of an individual's self-concept," generates emotional defensive or even offensive responses, when frustrated. The interplay of such emotions with the economic uncertainty prevailing in both countries can create incendiary circumstances. Under such circumstances, politicians might resort to scapegoating - unfairly blaming external third-parties or - often - discernible, internal minority groups.

## **CHAPTER ONE - THE NAMING DISPUTE**

### **1.1 What Role has Identity Played in the FYROM-Greece Naming Dispute?**

Since the breakup of Yugoslavia, Greece and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) have been involved in a political dispute over the use of the name 'Macedonia'.

Greece cites the ambiguity between the name 'Republic of Macedonia', the adjacent Greek province of Macedonia and the ancient Greek Kingdom of Macedon. Greece opposes the use of the name 'Macedonia' by the Republic of Macedonia without a geographical qualifier supporting a compound name, such as 'Upper Macedonia' for use by all and for all purposes.

Greece initially also feared potential irredentist sentiment in FYROM designed to reclaim and reoccupy Ancient Macedonia. Even though the latter concerns have been appeased, Greece has persisted in blocking FYROM's accession to NATO and the EU in the absence of a solution to the naming dispute.

### **1.2 Purpose of Study**

'What role has identity played in the FYROM-Greece Naming Dispute?' will explore:

- What the dispute reveals about the ‘identity issues’ of both Macedonian and Greek cultures; and
- What might be the way ahead?

### **1.3 Rationale for Selecting this Topic**

*“The people who live in the past must yield to the people who live in the future. Otherwise the world would begin to turn the other way around.” (Middleton, 2014)*

It is essential that students of conflict resolution peer into the future, always keeping the big picture in mind.

### **1.4 Methodology**

The underlying philosophy is relativist: there are many truths: facts depend on the view of the observer. As a result, this investigative focus will be social constructivist: it will be based on a qualitative analysis of published data. The study will be structured as follows:

1. An introductory background will be provided about the three parties involved and about their different expectations;
2. A chronology of events will highlight the differences in perception between the different parties;

3. A compilation of the leading Social Identity theories will provide a study framework;
4. The chronology of events will be set within the theoretical framework, permitting an explanation as to where and why the theory is lacking or non-relevant;
5. The cases for both sides will be discussed, demonstrating the highly emotive and disruptive effects of Social Identity on otherwise tractable circumstances.
6. Finally, proposals will be suggested as to how outstanding issues might be framed and, hopefully, resolved.

## CHAPTER TWO - HISTORICAL BACKDROP

### 2.1 The Key Players in Our Study

*Unless otherwise indicated, this information is sourced from Danforth, 1995; Kofos, 1993; Craven, 1995; BBC's Macedonia profile – Timeline, 15 April, 2016; Guardian updates, 2016; and Balkan Insight news reports, 2016.*

This chapter indicates that we are studying an area which is steeped in history.

Two of the three peoples being studied – the Greeks and the ethnic Albanians - have an ancient and well-established identity; the third – the ethnic Macedonians - are in the process of asserting a critical need for identity under stressful domestic and international circumstances.



**Figure 1:** Map of the Ancient Empire of Macedon (323 BC)

## 2.2 The Ancient Kingdom of Macedon

The ancient Kingdom of Macedon or Macedonia once covered an area which today comprises 1.8 million self-declared ethnic Macedonians spread (clockwise) as follows:

**Table 1:** Estimated Ethnic Macedonian Population in Balkan Region

<b>Regional Name</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Est. Population</b>
• Aegean Macedonia	Greece	230,000
• Mala Prespa Macedonia	Albania	50,000
• Vardar Macedonia	FYROM	1,300,000
• Gora Macedonia	Kosovo (former Serbia)	22,700
• Pirin Macedonia	Bulgaria	200,000

The history of this vast region has made it a meeting point of different cultures and religions. At times, over the years, the different ethnic groups composing it have clashed; at other times, they have reinforced each other. It is this uncertainty which has made this region so unstable.

Ignatieff and Huntington see cultural differences between constituent groups as a basic cause of conflict (Ignatieff, 1994; Huntington, 2002). Intergroup Conflict is “some sort of incompatibility of goals, beliefs, attitudes, and/or behaviour” (Myers, 1999). Incompatibilities which can prompt conflict, include one or a combination of economic power or value differences. Groups may consist of nations, political parties, ethnic groups, etc. This chapter studies the identity-formation of the three key ethnic groups underlying our study.

### **2.3 A Diversity of Peoples**

*Unless otherwise indicated, this information is sourced from Danforth, 1995; Kofos 1993; Craven, 1995; CIA Factbook – Macedonia, 2015; BBC’s Macedonia*

*profile – Timeline, 15 April, 2016; Guardian updates, 2016; and Balkan Insight news reports, 2016.*

The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) is a relatively small, landlocked country of 25,700 sq. km (the size of Sardinia). Lying in south-eastern Europe, just north of Greece, this mountainous country is cut by deep basins and valleys and possesses three large lakes. FYROM has relatively porous land borders (clockwise) with Albania, Kosovo (a recently devolved part of Serbia), Bulgaria, and Greece. FYROM is a resource-rich, agricultural land with warm, dry summers and autumns, and relatively cold winters with heavy snowfalls. According to the latest national census of 2002, of the 2,022,000 citizens of FYROM, 1,298,000 (64.2%) are ethnic Macedonian, and 509,000 (25.2%) are ethnic Albanian. The country also has a multitude of smaller minority groups – Turks, Romani, Serbs, Bosniaks, Aromanians, and so on. The diversity of the population of Macedonia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century inspired the French expression “Macédoine,” meaning “a salad of mixed fruits and vegetables”.

The Kingdom of Macedon: It is worth noting that the original Kingdom of Macedon (c.450 BC) comprised FYROM, the Greek province of Macedonia, and parts of Albania. The later, vaster Empire of Macedon (c.323 BC) also included a large part of Bulgaria, extensions of Greece, and small patches of what is now Kosovo (formerly Serbia).

There are three key players involved in a study of the role of identity in the FYROM-Greece naming dispute: (1) the Slavophone residents of FYROM; (2) the Albanian minority who play an influential role in FYROM's government; and (3) the Greeks who have been framing the naming dispute.

## **2.4 Ethnic Macedonians in FYROM**

*Unless otherwise indicated, this information is sourced from Danforth, 1995; Kofos 1993; Craven, 1995; CIA Factbook – Macedonia, 2015; BBC's Macedonia profile – Timeline, 15 April, 2016; Guardian updates, 2016; and Balkan Insight news reports, 2016.*

The Origins and the Language: According to the latest official census (2002), 1.3 million (64.2%) of FYROM's 2,022,000 residents belong to a South Slavophone ethnic group, native to the region. They claim to speak the "Macedonian" language, a South Slavic language. Greeks maintain that original natives spoke Greek prior to the arrival of the Slavs. An estimated 72% of all 'ethnic' Macedonians live in FYROM and there are also communities in a number of neighbouring countries. Unsupported claims suggest that at least 230,000 Slavophones reside in the Greek (Aegean) province of Macedonia.

Their Spread and Influence: The appearance of Slavs in the region of Ancient Macedonia (Map 1) is believed to have coincided with the collapse of Roman authority in the 6-7<sup>th</sup> century AD. Many aspects of modern-day Macedonian culture are believed to derive from Medieval Byzantine, and Bulgarian and Serbian Empires. Certain Slavophone-Orthodox cultural, ecclesiastical and

political developments are known to have originated in the region identified with FYROM. The most significant is the creation of the Cyrillic alphabet.

Their Lineage: Anthropologically, residents of FYROM possess genetic lineages found in other South Slavs, namely Bulgarians, Serbs, Bosnians, Montenegrins, but also in Aegean Greeks, and Romanians.

The Construction of the First South Slavophone States: The first South Slavophone states were organized by the Croats, Serbs and Bulgars and the Slavophone inhabitants of FYROM at the end of WWI. Roslund informs us that, prior to 1918, “a person’s origin was distinctly regional” (Roslund, 2008). Roslund adds that, between the Middle Ages and 1918, the Slavophone people – include those from FYROM - were generically referred to as “Bulgarians” (Roslund, *ibid.*).

Life under the Ottomans: After the Ottoman conquest in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Orthodox Christians were grouped under the Graeco-Byzantine jurisdiction called “rum millet” or religious communities. The rise of nationalism under the Ottoman Empire in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century led to change. Bulgarian national leaders, supported by the majority of the Slavophone population in modern-day FYROM, were recognized in 1870 as the “Bulgarian community.” The borders of the new Bulgarian state, drawn by the 1878 Treaty of San Stefano, also included FYROM. This Treaty was replaced that same year by the Treaty of Berlin, which “restored” FYROM to the Ottoman Empire.

The Emergence of a Macedonian Identity: The emergence of a Macedonian identity arose as an alternative to becoming part of a “Greater Bulgaria,” as newly formed Balkan monarchies (Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia) cast their eyes over FYROM’s territory. In 1885, Metropolitan Bishop Theodosius of Skopje pleaded to separate the bishoprics in current FYROM from the Bulgarian jurisdiction. In the early 1930s, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (VMRO) promoted the existence of a separate ethnic Macedonian nation. After WWII, Tito’s communist government created ethnic Macedonian institutions in the three parts of the region of Macedonia – Vardar Macedonia, Pirin Bulgaria, and Gora Serbia (today Kosovo). Following the collapse of Yugoslavia, both Greece and Bulgaria contended that a Macedonian ethnicity was a re-invention of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, Romantic Nationalism movement.

Loring Danforth states that the ancient heritage of modern Balkan countries is not “the mutually exclusive property of one specific nation” but “the shared inheritance of all Balkan peoples” (Danforth, 1995). This comment would appear to be especially appropriate to the concept of a “Macedonian territory.”

Antiquisation and Identitarian Policies: A more recent, more radical and uncompromising “Antiquisation” strand of nationalism is practised by the leading party in the Macedonian government, the VMRO-DPMNE. Antiquisation “renames major buildings and erects imposing monuments recalling Philip II, his son Alexander the Great, and Pella, the old capital of Ancient Macedon, in

attempts to assert a supposedly linear continuity of history between the ancient Kingdom of Macedon and the modern Republic of Macedonia” (Georgievski, 2009).

### What are the Macedonians contesting?

Macedonians are contesting their sovereign right to determine their own symbols of national identity – their right to retain their country’s long-standing name, to choose their flag, and to determine their constitution, whilst also having the right to enjoy a mutual defence agreement with NATO and politico-economic participation within the EU.

## **2.5 Ethnic Albanians in FYROM**

*Unless otherwise indicated, this information is sourced from Danforth, 1995; Kofos, 1993; Craven, 1995; CIA Factbook – Macedonia, 2015; BBC’s Macedonia profile – Timeline, 15 April, 2016; Guardian updates, 2016; Balkan Insight news reports, 2016; and Balalovska, 2002.*

According to the latest official census of 2002, there are in FYROM 509,083 Albanians, who account for 25.2% of the population – the country’s largest ethnic minority (“State Statistical Office Census of Population, Households and Dwellings 2002). These Albanians live in the north-western part of the country, bordering the neighbouring state of Kosovo, are predominantly Sunni Muslim, and speak an Albanian dialect. Albanians constitute a majority in 15 of FYROM’s 80 municipalities but, being largely rural and agrarian, represent a majority of inhabitants in only 3 of the country’s 34 cities.



**Figure 2:** Map of FYROM identifying Albanian Municipalities

The Origins and Language: After the defeat of Turkey by the Balkan allies, the Treaty of London of 1913 convened ambassadors of the Great Powers - Britain, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, France, and Italy - and agreed amongst other things:

- To place the region of the Republic of Macedonia in Serbia; and
- To create an independent state of Albania.

The boundaries of the new Albanian state were drawn in such a way that large areas with Albanian populations remained outside of Albania, many within the north-western part of the then Socialist Republic of Macedonia. Albanians were described by Ptolemy in 150 AD as “an Illyrian tribe who inhabit the same region where Illyrian was spoken in ancient times” (Albanian Studies webpage). If so, Albanian presence in the region predates the Slav arrival in the 6-7th century AD.

Cultural Links: Culturally, Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia share in common with the people of Kosovo and Albania: a history, a language, a national dress, folk songs, an anthem, and the nationalistic red flag with the black, double-headed eagle. In fact, Tom Masters explains that Albanians systematically refer to themselves as “Albanians” rather than “Macedonians” (Masters, 2007). Masters maintains that people’s identity in the Balkans is usually defined by “cultural ethnicity” - i.e. “Albanian” - rather than “political nationality” - i.e. “Macedonian”. (Masters, *ibid.*).

Constitutional Provisions: When the Socialist Republic of Macedonia was established in 1946, the constitution guaranteed the right of minorities to cultural development and free use of their language. Schools and classes in minority languages were introduced to raise this minority’s literacy level. SFRY’s party system promoted the integration of the Albanian community through education and professional training.

Discriminatory Practices: Serbia's discriminatory practices against the Albanian people in Kosovo during the late 1980s unfortunately also influenced Macedonia. The Albanian language was removed from public sight and Albanians were prohibited from naming their children with Albanian names. Besides, to lower the significantly high birth rate of the Albanian population, Albanian families were restricted to two children. The amended Macedonian constitution of 1990 deleted any reference to the Albanian people. A 1997 decision by FYROM's Constitutional Court forbade the use of the Albanian flag.

Albanian Grievances: It is within this context that one must view Albanians' spontaneous referendum in favour of territorial autonomy in January 1992, and the Albanian insurgency throughout northern and western Macedonia in 2001. The Ochrid Framework Agreement of August 2001 brought the fighting to an end on the strength of the Macedonian Parliament's constitutional and legislative changes which accorded minority groups, including ethnic Albanians, improved civic rights.

Electoral Representation/Political Leverage: The three largest Albanian political parties are the Democratic Union for Integration (DUI -19 seats), the Democratic Party of Albanians (DPA - 7 seats), and the National Democratic Revival Party (NDP – 1 seat). Today, ethnic Albanian parties account for just under 21% of the total popular vote, equivalent to 27 out of the 123 total parliamentary seats. The DUI, the largest Albanian political party, has allied itself alternately with the

ruling SDU (left-wing) or VMRO-DPMNE (right-wing) government, securing significant political leverage in the process.

Major Challenges: The major challenges are that, in spite of efforts to recruit qualified candidates, ethnic Albanians and other national minorities are underrepresented in government administration and other public institutions, including the military, the police force, the courts, the national bank, customs, and public enterprises.

What are the Albanians contesting?

Albanians believe that their government and the national constitution should effectively reflect a harmonious, multi-ethnic community. They would therefore like to reverse the government's 1990 constitutional amendments that deleted any reference to the Albanian people and the government's subsequent legislation that discriminatingly restricted both the birth rates and the autonomy of the Albanian people. They also oppose FYROM's recently introduced (2006) "Antiquisation" policy that promotes monuments of Philip II and Alexander the Great. Albanians protest that Hellenization – the boosting of ancient Greek culture and, cryptically, the Christian Orthodox mission - marginalizes the nation's second culture and religion – their own (Georgievski, 2009). Although both Macedonian Kings lived 3 centuries before the foundation of Christianity, Hellenism and the ideas of Plato had a profound influence on Christianity's doctrines of the Trinity and the deity of Christ (Dr. Paul R. Eddy, *web*).

## 2.6 The Greeks and Macedonia

*Unless otherwise indicated, this information is sourced from Danforth, 1995; Craven, 1995; CIA Factbook - Greece 2015; Guardian updates, 2016; and Hall, 2009.*

Greece is a mid-sized, member-country of the European Union with a surface area of 132,000 sq. km and a population of 10.8 million. Its land borders extend (clockwise) from Albania, through Macedonia, Bulgaria, and Turkey. To the north, Greece is mountainous with its ranges extending into the sea as peninsulas or chains of islands. This coastal country is washed (clockwise) by the Aegean Sea, the Mediterranean Sea, and the Ionian Sea. Greece includes 6,000 islands, of which only 227 are inhabited. In fact, although Greece is half the size of the UK, it has only one-sixth of the UK's population. Greece has a temperate climate, and experiences mild, wet winters and hot, dry summers.

The Origins and the Language: The Greek language is an independent branch of the Indo-European family of languages which is native to Greece, western and north-western Asia Minor, southern Italy, Albania and Cyprus. The language holds an important place in the study of the Classics – the science and philosophy of the Western world, Christianity and Byzantium. The word 'Hellenic' derives from the word 'Hellas' – Greek word for 'Greece' – and affirms an early Greek identity.

Hellenic Period: This refers to the period between the date of the first democracy in Athens (507 BC) and the death of Alexander the Great (323 BC). By

decreasing the power of the aristocracy and increasing the prestige of common people, Classical Greece created the world's first known democracy in Athens (507 BC), and spawned the Golden Age of free-thinkers, scientists, dramatists and philosophers. Hellenism *per se* is the Greek worldview which replaces the human being for God as reference point. Thus, the human mind becomes the basis for truth, the human body the ultimate in wisdom, and human pleasure the ultimate goal in life (Hall, 2009). Hellenism is the precursor of modern humanism – a belief that man is basically good and can solve problems using reason instead of religion (see also Hellenistic Period below).

This period also included the military, diplomatic and philosophical achievements of Philip II of Macedon (b. 382 BC – d. 336 BC), Alexander the Great (b. 356 BC – d. 323 BC), and their tutor-philosopher, Aristotle (b. 384 BC – d. 322 BC). Over time, these key players managed to unite and marshal the resources of Classical Greece's city-states into what we know as Hellenic civilization.

Philip II and his Achievements: King Philip II reigned over Macedon for 23 years (359 BC - 336 BC). He had inherited what was generally considered to be a weak, undisciplined, backward city-state of Macedon. Having moulded Macedon's army into a formidable, efficient military force, Philip soon subdued the territories surrounding his city-state, eventually subjugating most of Greece. In 337 BC, Philip created and led the League of Corinth, an alliance of Panhellenic city-states whose members agreed never to wage war against each other, except to suppress

revolution. Philip was elected leader of the army but was assassinated in 336 BC as the Persian invasion was at its earliest stages. Philip had enlisted philosophers, like Aristotle, to educate his people and his successor-son, Alexander.

Aristotle and his Achievements: Aristotle was a Greek philosopher and scientist who joined Plato's Academy when 18 years old. He was recruited by Philip II to tutor his son, Alexander. Aristotle inaugurated a new period in Ancient Greek civilization which flourished in both the Sciences (Physics, Biology, Zoology, Metaphysics, Logic) and the Arts (Philosophy, Ethics, Aesthetics, Poetry, Theatre, Music, Rhetoric, Linguistics, Politics and Government). Aristotle archived these and other studies in a newly established library at the Lyceum (Anthony P. Kenny et al., *web*)

Alexander the Great and his Achievements: Alexander III ruled over a federation of Greek city-states for 13 years (336 BC – 323 BC). On his father's death in 336 BC, Alexander assumed command of the League's forces at just 20 years old. Following a series of decisive battles, Alexander overthrew Persian King Darius III, acquiring an empire stretching from Greece to north-western India, down to Egypt. Alexander's invasion of India in 326 BC was cut short by his troops' revolt. Alexander died prematurely in Babylon (present-day Iraq) in 323 BC at the age of 32 years, before executing his planned invasion of Arabia. His legacy, celebrated in his title "the Great," includes the transmission of Hellenic

civilization via his conquests. He also bequeathed military principles, together with a host of cities bearing his name, most notably Alexandria in Egypt.

Hellenistic Period: This refers to the period following the death of Alexander in 323 BC and up to the Roman occupation of Greece in 146 BC. Owing to the fusion of Greek and Asian cultures, Alexander's campaigns transformed beyond recognition both the traditional Greek culture and the Eastern cultures he reigned over (Hall, 2009).

What are the Greeks demanding?

Greece is demanding from its neighbour state – FYROM - the observance of good neighbourliness: the respect of the name of the birthplace of their Hellenic legacy: “Macedonia.” The Greeks believe that, by adopting the name of “Macedonia,” FYROM is undermining their Hellenic legacy and is signalling an irredentist claim to territories within the “Ancient Kingdom of Macedon,” including Aegean Greece.

## **CHAPTER THREE - A CONFLICT MAP**

### **3.1 The Conflict Map**

This Conflict Map provides graphically an overall view of key conflict challenges: the Primary and Secondary Parties and their interests, and the Primary and Secondary Causes underlying the complex FYROM-Greece Naming Dispute. The parties and the causes are drawn from the Chronology of Key Diplomatic Events (Appendix I) and described in some detail in the text below. Mapping is dynamic and reflects a changing situation.

**Table 2: Naming Dispute Conflict Map – The Parties and the Causes**

PARTIES													
Secondary Parties							Primary Party	Primary Party	Secondary Parties				
NATO	EU	UN	Dia- spora	Alban- ians	Pol- itics				Pol- itics	Dia- spora	UN	EU	NATO
<b>CAUSES</b>													
<b>Primary Cause</b>	National Identity Concerns						FYROM Govt	Greek Govt	National Identity Concerns				
<b>Secondary Cause</b>	State of National Economy/ Electoral Polls								State of National Economy/ Electoral Polls				

### 3.2 The Parties

‘The Chronology of Key Diplomatic Events Underlying the Dispute’ (Appendix D) informs us that the following parties are involved in our identity-issue:

#### 3.2.1 Primary Parties

- The FYROM government contesting Macedonians’ sovereign right to determine their own symbols of national identity – their flag, their constitution, and their right to choose their country’s name, whilst also being entitled the right to enjoy a mutual defence agreement within NATO and politico-economic participation within the EU and;

- The Greek government contesting the right of good neighbourliness from its FYROM neighbours. The Greeks believe that, by adopting the name of “Macedonia,” FYROM is undermining their Hellenic legacy;
- The Greek government had earlier suggested that FYROM’s name ‘Macedonia’ potentially represented a territorial claim against areas in Greece, Bulgaria, Albania and Kosovo which once comprised the ancient Kingdom of Macedon. In January 1992, the European Council’s Badinter Arbitration Commission concluded that Macedonia had formally renounced all territorial claims, and held that use of name ‘Macedonia’ could not, therefore, imply any territorial claim against another State (Pellet, 1992). Greece still objects to FYROM’s use of the name ‘Macedonia’ (UN, 1995).

### 3.2.2 Secondary Parties

There are secondary parties to the Naming Dispute on both sides:

- Political parties, especially nationalist parties asserting an international identity, are often prone to populism. Such populism undoubtedly contributed towards intransigence in the naming dispute on both sides but also undermined the legitimacy of the political party or the political system as a whole because it alienated respected intellectuals and free thinkers. Salient examples of ‘populism’ include Greece’s embargoes against the supply of trade and fuel to FYROM; and Greece’s invocation of the veto against

FYROM's accession to NATO and the EU (1991- To-date); the Albanian civil war in FYROM (Jan-Mar 2001); FYROM's 'Antiquisation' policy (Dec 2006 - To-date); and the ongoing threats against academics, journalists and politicians who publicly favour compromise with Greece over the naming issue (CFOM, 2016);

- The influence of Diaspora Protest Rallies in Australia, the US, and Canada, which favoured either the Greek or the FYROM government positions. Two large diaspora meetings (> 100,000 persons) were organized by the Greek community in Melbourne, Australia – the first, in January 1992; the second, in April 2007. In June 2010, FYROM's Australian diaspora organizations launched a newspaper and billboard advertising campaign in FYROM “demanding an end to all negotiations with Greece over ‘Macedonia’s’ name.”
- The United Nations has a major stake in placating tensions worldwide and in providing international fora that promote peace through economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian cooperation.
- The European Union has welcomed Former Yugoslav Republics into its fold. The EU operates a standardized system of laws to ensure the free movement of people, goods, services, and capital within a single, internal, European market. The EU has an estimated population of over 450 million, excluding

the Brexited UK. While Greece is already a full member of the EU, FYROM still aspires to full accession.

- NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization) is an intergovernmental military alliance committed to fulfilling the goals of collective mutual defence.

Two secondary parties which only relate to the FYROM side is:

- The Macedonian Orthodox Church and Sunni Muslim Imams who play a critical role in inflaming or pacifying “religious” disputes. Attempts to raise large (>50 meter) Macedonian Orthodox crosses, especially the one erected in the largely Muslim municipality of Aerodrom (April 2013) were especially provocative acts. Such an initiative undoubtedly influenced the recent (Feb 2016) attempt by the Muslim community to erect a large statue of an Albanian double-headed eagle on a prominent street of the Cair municipality and the Macedonian Orthodox Church’s counter-designs to erect yet another giant cross in the Butel municipality nearby (Marusic, 2016).
- The Albanian community in FYROM which plays a key part in retaining FYROM’s ruling government in power. Especially since the August 2001 Ochrid Agreement, FYROM governments have sought to curry the favour of the electorally strong Albanian community (potentially 25% of the electoral vote). The Ochrid Agreement granted minority groups constitutionally

entrenched, civic and political rights, including a measure of municipal autonomy.

### **3.3 The Causes**

Likewise, ‘The Chronology of Key Diplomatic Events Underlying the Dispute’ (Appendix I) informs us that the following causes are involved in the identity-issue:

#### **3.3.1 Primary Cause**

The primary cause underlying the naming dispute is the National Identity concerns all three parties. According to Benedict Anderson, a nation is an “imagined political community” which, “as a result of complex historical and political processes”, is socially constructed by the people who perceive themselves as a group” (Anderson,1983) Partha Chatterjee reminds us that “the imagined political unit” in today’s variegated world is conceived differently by different communities (Chatterjee, 1993, as cited in Kopf, 1995):

- **The FYROM government**: FYROM has only just devolved from a staunchly socialist federation. Following 1,400 years of domination by fellow-Slavs and by the Ottoman Empire, it has an understandable irrepensible need to establish an identity - a name, a constitution, and a flag - which distinguishes it from its neighbours and former colonizers. Burton, Azar and Rubenstein remind us that identity needs are non-negotiable (Burton et al., 1990; Azar,

1990; Rubenstein 2001). These identity needs, if unfulfilled, may provoke inflexible, sometimes irrational, defensive or even offensive responses (Folger et al., 1993; Northup, 1988). The denial of FYROM's 'Macedonian' identity by the EU – in defence of Greece's identity - might be perceived as an incidence of structural violence - the wielding of disproportionate power by the European Union to prevent a vulnerable, new state from meeting its basic identity needs (Galtung, 1969).

As mentioned above, identity needs, if frustrated, may generate irrational, even illogical, responses. CIVIL, the Centre on Media Freedoms repeatedly denounces the two-year imprisonment of Journalist Tomislav Kezarovski; the suspicious death in a car crash of 'Focus' editor Nikola Mladenov; the threats to other journalists, academics, and politicians; and the since infamous wire-tapping of politicians and judges (CFOM, 2016).

Non-Domestic Parties' Presumed Responses: The international community must start to acknowledge the structural violence it is perpetrating. It must also hold itself publicly responsible both for its own failings, and for checking the irrational responses generated by FYROM's political system.

- The Albanian Community in FYROM: Spurred by recent constitutional provisions favouring greater positive discrimination on an educational and public employment level and greater decentralization at the local municipal level, Albanians are interested both in securing more equitable opportunities

within the nation's public services as well as in developing the nation's employment-generating, agricultural potential at the local level.

Non-Domestic Parties' Presumed Responses: Both the EU and US were instrumental in finalizing the 1995 Ochrid Framework Agreement: they are therefore sympathetic to its peace-building provisions.

- The Greek government: The FYROM issue has taken a backseat in recent years. Reeling from a series of economic adversities, the Greek government is blaming its country's fiscal management issues on the EU's austerity measures. (Reuters, 2016).

Non-Domestic Parties' Presumed Responses: Excluding partisan Political or Diaspora responses, the international community expects a more equitable fiscal reorganization by the Greek government.

### 3.3.2 Secondary Causes

Both the FYROM and Greece economies urgently need foreign investment (See Appendices II, III & IV):

- FYROM is currently experiencing one of Europe's highest growth rates at an average of 4% in Real GDP. Real GDP growth was mainly driven by 23.6% growth in the construction sector and 13.2% in mining, quarrying, and manufacturing. Despite this, Macedonia lags the region in attracting foreign investment. Besides, official unemployment remains high at 24.6% (critical at

52% amongst the 15-24 year olds). Thanks to the mediation of the EU, and the US, a cross-party agreement was reached to address the Rule of Law shortcomings revealed by the EC's Senior Experts' Group (Priebe Report, 2015). The international community remains wary about media freedom in FYROM.

Non-Domestic Parties' Presumed Responses: EU accession is expected to help both in transferring all-essential industrial technology and in creating new jobs. This urgency prevails on all negotiations since it will inevitably impact on the electoral performance of the ruling party.

- Greece's debt crisis has plunged the economy into a sharp downturn with negative GDP growth rates. Greece's industrial production continues to fall. In 2015, unemployment was rated around 24% and youth unemployment at 58%. Greece's biggest challenge is that it suffers from high levels of tax evasion of 49% in 2005 (CIA Factbook 2015). The general impression is that the newly imposed austerity measures adversely affect the working classes on fixed incomes and that the tax-system's laxity favours evasion amongst the elites. The rapid succession of short-termed Greek governments (See Appendix V) illustrates the precariousness of the Greek situation. The recently elected (left-wing) Syriza government faces a tough challenge.

Non-Domestic Parties' Presumed Responses: An agreement between Greece and FYROM has been repeatedly urged by the UN, NATO, and the EU. As

far back as March 2014, the EU Parliament had passed a resolution stating that FYROM had sufficiently fulfilled Copenhagen criteria to start negotiations for EU accession, and had called on the EU Council to confirm the date for the start of accession negotiations “straight away.” The wording of such a resolution suggests that Europe is losing its patience with those holding up progress in FYROM’s negotiations with the EU.

The economic performance and prospects of both FYROM and Greece have an inevitable impact on the electoral polls and on the stability of the respective political systems.

## CHAPTER FOUR - SOCIAL IDENTITY ANALYSIS

### 4.1 Theoretical Framework

This chapter defines and explains essential Social Identity Theory. It subsequently explains the mental processes which evaluate ingroups and outgroups – the basis of social identity theory. These theories help us understand the rigid and often irrational responses to issues relating to social identity.

Before embarking on social identity analysis, we shall provide an introductory background, providing key definitions.

### 4.2 Key Definitions

Identity refers to a sense of self, to the way individuals and groups see and understand themselves (Hogg and Abrams, 1988). Identity has emerged as a dominant concept for understanding and analysing social conflict. Threats to identity often lead to increased inflexibility, rigidity, and defensive responses that, in turn, escalate or compound conflict (Folger et al., 1993).

Social identity is “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (Tajfel, 1981). Membership of a group represents an essential source of pride and self-esteem.

Social groups may be large and relatively impersonal – ethnic groups, social class, political parties, nations, etc. – or small and personal - family, football team, etc. Groups give us a sense of social identity: a sense of belonging. In order to increase our self-image, we enhance the status of the group to which we belong - the ingroup. We can also increase our self-image by discriminating and holding prejudicial views against the group we don't belong to – the outgroup (Tajfel, 1982).

Erik H. Erikson highlights that an identity should ideally be developed concurrently with a clear sense of purpose. He notes that, while identity defines a person or a group's aims and beliefs in the immediate term, purpose describes that person or group's wider objectives over the longer-term. Erikson believes that this mutually reinforcing relationship between identity and purpose is vital - both for young adolescents and also for emerging societies. The specification of a purpose motivates the formation of an identity which, in turn, bolsters one's purpose. The implications of the identity-purpose relationship will be discussed later (Erikson, 1968).

Ethnicity or ethnic identity are defined as people's identification with or membership in a particular, racial, national, or cultural group and observance of that group's customs, religions, origins, etc. Frederik Barth (1969) refers to people's "self-ascription" to circumvent those circumstances where ethnic groups are not distinguished by any "objective" cultural criteria. Anthony D. Smith

introduced the concept of ethnie as an early or pre-modern variant of ethnicity (Smith, 1998). In the case of ethnie, identification with a cultural group and its customs is still inchoate and not yet strongly felt.

Ashmore et al. highlight that ethnicity refers to the notion of shared ancestry – *something historic*, whilst culture refers to shared representations, norms, and practices – *something perceived in current terms* (Ashmore et al., 2001). Consequently, one can have:

- Deep ethnic differences without important cultural differences, e.g. Bosnian Serbs have more in common with Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims) than with Belgrade Serbs;
- Cultural variations without ethnic boundaries, e.g. the English working class have a different culture to the English middle class, although they may share the same ethnicity.

Given that the Greeks are referring to their Hellenic (and Hellenistic) legacy, we should, at this stage, introduce the definition of civilization and worldview.

Civilization is normally defined as “an advanced state of human society, in which a high level of culture, science, industry and government have been reached.” Positive civilization characteristics include a state system of government with leader, large urban centres, social ranks, full-time specialist occupations, recorded information, monumental art & architecture, etc. (Childe, 1948). A worldview –

the way an individual or a group sees and interprets the world - both reflects and affects a civilization. A worldview normally makes reference to cultural, religious and scientific priorities.

Intergroup conflict is “some sort of incompatibility of goals, beliefs, attitudes, and/or behaviour” between social groups (Myers, 1999). Identity needs or self-image are non-negotiable. Identity threats or loss of face may be compounded in group situations resulting in inflexibility - *a defensive response* - or even retribution - *an offensive response* (Folger et al., 1993). Some people or groups will make great sacrifices to save face transforming potentially negotiable issues into intractable conflicts centred on self-image (Northup, 1988, as cited in Sandole et al, 2009).

Other incompatibilities which can prompt conflict include competition for economic power and/or value differences. Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler believe that civil conflict is more likely to be caused by ‘greed’ - accession to income or educational opportunities, rather than by ‘grievance’ - the expression of raw or religious hatred, structurally entrenched economic injustices, the privation of political rights, or the blatant display of administrative incompetence (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004).

In referring to intergroup conflict, Gellner classifies as “identity politics” both “nonviolent cultural conflict” as well as “violent nationalistic or ethnic conflict”. Identity politics is a political movement which is extremely powerful because it

appeals to collective identities which are rooted in a deep moral, even religious, commitment (Gellner, 1997). Benedict Anderson explains that this strong emotional engagement enables “modernist,” media-exploiting, populist politicians to mobilize constituents’ almost religious allegiances towards an abstract “imagined community” and against a detested “outgroup” (Anderson, 1983). A nation is an “imagined political community” – “socially and culturally constructed through complex historical and political processes” (Anderson, 1983). Although Anderson finds no need to refer to geographical boundaries in his definition of ‘nation’, such boundaries are intimately connected to definitions of ‘nationalism’ and the ‘nation-state.’

Anthony D. Smith defines a nation as “a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historic memories; a mass, public culture; a common economy; and common legal rights and duties for all members” (Smith, 1991). For Richard Handler, nationalism is the political ideology according to which “a geographically, historically and culturally unique nation” seeks to create a territorially bounded, political unit – a sovereign, self-determined, independent state (Handler, 1988). Both Hobsbawm and Anderson argue that “Nationalism comes before nations” (Hobsbawm, 1990; Anderson, 1983). Nationalism is a political movement seeking power on the strength of national arguments – a shared history, a common culture, a beckoning destiny. A political consciousness tends to mobilize unevenly among different social groupings and classes, normally in opposition towards a colonial power (Breuilly, 1993).

A nation-state binds the personally engaging concepts underlying an emotionally powerful nation – race, ethnicity, language, and religion – with the impersonal, distant, institutions underpinning a politically powerful state. (Geertz, 1973).

We shall now analyze the effects of these social identity perspectives on each of the three parties, starting with FYROM's ethnic Macedonians, then FYROM's ethnic Albanians, and finally the Greeks.

### **4.3 The Mental Processes Involved in Evaluating Ingroups & Outgroups**

Tajfel and Turner proposed that there are three mental processes which help distinguish the ingroup from the outgroup. We shall adopt this schema to study each of our key groups (Tajfel et al., 1979, as cited in Ashmore et al. 1997):

#### **4.3.1 Ethnic Macedonians**

##### **I. Social Identity Categorization – Ethnic Macedonians**

Modern Macedonians are a South Slav ethnic group, native to the region of Macedonia which speak a South Slavic language called Macedonian. Macedonians, in the majority, subscribe to the Christian Orthodox religion. Macedonians associate themselves with the (vaster) Macedonian region which gave birth to Philip II and his son Alexander the Great.

It is understandable that Ethnic Macedonians, who only obtained sovereign control of their nation in 1991, are seeking international recognition for what they believe to be a unique identity, history and culture. Nevertheless, it has

been painfully difficult for them to demonstrate that their identity should never be subordinated to modifiers – whether being called “Slavic Macedonians” by the Greeks, “Southern Serbs” by the Serbs, or “Macedonian Bulgarians” by the Bulgarians.

## II. Social Identification – Ethnic Macedonians

Connell argues that people create their social identities by integrating evaluations of their past, their present, and their future (Connell, 1996). Ethnic Macedonians – whether extreme or moderate nationalists – explain their past as follows (Danforth, 1995):

1. Extreme Macedonian Nationalists: These Macedonians claim to be direct descendants of Ancient Macedonians and Alexander the Great: they are neither Slavs, nor Greek. These extreme nationalists believe that they, alone, enjoy continuity with ancient Macedonians. A few exponents are irredentists, awaiting the recreation of a “free, united and independent Macedonia,” comprising parts of FYROM, Kosovo, Bulgaria, and Greece.
2. Moderate Macedonian Nationalists: These Macedonians identify themselves as descendants of the intermarriages that took place between the 6 - 9th century AD between the invading Slavs and the indigenous ancient Macedonians who were not Greeks. Intermarriage endows these Macedonians with close links with ancient Macedonians. Moderate Macedonians are not irredentists: they explicitly renounce any territorial

claims against neighbouring states; they merely request that these states respect the rights of Macedonian minorities.

The outgroup definitely includes the Greeks, whose interpretation of history contradicts that of the Macedonians. While Greeks argue that real “Macedonians” were Greek-speakers. Macedonians contend that the name “Macedonians” has been applied ethnically to them throughout history. Research shows that present-day Macedonians have been known as ‘Macedonians’ from when the entire region freed itself from the Ottoman Empire in 1913.

**Table 3: Macedonia’s Name over Time**

<b>Period (Years)</b>	<b>Historical Name Accorded to:</b>		
	<b>Period</b>	<b>Territory</b>	<b>People</b>
168 BC – 1389 AD	Roman	Paeonia	Paeonians
1389 – 1913	Ottoman Empire	Rumelia	Rumelians
1913 - 1914	Serbia	Vardar Macedonia	Macedonian Slavs
1914 - 1918	Kingdom of Serbs, Croats & Slovenes	Vardar Macedonia	Macedonian Slavs
1918 - 1929	Bulgaria	Vardar Macedonia	Macedonian Slavs
1929 - 1945	Yugoslavia	Vardar Banovina	Macedonian Slavs
1945 - 1991	Fed. Soc. Rep. of Yug. (FSRY)	People’s Rep of Macedonia	Macedonians
1991 >	Devolution from Yugoslavia	Republic of Macedonia	Macedonians

One should highlight the following weaknesses in the arguments of Macedonian nationalists:

1. Despite their claim that ancient Macedonians, including Alexander the Great, were not Greeks, Herodotus, one of the foremost Greek biographers recorded in his Histories (440 BC) that: “since however Alexander proved that he was of Argos, he was judged to be a Hellene (a Greek)....” (Herodotus, 2003).
2. It is still a moot point whether ethnic Macedonians descend from a race that lived in Macedonia during Alexander the Great’s time.

It is clear that FYROM’s “nationalism” has served as a conscious promotion of its own culture and interests in opposition to a succession of “outgroups” - colonizers and dominators like the Ottoman Turks, Greeks, Bulgarians, and Serbs (Breuilly, 1993). The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (VMRO) was established in 1893 with the aim of asserting ethnic Macedonian identity: today, it is the backbone of the VMRO-DPMNE, FYROM’s ruling right-wing government.

Geertz highlighted that a nation-state binds the personally meaningful concepts underlying an emotionally powerful nation – race, ethnicity, language, and religion – with the impersonal institutions underpinning a

politically powerful, geographically-defined, state (Geertz, 1973). It is, therefore, not surprising that the nationalistic VMRO-DPMNE party endorsed the Macedonian Orthodox Church from its creation in 1967. The VMRO-DPMNE has, since June 1990, described itself as a Christian-Democratic party.

For close to a century of colonialism, the same party applied “identity politics” – a powerful political movement which appeals to collective nationalistic identities rooted in a deep moral, even, religious commitment (Gellner, 1997). Kevin Avruch maintains that it takes a very small cultural difference to mark off one ethnic group from another. “Ethnicity utilizes bits of culture that have been objectified by political actors, projected publicly, and then resourcefully deployed by actors for political purposes” (Avruch, 1998).

As Benedict Anderson explains, “modernist” (media-exploiting), populist politicians strive to synthesize “cultural ethnicity” with “political nationalism”. The resulting strong emotional engagement permits these politicians to mobilize constituents’ “religious fervour” in favour of the “imagined community” against “the detested other” (Anderson, 1983). There is no doubt that this “religious fervour” is being politically exploited. In March 2008, police in Skopje were requested to investigate death threats

against Macedonian academics, journalists and politicians who publicly favoured a compromise with Greece (CFOM, 2016).

This extremist expression of an “imagined” nationalism is observed in FYROM’s “Antiquisation” process - the renaming of airports, stations, squares, stadia, major thoroughfares and new monuments after Philip II of Macedon, and Alexander the Great. Such a contrived nationalism will amuse outsiders but may also exasperate FYROM’s own electors, as we shall see in III below.

Anthony D Smith states that national or ethno-symbols like FYROM’s grandiose monuments give “profound” and “concrete meaning and visibility to the abstractions of nationalism... because they can be very widely disseminated by the media” (Smith, 1991). Ethno-symbols may include language, dress, emblems, rituals, monuments, flags and other artefacts, but also memories, myths, values, traditions, and institutionalized practices that derive from them (Smith, 1991).

### III. Social Comparison – Ethnic Macedonians

FYROM’s government believes that the outgroup represents the cynics who do not subscribe to the idea that modern Macedonians share an unbroken legacy with ancient Macedonians. These doubters will be found abroad, especially amongst neighbouring Greeks and fellow-Slavs, and at home, amongst the more liberal intellectuals. Besides, FYROM’s nationalist

government appears to have psychologically isolated itself from its vaster community, showing symptoms of what Turner et al. call “depersonalisation” (Turner et al., 1987, as cited in Ashmore et al., 1997). A case in point is its controversial “Antiquisation” policy which has, unwittingly, created two other “outgroups” at home:

1. Firstly, the influential Muslim Albanian minority allied with the ruling VMRO-DPMNE, are upset by the “Antiquisation” policy’s close identification with Alexander the Great. Although Alexander died “a pagan” three centuries before Christianity officially appeared, Western (and Christian) civilization are today symbolically associated with the Hellenic civilization that Alexander generated (Dr Paul Eddy, *web*).
2. Secondly, a protest movement called the “Colourful Revolution” (2016 April) has added its support to the widespread mass protests which accompanied the damning EU-funded, Priebe Report on government impropriety (2015 June). The movement is daubing ostentatious new monuments, as well as public buildings with day-glo paint, as evidenced herebelow (Strickland, 2016).

Protesters insist that, with a 52% unemployment rate amongst the 15-24 year olds, government should prioritize investment in future-oriented, job-creation rather than in non-productive, fanciful memorials to the past.



**Figure 3:** Monument to Alexander the Great Daubed with Day-Glo Paint

#### IV. Optimal Distinctiveness Theory – Ethnic Macedonians

Marilynn B. Brewer suggested a fourth mental process. Brewer noted that, for a community to coexist within the larger society, it must retain a measure of both similarities and distinctiveness between the “ingroup” and the “outgroup” (Brewer, 2003). This is an important consideration because nationalism’s “ability to inspire dedicated action in history has been equalled in earlier times only by religion...The lines between the rational and irrational,

the behaviour of the individual and of the group, seem to overlap” (Volkan, 2014). It appears that UN and EU mediation in the FYROM-Greece naming dispute has helped moderate the ‘distinctiveness’ between the “ingroup” and the “outgroup” (Brewer, 2003). Over the past 25 years, political and diplomatic relationships, although sometimes provocative at a media level, have remained close, rational, and humanized on a personal basis. Balkan Insight Reports indicate that negotiators on both sides continue to refer to their counterparts by their full names: they still view them as ‘individuals’ rather than as subhuman outcasts. This respect has also been maintained at a governmental level. In 2015, notwithstanding Greece’s fuel and trade embargoes and green card requirement, Greece remained FYROM’s fourth largest export partner and third largest import partner. It is also reassuring to know that Bulgaria was FYROM’s third largest export partner and Serbia its fourth largest import partner.

#### 4.3.2 Ethnic Albanians in FYROM

##### I. Social Identity Categorization - Ethnic Albanians

Albanians speak Albanian and practise the Muslim faith like their neighbours in Albania and the Kosovo. As Tom Masters reminds us, people’s identity in the Balkans is usually defined by “cultural ethnicity” or “religious faith” rather than by “political nationality” (Masters, 2007). As a result, Albanians rarely refer to themselves as Macedonians. While maintaining that they

represent more than the official census of 25.2% of the population, they acknowledge that they represent a minority – a less numerous group - within FYROM. They expect to enjoy equal, constitutionally entrenched rights as other citizens. Since FYROM's Albanians live and largely work in the countryside, they are denoted not by skin colour or dress, but by their agricultural occupation – mainly family-patch agriculture. Their communities / municipalities are distinguished by their mosques, their extensively flown red flags with a black double-headed eagle, and, on festive occasions, their colourful, traditional Albanian costumes. Albanians prefer to manage their own affairs at the local level - whether this relates to general community affairs, education, child-rearing practices, or health.

## II. Social Identification – Ethnic Albanians

Connell argued that people create their social identities by integrating evaluations of their past, their present, and their future (Connell, 1996). In waging their civil war in FYROM in 2001, Albanians may well have been influenced by Volkan's "chosen traumas" of genocides committed by Serbs against Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims) between 1992-95 and against neighbouring Kosovo Muslims between 1998-99 (Volkan, 2014).

## III. Social Comparison – Ethnic Albanians

The 2001 Ochrid Framework Agreement which concluded the Albanian Civil War in FYROM recognized the political and economic grievances suffered by

ethnic Albanians in FYROM (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004). In fact, the Ochrid Agreement specifically provided for improved access for ethnic Albanians to public sector jobs, including the police, besides the right to decentralization and to recognition of Albanian as a co-official language. (Ashmore et al, 2001).

#### IV. Optimal Distinctiveness Theory – Ethnic Albanians

As mentioned above, Brewer suggested that there is a modicum of assimilation and differentiation which determines the level of harmonious co-existence (Brewer, 2003). The words of the NLA Leader Ali Ahmeti were reassuring: “We want to live as equals in our land and be treated as citizens” (Wood, 2001). They may, however, need to be reinforced by deeds. If one is a loyal citizen, one should fly a national flag (FYROM’s) alongside the ethnic (Albanian) flag. In driving past the majority of Albanian villages, only the Albanian flag is in evidence. The Canadian multiculturalist, JW Berry concludes that “attaining a multicultural vision requires mutual accommodation,.....that the non-dominant groups *adopt* the basic (but evolving) values of the larger society, and *adapt* to the existing (but evolving) social institutions and structures” (Berry, 2011). Berry’s comments suggest that Albanians might at least adopt and share a minimum of Macedonian pride and adapt and share a judicious measure of joint Macedonian-Albanian flag-flying.

That said, the World Macedonian Congress needs to be dissuaded from its provocative erection of giant Orthodox crosses across the country (Mt. Vodno 2002; Aerodrom 2013; & Butel 2016), most especially in or close to Muslim municipalities. Besides, the FYROM government needs to involve the Albanian community more fully in its economic planning policies, and must reconsider the wisdom of its “Antiquisation” policy.

#### 4.3.3 Greeks

##### I. Social Identity Categorization – Greeks

Greek Classicism identifies its roots with Hellenism born in the 5th century BC. Nevertheless, Greeks identify the spread of Hellenism with “Alexander the Great of Macedon” born a century later. In 2009, Stelios Papathemelis, former Socialist Minister for Northern Greece said: “Macedonia and everything associated with it are not only Greek; they are exclusively Greek and nothing else.” They are “an inalienable and eternal possession of Hellenism, a piece of its soul” (Danforth, 1995).

Although no related customary international law exists, Greeks are appealing to FYROM’s Principles of Good Neighbourliness – “the practice of tolerance and the living together in peace with one another” (Oxford Dictionaries).

## II. Social Identification – Greeks

As with all Balkan peoples, the Greeks create their social identities by integrating evaluations of their past, their present, and their future (Connell, 1996). In Greece's case, one might say that the country's glorious Hellenic past is heavily weighted against an uncertain economic future (See Appendices II & IV).

The Greeks' argument is that only they can boast an unbroken line of racial and cultural continuity with ancient Macedonians (Danforth, 1995). Danforth highlights that the Greeks' argument is based on 3 premises:

1. There has never been a Macedonian state, let alone a Macedonian people. The longest-enduring "Macedonia" was the province of Macedonia in Greece;
2. There has never been a "Macedonian" language: Ancient Macedonians spoke Greek;
3. There has never been a "Slavic Macedonian" minority in Greece. There are only "Slavophone Hellenes" or "bilingual Greeks."

The Greeks first argument is not exactly correct since the residents of FYROM have been known as Macedonians at least as far back as 1913. Regardless, however, the whole issue is as fatuous as the Israelis' denial of a historic Palestinian entity. Macedonians may, like Palestinians, be "an

imagined community” (Anderson, 1983). Nonetheless, their convictions and their grievances are very real. Neighbours are inevitably obliged to recognize each party’s need for identity: good neighbourliness is, after all, a two-way street.

### III. Social Comparison – Greeks

In the context of what has been said immediately above, one might be tempted to present Greece’s glorious Classical past as the ingroup and Greece’s uncertain economic future as the outgroup. Using Anderson’s argument, populist politicians might be tempted to mobilize and redirect constituents’ “religious fervour” away from the domestic scene by “scapegoating” - the external ‘Other’ – in this case FYROM (Anderson, 1983).

### IV. Optimal Distinctiveness Theory – Greeks

Brewer believed that there is an optimal measure of assimilation and differentiation which determines the level of harmonious co-existence (Brewer, 2003). Such level-headedness became noticeable in June 2015 when the Greek Foreign Minister ended his country’s 12-year embargo on FYROM with a visit to Skopje. On this occasion, Foreign Minister Nikos Kotzias declared: “We want all our neighbours to be members of the European Union, because our own country, to a great degree, is dependent on what happens in the Balkans as a whole” (Smith & Kingsley, 2015).

## **CHAPTER FIVE - SUBSTANTIVE & PREDICTIVE ANALYSES**

### **5.1 Theoretical Framework**

This chapter outlines two theories which help describe the non-negotiability of identity – one of Burton’s four basic human needs (BHN); subsequently explaining how non-fulfilment of identity may generate protracted social conflict (PSC). The chapter subsequently examines the four conditions and the process dynamics underlying PSC. In essence, Azar’s theory demonstrates that, although social identity needs are felt very strongly by all parties, there are key conditioning factors which have been mitigating any conflictual tendencies.

### **5.2 Burton’s ‘Basic Human Needs’ – A Substantive Theory**

John Burton proposed that man must satisfy certain basic human needs (BHNs) in order to prevent or resolve destructive conflicts (Burton et al., 1990). Linking individual needs to group needs, Burton’s substantive theory maintained that man is primarily motivated by four basic human needs that are universal and non-negotiable - identity, fair access to political institutions, security, and economic participation. These needs fuel conflict when they are unfulfilled (Rubenstein,

2001). Deep challenges to self-image “core constructs” challenge the foundation of one’s being and are, thus, non-negotiable (Northup, 1988).

Each of our three parties – ethnic Macedonians, Albanians, and Greeks - face serious challenges to their basic human needs: social identity, fair access to political institutions, security, and economic participation. Need frustrations experienced by all three parties are indicated in the table herebelow.

Ethnic Macedonians appear to be the most deprived: owing to the Greek veto, ethnic Macedonians are denied recognition of their ethnic identity as Macedonians; fair access to EU political institutions and economic participation; and to NATO’s security and mutual defence agreement. Ethnic Albanians are the next most deprived. Before the Ohrid Framework Agreement, ethnic Albanians in Macedonia were for a significant time deprived of equal opportunity - whether relating to social identity (flag-flying), political rights (the restriction on their child-bearing practices), or economic participation (Albanians’ access to public employment opportunities, e.g. the police force). Finally, Greeks perceive themselves to be frustrated, both from an identity standpoint and – potentially – economically, by Macedonians’ exploitation of Greece’s Hellenic identity.

Burton maintains that, when the dignity of a large number of community members is systematically frustrated, structural changes – major adjustments to societal norms and institutions – are usually required. If the party causing the frustration is domestically based, the community might resort to intrastate violence – city riots,

civil wars or domestic terrorism. If the party generating the vexation is externally located, the community might even opt for interstate violence – foreign-based terrorism, or wars of an ethno-nationalistic or ethno-religious nature (Burton et al., 1990).

**Table 4:** Burton’s Basic Human Needs in the Naming Dispute

ETHNIC GROUP	‘Guilty Party’	BURTON’S BASIC HUMAN NEEDS			
		Social Identity	Political Rights	Physical Security	Economic Participation
<b>Ethnic Macedonians</b>	Greeks	Recognition of Macedonia(ns).	Greeks’ Support on EU Access.	Greeks’ Support on NATO Access.	Greeks’ Support on EU Access.
<b>Ethnic Albanians</b>	Ethnic Macedonians	Recognition of Albanian Flags	No Restrictions on Child-bearing	N.A.	Participation in Pub. Employment.
<b>Greeks</b>	Ethnic Macedonians	Recognition of Hellenic Identity	N.A.	N.A.	Protection of Hellenic Tourism.

### 5.3 Azar’s ‘Protracted Social Conflict’ – A Dynamic and Predictive Theory

Azar developed a dynamic and predictive dimension for Burton’s BHN theory (Azar, 1986). According to Azar’s theory, protracted social conflict (PSC) results from the denial of basic needs that are fundamentally connected to issues of identity. These issues include the ability to develop a collective identity, to have

that identity recognized by others, and to have fair access to the systems and structures allowing for the achievement of identity (Azar, 1986; Northup, 1988).

Ethnic nationalism can therefore be seen as an attempt to maintain or to recreate a sense of identity and community in the face of cultural assimilation or annihilation. Azar believed four conditions are responsible for igniting or resolving protracted social conflicts (Azar, 1990):

- 5.3.1 Communal Content: Multi-communal societies, whether formed as a result of divide-and-rule policies of former colonial powers or whether through historical rivalries, often result in the dominance of one elite group over the other. The dominant group isolates itself from the needs of other groups, leading to cleavages even within an ethnicity.

FYROM represents essentially a multi-ethnic society, possessing two major communities: the ethnic Macedonian community (representing 64% of the population) and a sizeable Albanian minority (accounts for another 25%). There is no doubt that FYROM and its Albanian minority community were affected by the divide-and-rule policies of former colonial powers, whether this power consisted of the Ottoman Empire, or Greek, Bulgarian or Serbian dominators. The outcome is that, today, we have a majority 'elite' ethnic Macedonian community dominating a minority ethnic Albanian community.

Although Albanians are more frequently categorized on a religious basis, their grievance is essentially political and economic - their need to be treated equally:

their need to be offered equal opportunity for government postings, notably police employment.

Greece has a predominantly Greek community which lives relatively harmoniously with several minorities within its broader community. On a ‘neighbourhood’ basis, however, Greece needs constant reminding about the ‘Optimal Differentiation’ philosophy aptly expressed by her Foreign Minister Nikos Kotzias: “We want all our neighbours to be members of the European Union, because our own country, to a great degree, is dependent on what happens in the Balkans as a whole” (Smith et al., 2015).

Recommendation: FYROM and its Albanian community must find a modicum of societal harmony which subordinates nationalism to the realities of multi-ethnicity. Both FYROM, an aspiring member of the EU, and Greece, a mature member of the EU, must recognize that they belong to a civic society: “a community of citizens linked by common interests and collective activity” (Oxford Dictionaries).

- 5.3.2 Deprivation of Human Needs: Azar stresses that the needs for cultural and religious identity, fair access to political institutions, security, and economic participation are non-negotiable. Azar suggests that, when these needs are denied for a protracted period, people will inevitably strive for structural change to meet these needs, even violently.

Social identity represents a critical, non-negotiable human need in the case of both ethnic Albanians and ethnic Macedonians. On January 22, 2001, the NLA Leader Ali Ahmeti states that the NLA is “not (fighting) a territorial war. We want to live as equals in our land and be treated as citizens” (Wood, 2001). In fact, NLA Leaders supported FYROM’s leading political parties under the auspicious name of the Democratic Union for Integration following August 2001’s Ochrid Framework Agreement’s reforms. These reforms provided for the recognition of Albanian as an official language, Albanian municipal autonomy, and increased access for ethnic Albanians to public-sector jobs, including the police.

In recent years, however, tension between the ethnic Macedonian and ethnic Albanian communities has increased. The proposed erection in March 2016 of yet another giant Macedonian Orthodox crucifix – the third - within a multi-ethnic community suggests that the FYROM government, the Macedonian Orthodox Church, and the affiliated NGOs have not yet accepted the sensitivity of dabbling with religion. This insensitivity might be sending the wrong signal to Albanians regarding FYROM’s commitment to its recently revised, multi-ethnic policy.

By the same token, FYROM needs to start paying due recognition to Greece’s identity needs – Greece’s Hellenic pride. As mentioned above, some ethnic Macedonians maintain that Alexander the Great was not Greek, but Macedonian. Even if one were to accept this notion, no one doubts, however, that Alexander

propagated the glorious Hellenistic civilization thanks to the intrepid Greek forces serving under his command.

Recommendation: To overcome this need deprivation, the government must offer security on a multiplicity of levels to all of the constituent population. FYROM's government must ensure that it respects the all-important needs of all of its citizens. This same respect should also be demonstrated to its Greek neighbours. Provocative quid-pro-quo should be avoided under all circumstances.

5.3.3 Governance and the State's Role: Azar tells us that, in most post-colonial societies, state structures are dominated by elites who are unresponsive to the needs of other groups, especially minority groups. In the case of FYROM, we have observed "state structures" dominated by unresponsive elites at two levels:

- Capitalist Greeks vs. Communist Slavs: At the international level, the aspirational NATO / EU structure – itself a legacy of the post-Cold War – appears to discriminate in favour of "Capitalist" Greeks against former "Communist" Slavs; and
- Christian Orthodox Slavs vs. Muslim Albanians: At the domestic level, FYROM's state structure – itself a legacy of the "colonial" SFRY federal structure - discriminates in favour of Orthodox Slavs against Muslim Albanians.

FYROM's government must ensure that all identity groups are equitably represented both at the national institutional level and at the municipal level.

Recommendation: To overcome this crisis of legitimacy, the government's structure must be amended, wherever necessary, to ensure that all citizens are equally cared for and equally represented without bias or discrimination.

- 5.3.4 International Linkages: People's inability to access basic needs is not just due to lack of governance at the state level, but also due to the influence of international linkages - external institutional and financial systems - on internal policy. These linkages can take two forms: client relationships and economic dependency. Weak states, especially those affected by protracted social conflict, tend to be influenced by external forces.

Although FYROM has always focused on the threat to its identity from its Greek neighbour, its greatest threat to its peace and security remains within its Albanian community at home. This same Albanian community has two publics: one at home in FYROM; the other just across its porous overland border in poverty-stricken Kosovo. We must recall that, during the 2001 Albanian insurgency, FYROM's government suspected Kosovo was being "used as a rear base" (UNHCR, 2004).

Recommendation: To overcome this dominance by the international economy, a country must build institutions that minimize international dependency and stimulate domestic economic growth. FYROM's best way to improve relations with the Albanian community is to help boost this minority's agricultural

interests, whilst publicizing this community’s political and economic achievements.

**Table 5:** Azar’s Preconditions in the Naming Dispute Conflict

ETHNIC GROUP	Recommended Solution	AZAR’S FOUR PRECONDITIONS FOR PSC			
		1. Communal Effect	2. Deprivation of Human Needs	3. Governance & State’s Role	4. International Linkages
<b>Ethnic Macedonians</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Resolve naming dispute fast.</li> <li>Promote national over group identity at home &amp; abroad.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Colonial status superseded. Self-governed.</li> <li>People need to elect competent politicians.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Macedonia/ Albanian’s BHNs should be addressed once the naming dispute is resolved.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Both Priebe Report &amp; EU Acquis precondition ‘Good governance.’</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>FYROM will benefit from fully-fledged EU and NATO assistance once the naming dispute is resolved.</li> </ul>
<b>Ethnic Albanians</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Promote national over group identity.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>As above.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>As above.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>As above.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>As above.</li> </ul>
<b>Greeks</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Promote reconciliation.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Two large communities: Greek vs. FYROM</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hellenic identity needs must be addressed.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Good governance may pre-empt scapegoating.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Good governance may reassure diaspora.</li> </ul>

#### 5.4 The Process Dynamics Underlying Azar’s PSC

Azar maintains that, when the above-mentioned preconditions are fulfilled, a latent conflict situation may be ‘sparked’ into overt conflict by one or a combination of three groups of ‘triggers’ (Azar, 1990):

1. Communal actions and strategies;
2. State actions and strategies; and
3. Built-in mechanisms of conflict.

In sum, conflictual influences on all three parties involved in the FYROM naming dispute have become increasingly muted. The impact of each ‘trigger’ on the naming dispute is studied in turn:

#### 5.4.1 Communal actions & strategies

This first trigger group consists of:

- a) Identity group formation, organization, and mobilization: This is not an eruptive factor. Macedonia’s identity group organization is weak: it has failed to attract the intellectual legitimacy required to increase the breadth and depth of its electoral appeal. Despite the VMRO’s attempts to assert a Macedonian identity as far back as 1893, the idea of FYROM as a sovereign ‘nation’ was only born as recently as 1991 – 25 years ago. History has shown that leadtimes in group identity-formation are usually only accelerated by external factors such as callous colonialism (Breuilly, 1993). ‘Nationalism’, as practised by the ruling VMRO-DPMNE government in league with the Macedonian Orthodox Church, is ineffective. This is because the extreme policies which were adopted – ‘Antiquisation’ and the provocative erection of Giant Orthodox Crosses – deprived the nationalist government of its all-essential endorsement and legitimacy by respected, liberal intellectuals

(Breuilly, *ibid.*). This may explain the reported threats since March 2008 against academics, journalists and politicians who publicly favoured compromise with Greece (CFOM, 2016). In contrast, both the Albanian and the Greek communities are relatively secure in their identities.

- b) The emergence and nature of leadership: This too is not an eruptive factor. Leadership within the Albanian community has been effective. It has, however, been lacking in both the ethnic Macedonian and Greek camps. The international community are well aware of the political weaknesses and economic dependence of both countries.

As discussed earlier, FYROM's leadership, primarily provided by the ethnic Macedonian nationalist VMRO-DPMNE, has failed to secure the support of respected intellectuals. It has also been dependent for its parliamentary majority on the backing of a censorious Albanian DUI parliamentary group, headed by a level-headed Ali Ahmeti. Greek leadership has been weak because a succession of unstable governments (See Appendix V) has been plagued by a series of economic problems, the most serious of which has been tax-evasion among the privileged elites. Greece needs to garner the support of its international linkages – most significantly the financial agencies of both the UN and the EU.

- c) The choice of political goals and tactics: This is potentially the most eruptive factor. The nationalistic, confrontational (win-lose) approach adopted by both

of FYROM's leading political parties (SDU & VMRO-DPMNE) has compounded the volatility of circumstances, both externally vis-à-vis the Greek government and internally vis-à-vis the Albanian minority community. Fortunately, other determinants have appeased the political situation.

- d) The scope and the nature of externalities: Again, this is not an eruptive factor. All three major parties to the name dispute – FYROM's ethnic Macedonians, FYROM's Albanian community, and Greece – have been dependent on the UN, NATO, and the EU for economic and security support. The externality that might have excited circumstances is represented by the Diaspora movements supporting the governments of Greece and FYROM. The objectives of these movements, goaded by nationalist organizations in the home country, was to exert pressure on external institutions and influential parties involved in the dispute, and to lend moral and financial support to nationalist parties in the home country. Their activities were undoubtedly noted but were muted in effect.

#### 5.4.2 State actions and strategies

This is not an eruptive factor since Azar is primarily referring to intrastate conflicts. State actions might however have been indirectly relevant due to the FYROM's government's initially repressive policies vis-à-vis the Albanian minority community. As mentioned above, this conflict was soon appeased due to effective UN mediation and judicious leadership within the Albanian community.

That said, harmonious multi-ethnic co-existence remains a critical concern in FYROM.

#### 5.4.3 Built-in mechanisms of conflict

Again, this is not an eruptive factor. Azar's 'built-in mechanisms of conflict' refer to circumstances where a "malign spiral of conflict escalation is triggered." Domestically, the August 2001 Ochrid Framework Agreement acknowledged and sought to redress the roots of the Albanian civil war before the spiral of conflict surged out-of-control. Internationally, developments in the naming dispute negotiations between FYROM and Greece since March 2008 have been conciliatory and reassuring.

Net, net the identity issues in FYROM have not been eruptive factors, mainly because political parties in both the leading country (FYROM) and the responding country (Greece) are both relatively weak – economically and politically – and depend for their electoral success on the mediation and support of international agencies like the UN, NATO, and the EU.

## CHAPTER SIX - BACKGROUND TO THE NEGOTIATIONS

### 6.1 Identity vs. Security Needs

This chapter first examines the key issues impinging on the negotiations - irredentist precedents and prejudices. The chapter subsequently explores FYROM's expectations of as well as support from NATO and the EU: it was, after all, FYROM's eagerness to join NATO and the EU which endowed Greece with its 'veto-based negotiating power'. This chapter then looks at how developments in FYROM politics, contributed - at least partially - to delays in resolving the naming dispute. Finally, the chapter examines legal precedents which suggest certain anomalies committed by both Greece and the EU.

Up to the interwar years, Macedonians still referred to themselves as "Bulgarians." This was almost a self-deprecating term because "a Bulgarian" also denoted "a farmer or shepherd" and was contrasted with the upper-class moniker "a Greek" – "a merchant" (Danforth, 1995). Consequently, at least up to WWII, it is more appropriate to refer to Macedonians as an ethnie. Anthony D Smith coined this word to describe an immature variant of ethnicity where identification

with a cultural group and its customs is still inchoate and not yet strongly felt (Smith, 1998).

The seeds of this identity conflict between FYROM and Greece were aroused relatively recently - during WWII - when Tito and his Communist Party sought to weaken Serbian and Bulgarian influence in the region by establishing the “People’s Republic of Macedonia.” In 1944, the Macedonian language was developed by linguists on the basis of the most popular dialect used in the west-central part of FYROM.

## **6.2 Seeds of Irredentism**

Danforth informs us that “Irredentist” ambitions came to the fore in Macedonia when, in 1945, Tito’s wartime representative in FYROM, General Svetozar Vukmanovic, known as “General Tempo,” sought to recreate an “autonomous Macedonia” by reclaiming Aegean Macedonia and other parts of the Ancient Kingdom of Macedon - Vardar Macedonia *now* FYROM, Gora Macedonia *now* Kosovo-Serbia, Pirin Macedonia *now* Bulgaria, and Mala Prespa Macedonia *now* Albania (Danforth 1995).

After WWII, Greek Civil War (1946-49), Slavophone Macedonians and Bulgarians aided the Greek Communist Party in a Greek Civil War which was intended to fill the vacuum left by the retreating German-Italian forces. Greece’s post-WWII government, backed by the UK and the US, repulsed the Communist forces in 1949. Following the Communist defeat, the Greek government forced

the assimilation and denationalization of all Slavophones in Aegean Macedonia. At least 35,000 “Slavo-Macedonians” were deported to Eastern Europe, Canada and Australia. This inevitably compromised relations between Greece and the then Republic of Macedonia (Danforth 1995).

### **6.3 Devolution from Yugoslavia**

This issue remained dormant until 1991, when the former Republic of Macedonia devolved from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). Until then, the Greeks had always referred to their neighbours as the “Republic of Skopje”, a name they still use to-date.

Many Greeks argue that FYROM lies completely outside what was known as the ancient Kingdom of Macedon. To them, Macedonia is – like Crete, Thessaly, and the Peloponnese - a province of Greece. Stelios Papathemelis, Former Socialist Minister of Northern Greece, stated emphatically that Macedonia is “an alienable and eternal possession of Hellenism, a piece of its soul” (Danforth, 1995). Greeks are adamant that only Greeks have the right to identify themselves as Macedonians because:

- Alexander the Greek and the ancient Macedonians were Greek; and
- Ancient and modern Greece are linked in an unbroken line of racial and cultural continuity.

Greeks maintain that there is no basis for a distinct, non-Greek, Macedonian nation, language or people. Consequently, their Slavophone or “Skopian” neighbours have no right to the Macedonian name.

#### **6.4 EC Council Conditions**

Greece was able to impose conditions on FYROM relating to the naming dispute thanks to its veto power on FYROM’s accession to NATO and the EU. And FYROM, just breaking out of a Communist cocoon, badly needed access to the resources and expertise provided by both organizations.

##### **6.4.1 Why is FYROM so keen on joining NATO?**

FYROM is, like many Eastern European states, keen on joining NATO because this intergovernmental military alliance guarantees to its member-states mutual defence from external attack against their territory. FYROM has recent memories of fellow-Slav aggressions against its territory: Bulgaria (1914-18) and Serbia (1918-41) (1945-91). Besides, Serb-originated violence in nearby Slovenia (1991), Croatia (1991-95), Bosnia (1992-95) and Kosovo (1998-99), and more recent Russian interventions in Georgia (2008) and the Ukraine (2014-to-date) are reminders of greed-based invasions justified in the name of ‘protecting’ fellow-Slavs from non-sympathetic ‘assimilation.’ As a consequence, NATO has become progressively more involved in peacekeeping and outreach activities (NATO Speech, 2014).

NATO is “committed to keeping its doors open to Western Balkan partners that wish to join the Alliance, share its values and are willing and able to assume the responsibilities of membership. Euro-Atlantic integration is seen as the best way to ensure long-term, self-sustaining security and stability in the region.” (NATO Topic, 2016). The same NATO declaration explained that FYROM aspires to join NATO in search of “support for democratic, institutional, security sector and defence reforms... FYROM originally joined the Partnership for Peace (Program of Practical Bilateral Cooperation) in 1995 and the Membership Action Plan (Program of Advice, Assistance and Tailored Practical Support) in 1999...Beyond the need to make progress on reforms, the country has to find a mutually acceptable solution with Greece to the issue over its name before it can be invited to join NATO....For many years, FYROM has provided valuable support to NATO-led operations and missions in Afghanistan and Kosovo” (NATO Topic, 2016).

#### 6.4.2 Why is FYROM so keen on joining the EU?

After 50 years of Communism (1945-1995), the political leaders and electors of FYROM are still relatively new to the concepts of liberal democracy, free trade, and the rule of law. Many leaders in and outside FYROM are aware of the beneficial, reformist effect of the EU accession process on other EU Member-States of Eastern European origin. EU accession has markedly overhauled the governance and performance of 11 former Communist countries since their

accession: the economies of Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Slovenia which acceded in 2004, and Croatia which joined in 2013, have flourished; and the economies of Bulgaria and Romania have been reformed and brought closer into line with EU standards since becoming members in 2007.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the EC was still receptive to a widening (and deepening) of the EU. The EU's welcoming in 2004 of eight countries from the former Eastern European communist bloc was considered a welcome farewell to the legacy of the Cold War. No-one, at that stage, anticipated the financial and economic crises of 2008. Consequently, in December 1991, the European Commission's Council outlined certain conditions for the recognition of all former Yugoslav republics. One condition, however, included on Greece's insistence, was that the former Republic of Macedonia must "adopt constitutional and political guarantees ensuring that it has no territorial claims towards a neighbouring Community State, including the use of a denomination which implies territorial claims" (Balkan Human Rights, n.d.).

In January 1992, a month later, the European Commission's Badinter Arbitration Commission concluded that the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia had formally renounced all territorial claims and held that "the use of the name 'Macedonia' cannot, therefore, imply any territorial claim against another State." (Pellet, 1992) This notwithstanding, in May 1992, EU Member States recognized

Croatia and Slovenia but withheld recognition from Macedonia, at the instigation of Greece. In June 1992, the EC Council, giving in to Greek pressure, declared that it would only recognize the 'Macedonian Republic' "under a name which did not include the term 'Macedonia'." Greece expressed its preference for the 'Democratic Republic of Skopje.'

#### 6.4.3 1995 Interim Accord

In February 1993, Greece accepted international arbitration over FYROM's name. In April 1993, the United Nations Security Council admitted Macedonia under the provisional name 'Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia' (UN, 1995). Furthermore, on Greece's insistence, FYROM accepted to change its flag which bore a strong resemblance to the Vergina Sun, a solar symbol appearing in ancient Greek art between the 6<sup>th</sup> – 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC.

In October 1993, Greece withdrew from the UN-brokered negotiations with FYROM, objecting to its counterpart's proposed names and alleged irredentist constitutional clauses. Greece concurrently imposed a punitive oil and merchandise embargo on landlocked FYROM. The EC requested the European Court of Justice to order Greece to suspend the embargo. In September 1995, Greece and FYROM formalized relations in an Interim Accord by which FYROM removed both the Vergina Sun from its flag and its allegedly irredentist constitutional clauses.

FYROM submitted its application for EU membership in 2004, achieving candidacy in 2005, but has not yet entered into accession negotiations. Among current obstacles to full membership is FYROM's ongoing dispute with Greece over the country's name, the EU's concern over the VMRO-DPMNE's policies relating to the nation's Albanian minority, and the conflicting views between FYROM and Bulgaria over the ethnic separateness of the two nations. (This, notwithstanding, Bulgaria recognized the 'Republic of Macedonia' under its constitutional name - as opposed to the UN acronym, in a Joint Declaration of Good Neighbourly Relations on the 22nd February, 1999.)

In October 2012, the European Commission recommended for the fourth consecutive year that membership negotiations with FYROM be opened. On each occasion, Greece vetoed such an initiative (EU Enlargement, n.d.). In November 2012, since the naming dispute had still not been resolved after twenty-one years of negotiation, EU Enlargement Commissioner Stefan Fuele proposed that FYROM start EU membership talks. Greece again rejected this proposal (EU Enlargement, *ibid.*). In February 2014, the European Parliament passed a resolution that FYROM had sufficiently fulfilled Copenhagen criteria to start negotiations for EU accession, and called on the EU Council to confirm 'straight away' a date for the start of accession negotiations (EU Enlargement, *ibid.*).

## **6.5 International Issues become Domestic Issues**

The insecurity underlying FYROM's status relating to NATO and the EU inevitably affected the stability of the domestic political situation. In February 2015, the EU voiced concern over the worsening feud between FYROM's main political parties, especially the scandal of the illegal surveillance of 20,000 people, including opposition politicians, journalists and police officials EU Enlargement, *ibid.*).

In an April 2015 article in the New York Times, former FYROM Ambassador Nikola Dimitrov, while commenting on the wire-tapping scandal, reflected that "Had accession negotiations been allowed to start years ago, Macedonia's reformist forces would today be much stronger, and the current problems could likely have been avoided." (Dimitrov, 2015).

In June 2015, EC Senior Experts Group led by Reinhard Priebe confirmed systemic Rule of Law issues within FYROM: namely the illegal interception of communications; the interference in judicial affairs and prosecution services; the lack of external oversight by independent bodies of intelligence services; electoral irregularities; and restrictions of freedom of the media (Priebe Report, 2015). In June 2016, the EU and USA obliged FYROM's government to revoke controversial pardons of top indicted political officials, stating that government's initiative undermined FYROM's prospects of becoming member of the EU and NATO (BIRN Team, 2016).

## 6.6 The Negotiations as Perceived by the Outside World (See Appendix VI)

According to the media, the UN-appointed mediator, Matt Nimetz, found himself confronted with the following demands (BIRN Team, 2014):

*FYROM's starting position: FYROM's government is contesting the country's sovereign right to determine its own symbols of national identity – the right to choose its own name, to select its own flag, and determine its own constitution. In the course of negotiations, in the face of vetoes imposed by Greece, FYROM also claimed the right to enjoy politico-economic participation within the EU and a collective defence agreement with NATO, once the country had conformed to the requirements of each organization.*

*Greece's starting position: Greece's government demanded from its neighbouring state – FYROM - the right of good neighbourliness: the Greek government maintained that, by adopting the name of "Macedonia," FYROM undermined Greece's Hellenic legacy and signalled an irredentist claim to territories within the "Ancient Kingdom of Macedon" which include portions of neighbouring Greece, as well as Bulgaria, Albania and Kosovo.*

### 6.6.1 FYROM's Principal Argument

FYROM - Principles of Sovereignty: Under current international law, sovereignty is the ultimate power, authority and/or jurisdiction of a sovereign entity – a

person, group, tribe or state – to decide on behalf of groups of people within their own territory (H Steinberger, 1987, as cited in Kreijen, 2004).

Matthew Craven maintains that the EU's non-recognition of FYROM under its constitutional name establishes two ill-advised precedents at international law (Craven, 1995):

- I. Greece's / The EU's use of the recognition process to promote wider political objectives such as the modification of the constitution of an emergent entity.

Craven maintains that, in deciding upon the institution of diplomatic relations with FYROM, Greece and the EU have prioritized 'subjective' political considerations over more traditional and 'objective' legal precedents – the possession of declarative international personality (Craven, 1995).

Craven highlights that the EU made a distinction between Croatia and FYROM. The EU recognized Croatia in January 1992, even though its new constitution failed to incorporate protection of minorities when the country was still at war – the Croatian War of Independence (1991-95). On the other hand, the EU failed to recognize FYROM even though the EC's (Jan 1992) Badinter Arbitration Commission had noted that Macedonia had formally renounced all territorial claims, and had concluded that "the use of the name 'Macedonia' cannot, therefore, imply any territorial claim against another State." In contrast with Croatia, the Badinter Commission had also noted that FYROM had publicly accepted the provisions in the draft Convention on

Human Rights and had adopted a number of special provisions on the rights of “nationalities” in its new Constitution (Craven, 1995);

II. The EU’s / Greece’s intervention in FYROM’s sovereignty by obliging it to alter its name, flag and constitution, all of which are potent symbols of the state’s national identity.

The ‘Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States’ affirms that each State “has the right freely to choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural systems” (UNGA Res 2625, XXV, 1970). The notion of sovereignty and self-determination presumes a State’s right to establish its own constitutional system in conformity with the obligations imposed by international law (e.g. vis-à-vis human rights treaties) and to choose its own symbols including both its name and its flag (Craven, 1995). *Both the EU and Greece are guilty of intervening in FYROM’s sovereignty by obliging it to alter its name, flag and constitution (Dec 1991- To-date).*

Likewise, the 1965 UNGA’s Res. on ‘Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty’ also prohibits “the use of economic, political or any other type of measures to coerce another State in order to obtain from it the subordination of the exercise of its sovereign rights...” (UNGA Res. 2131 (XX), 1965; Craven, 1995). *Greece is also guilty of imposing an economic*

*embargo and a political veto on FYROM's accession to NATO and the EU to oblige a sovereign state to change its name (Dec 1991 – To-date).*

#### 6.6.2 Greece's Principal Argument

Greeks have no legal recourse barring FYROM from naming its country "Macedonia" or dedicating public places to Philip II, Alexander the Great, or Pella, the capital of the Ancient Kingdom of Macedon. These names and relative images are in the "public domain" because they were created before the first copyright law was enacted in 1790 (US Copyright Office, n.d.). Greece has therefore appealed to the principles of good neighbourliness, reinforcing this "appeal," however, with a threat: resort to Greece's veto power on FYROM's accession to NATO and the EU:

Greece - Principles of Good Neighbourliness in International Law: The Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations defines "good neighbourliness" as the ability "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours..." (UN Charter,1945). Although Greece appealed to FYROM's Principles of Good Neighbourliness in International Law, a close study indicates that it is Greece which has failed to respect these principles. These principles include:

- I. UNGA's Res. on 'Friendly Relations and Cooperation' (1970) adopted by acclamation seven declaratory principles of international law relating to a

State's reciprocal relationship. These seven principles are today enshrined in the Charter of the UN, (UNGA Res. 2625 (XXV), 1970):

1. The duty to refrain in its international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State. *This principle has greater relevance to Greece than to FYROM. As we observed from our study of the Principle of Sovereignty above, it is Greece, not FYROM, which had imposed economic embargoes (Oct 1993 – Jun 2015) “to coerce another state in order to obtain from it the subordination of the exercise of its sovereign rights.”*
2. The duty to settle international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace, security and justice are not endangered. *Both FYROM and Greece agreed to refer the dispute to Arbitration. Even though the EC's (Jan 1992) Badinter Arbitration Commission had concluded that “use of the name ‘Macedonia’ could not imply any territorial claims against another State,” Greece insisted with the EC that it would only recognize the Macedonian Republic under a name which did not include the term ‘Macedonia.’ Greece withdrew from the UN-brokered negotiations it had committed to in Feb 1993 for two years prior to the Interim Accord (Oct 1993 – Sep 1995).*
3. The duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any State, in accordance with the Charter. *As demonstrated hereabove, by*

*demanding a change in FYROM's name, constitution and flag, Greece was intervening in matters which lie within FYROM's domestic jurisdiction (Dec 1991-To-date).*

4. The duty to co-operate with one another in accordance with Charter. *Throughout the negotiations, Greece has co-operated to an increasingly greater degree.*
5. The duty to respect the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. *No comment.*
6. The duty to respect the principle of sovereign equality of States. *No comment.*
7. The duty to fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by it in accordance with the Charter. *Greece withdrew from the UN-brokered negotiations it had committed to in Feb 1993 for two years prior to the Interim Accord (Oct 1993 – Sep 1995).*

## CHAPTER SEVEN - NEGOTIATION STRATEGY

### 7.1 The Social Identity Objectives of the Key Parties

This Social Identity Objectives are ultimately conditioning the naming dispute. These objectives have been given prime importance in Appendix VI which also provides a Chronology of the ‘Development of Proposals during the Naming Dispute.’ Appendix VI is a focused extract from the Chronology of Key Diplomatic Events in Appendix I.

It is worth noting that the Social Identity Objectives of the two key disputants ultimately condition the terms covering the naming dispute:

- ethnic Macedonians who wish to be finally recognized as a sovereign people after having been dominated by fellow-Slavs and Ottoman Turks for over 1,400 years. Macedonians wish to belong to a country and people whose name requires no qualification for identification purposes. They do not wish to be called “Slavic Macedonians”, “Macedonian Bulgarians,” or “South Serbs.” In their minds, they have always belonged to ‘Macedonia’ and have always been ‘Macedonians’;

- ethnic Macedonians recognize that, to start accession negotiations with NATO and the EU, FYROM must reach a compromise with two other key parties;
- the Muslim Albanian Macedonians who wish to be granted constitutionally entrenched civic and political rights of a minority group recognized and respected for its own language, religion, and culture; and
- the Greeks who wish to be recognized as the sole propagators of Hellenism, created and diffused worldwide by Kings Philip II and Alexander the Great of Macedon 2,400 years ago. Greeks stress that only Aegean Macedonia represents true Hellenism.

## **7.2 Scott's Four Stage Negotiation Process**

B. Scott distinguishes Four Stages in the Negotiation Process (Scott, 1988). These stages are described in some detail in Appendix VI 'The Development of Proposals during the Naming Dispute.' A study of the key developments helps us recognize that the negotiating process was given a significant boost in March 2008 when Greece accepted FYROM's use of the name "Macedonia" with a geographical modifier for universal purposes. The negotiations have not yet been finalized because FYROM and Greece have still to agree on the exact placing of the modifier.

### **7.3 The Exploration/Information-Sharing Stage**

#### 1991 Sep: Macedonia's Independence – 1993 Feb: Greece Accepts International Arbitration

As a rule, this Exploration or Information-Sharing Stage of Negotiation may be collaborative (win-win) or competitive (win-lose). From the start, both the FYROM and Greece parties declared positions and implicit interests which were competitive and based on a win-lose perspective.

In December 1991, as the European Commission outlined certain conditions for the recognition of all Republics of the Former Yugoslavia, a new condition was adopted on Greece's insistence: that the Republic of Macedonia must "adopt constitutional and political guarantees ensuring that it has no territorial claims towards a neighbouring Community State, including the use of a denomination which implies territorial claims." Since Macedonia aspired to membership of NATO and the EU, Greece used its leverage to ensure that Macedonia's recognition and accessibility, both to the NATO and EU, were made conditional on the change in the country's name and flag, and on the removal of the allegedly irredentist clauses in the country's new constitution. Furthermore, as an aspirant EU member, Macedonia was required to safeguard in its constitution the civic rights of the country's Albanian minority community.

In January 1992, the Badinter Arbitration Commission concluded that Macedonia had formally renounced all territorial claims, and held that use of the name ‘Macedonia’ could not, therefore, imply any territorial claim against another State (Pellet, 1992).

#### **7.4 The Bidding Stage**

##### 1993 Apr: UN ‘FYROM’ Decision – 1995 Sep: Greece’s Withdrawal from & Return to the Negotiating Table

The essence of a bid is that an exchange is offered and may be accepted, rejected, or may trigger a counter-offer. In this case, Macedonia agreed to a provisional name – “Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” in return for membership of and mediation of its final name by the UN.

This bidding stage, lasting two-year and a half years, was extremely productive because Macedonia’s membership of the UN also entailed membership in the all-important financial organizations like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. In April 1993, the ‘Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia’ made major concessions, accepting the provisional acronym of FYROM to be allowed into the UN and also accepting to change its flag. Greeks believed that FYROM’s original Vergina Sun flag bore a strong resemblance to an Ancient Greek archaeological discovery in northern Greece in the 1970s. Both parties agreed to attend UN-mediated sessions to resolve the name dispute.

In October 1993, Greece withdrew from the UN-brokered negotiations. It was objecting to the names proposed for the Republic of Macedonia and to allegedly irredentist clauses in its constitution. Greece also imposed punitive embargoes on merchandise and oil destined to FYROM. The European Commission requested the European Court of Justice to order Greece to suspend its embargo.

## **7.5 Bargaining Stage I**

### 1995 Sep: Interim Accord – 2005 May: Double Name Formula

The heart of many negotiations is in the bargaining, the adjustment of what is being traded until both parties are satisfied with the arrangement. The first major bargaining stage adjustment was represented by the September 1995 Interim Accord wherein FYROM agreed to remove the objectionable Vergina Sun from its flag and alleged irredentist clauses from its constitution in return for Greece's recognition of FYROM's independence and Greece's lifting of its trade restrictions (UN, 1995).

As a result of the Interim Accord, FYROM was able to join a host of influential, international organizations, including the World Bank, the IMF, the Council of Europe, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, and the NATO-related Partnership for Peace. The August 2001 Ochrid Framework Agreement brought a swift end to FYROM's Albanian civil war, started in January 2001. The Agreement, which avoided full-scale armed conflict, increased

the rights to decentralization of ethnic Albanian municipalities and also recognized Albanian as a co-official language, at both work and school levels. In the same conciliatory spirit, FYROM constitutionally entrenched the civic and political rights of its multi-ethnic community.

Through this First Bargaining Stage, FYROM demonstrated its willingness to compromise: it has accepted to be known internationally by an acronym as long as it retains the name of 'Macedonia' for domestic purposes only. At this First Bargaining Stage, Greece remained obdurate, insisting that any new name must not include 'Macedonia' and must be applicable universally - internationally and domestically.

## **7.6 Bargaining Stage II**

### 2008 Feb: Composite Name Formula – 2008 Mar: Greece Agrees to Universal Use of 'Macedonia'

The major adjustment which marks this Second Bargaining Stage was Greece's final agreement in March 2008 to FYROM's use of the name 'Macedonia' as a composite with a geographical qualifier. This represented a significant volte-face by Greece in the space of a month! Was this a tacit acknowledgement by Greece that, although the bulk of international organizations use the 'FYROM' acronym required for formal purposes, the bulk of nation-states - 134 out of 193 countries (69%) recognize the country by its constitutional name - 'The Republic of Macedonia'. This majority of countries includes 4 out of 5 UN Security Council

members (the exception is France), and most members of the EU. In other words, The Republic of Macedonia appears to have won the media war. It is significant that, even the Rio 2016 Olympics Website lists FYROM as ‘Macedonia’! Greece may have decided that – this identity issue is, after all, negotiable. It may stand more to gain by acknowledging Macedonia, appeasing its major institutional partners – the UN, NATO and the EU, thereby securing the international financial support it desperately needs.

## **7.7 Settling Stage**

### 2008 Mar: Universal Composite Name Formula – To-Date: Locus of Qualifier

The settling stage is when both parties formally acknowledge what they have agreed, making it difficult for either party to back out of their commitment.

The outstanding issue relates to the placing of the qualifier. FYROM insists that any geographical modifier should qualify the nature of the state (e.g. “the Republic”) and not the nation-state/ethnic group itself (“Macedonia”). This ensures that Macedonia is recognized as a distinct sovereign state *per se* rather than a qualified offshoot, say, “Slavophone” Macedonia (BIRN Team, 2014). In contrast, Greece insists that, because there is more than one Macedonian ethnic group, the geographical modifier should qualify the specific region. Greece maintains that there should be a way for third parties to differentiate the separate Macedonian identities that exist within FYROM, Greece and elsewhere (ibid.). It

is likely that the parties will ultimately agree on a relatively 'neutral' modifier like  
'The New Republic of Macedonia.'

## CONCLUSION

### 8.1 The Naming Dispute in Perspective

- 8.1.1 Social Identity definitely plays a strong role in the naming dispute between FYROM and Greece. The ethnic Macedonians in FYROM need an identity because they never really had a country until their devolution from Yugoslavia in 1991; the ethnic Albanians have a strong identity as Albanians but limited recognition as citizens of FYROM. The Greeks claim to be safeguarding their Macedonian legacy: they are actually safeguarding something more unique - their Hellenistic birth-right.
- 8.1.2 Social Identity Theory demonstrates that the need for identity, if frustrated, might lead to inflexible responses. Such inflexibility has been displayed by all three parties: ethnic Macedonians; ethnic Albanians; and Greeks. Negative, confrontational responses are initiated by nationalist/populist political parties and by religious movements and diasporas which have allowed themselves to become politicized. Positive, conciliatory responses are provided by mediators within international organizations like the UN, NATO, and the EU. It is worth noting that the balanced leadership of statesmen like Ali Ahmeti, head of the Albanian DUI party, facilitates appeasement.

8.1.3 This dispute is progressively moving towards a satisfactory resolution for three basic reasons. The first is the recognition that, despite the imposed formal acronymic name - FYROM, the country is informally generally known as 'Macedonia' and its people are systematically referred to as 'Macedonians.' The second is the acknowledgement within international legal circles that neither Greece, nor the EU, have any legitimate precedent for the current naming dispute. If anything, the EU might be perceived to be using disproportionate force against a young, emerging state like FYROM. The third is the need by both Greece and FYROM to resolve the naming dispute in order to secure the all-essential, international, political and financial support.

8.1.4 FYROM should without delay develop its future-oriented identity within a purposeful framework (Erikson, 1968). This framework might take the form of a clearly defined economic tripod, say:

- fulfilment of its agricultural potential lying, as it does, in the climatically propitious, upper Mediterranean temperate region;
- promotion of its attractive and unspoilt agrarian landscape as an agritourism centre. FYROM's allure has, until recently, been known only to its immediate neighbours;

- investment in its rich mineral resources on the strength of adequate financial backing and suitable technological expertise.

Keeping in mind the Albanian community’s pivotal participation in the agricultural sector, FYROM might veritably fulfil its ‘Macédoine’ vocation in two ways – for the assembly of “multi-ethnic peoples” that it became known for in the 19th century, and for the cultivation of delicious “assorted fruits & vegetables” that it is increasingly associated with today.



**Figure 4:** A Spectacular View of Lake Ochrid, FYROM

8.1.5 Greece can benefit from the ‘naming dispute’ experience. It can start looking beyond the protection of its shared Macedonian legacy into the promotion of something which Alexander bequeathed to Greece uniquely: the Hellenistic fusion and diffusion of a combination of different global cultures. This new transcultural diplomacy will set the stage for a new understanding and cooperation between Greece and the Balkan region as a whole, including, of course, its newly-named, ‘Macedonian’ neighbour.

Mark Miceli-Farrugia / September 2016

**APPENDIX I**  
**A CHRONOLOGY OF KEY DIPLOMATIC EVENTS**  
**UNDERLYING THE DISPUTE**

*Unless otherwise indicated, this information is sourced from Danforth, 1995; Kofos, 1993; Craven, 1995; CIA Factbook – Macedonia/Greece, 2015; BBC’s Macedonia profile – Timeline, 15 April, 2016; and Guardian updates, 2016; Balkan Insight news reports, 2016; Hall, 2009.*

**x, +, or – refer to clash, positive or neutral factors.**

<b>Period</b>	<b>Event</b>	
<b><u>B.C.</u></b>		
6 <sup>th</sup> Cent.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Literary evidence of Greeks referring to themselves by their ethnicity - “Hellenes,” rather than by their city-state – “Athenians” or “Spartans”.</li> </ul>	–
5 <sup>th</sup> Cent.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Greeks proudly enrich the ancestral dimensions of Hellenism with distinctive cultural attributes. This sets them apart from a Persian culture that previously dominated the eastern Mediterranean.</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>Hall, 1997 believes that the critical shift from an ethnic-based identity to a more distinctive and self-assured politico-cultural one occurred when the Athenians establish a radical democracy. This democracy, created “at the expense of the elite who had previously governed the city,” enables the</i></li> </ul>	–

	<i>Greek people to assert a distinctive culture. This transformation takes root a century before the birth of Philip II.</i>	
4 <sup>th</sup> Cent.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>359-336 BC</u>: King Philip II reigns over Macedon. He moulds a formidable army, which soon subdues the territories surrounding Macedon and eventually subjugates most of Greece.</li> <li>• <u>337 BC</u>: Philip creates and leads the League of Corinth – a mutual defence alliance protecting Greek city-states.</li> <li>• <u>336 BC</u>: Philip is assassinated and is succeeded by his 20 year old son, King Alexander III.</li> <li>• <u>334 BC</u>: “Alexander the Great” breaks the power of Persia in a series of decisive battles.</li> <li>• <u>323 BC</u>: By the time of his premature death, Alexander and his teacher-philosopher Aristotle spread Hellenism across an empire stretching from Greece to India.</li> </ul>	–
<b><u>A.D.</u></b>		
6-7 <sup>th</sup> Cent.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Slavs, many of whom were later Hellenized, settle in Ancient Macedon region 1000 years after the death of Alexander.</li> </ul>	–
862	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Slavs and Bulgarians are converted by (Greek) Byzantine Empire to Christianity.</li> </ul>	–
9 <sup>th</sup> Cent.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Byzantine Monks Cyril and Methodius develop the Cyrillic alphabet.</li> </ul>	–

9 <sup>th</sup> Cent.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Byzantine Monks Cyril and Methodius publish texts in Macedonian.</li> </ul>	+
10-12 <sup>th</sup> Centuries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conflict between (Greek) Byzantine Empire and Bulgarian Empire, including Slavophone Macedonians.</li> </ul>	+
1389 – 1913	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Macedonia falls under the Ottoman Empire.</li> <li>• FYROM is incorporated into Serbia.</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>During Ottoman domination, Slavophone Macedonians are treated as part of Serbia.</i></li> </ul>	x
1870	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Slavophone peoples of Macedonia &amp; Bulgaria, who both call their language ‘Bulgarian’, fight against Greek cultural and linguistic domination.</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>John Breuilly (1993) maintains that – political consciousness - Macedonian nationalism - tends to grow in opposition towards a colonial power:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ <i>firstly, the Ottoman Empire;</i></li> <li>○ <i>later, Greece;</i></li> <li>○ <i>then finally, domineering fellow-Slavs.</i></li> </ul> </li> </ul>	x
1893	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• VMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization) is established to assert Macedonian identity against the Ottoman Turks.</li> </ul>	x
1903-1912	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Ilinden Uprising:</u> Slavophone and Greek Macedonians – Christians &amp; Muslims – together fight for an independent Macedonia.</li> </ul>	x

1912-13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Balkan Wars</u>: Ottomans are defeated. Rumelia (Ancient Macedonia) is partitioned between: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Greece (Aegean Macedonia)</li> <li>○ Kosovo-Serbia (Gora Macedonia) + FYROM (Vardar Macedonia); and</li> <li>○ Bulgaria (Pirin Macedonia).</li> </ul> </li> <li>❖ <u>Caveat</u>: <i>After the war, Slavophone Macedonians are treated as part of Serbia.</i></li> </ul>	<b>x</b>
1913	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Greek government Hellenizes Aegean Macedonia, deporting 80,000 Slavophone Macedonians to Bulgaria, and forcing changes in the language, personal and place names, and Church authority.</li> <li>❖ <u>Caveat</u>: <i>Besides undercutting the identity of Slavs in Aegean Macedonia, Greece reinforces Macedonia's Greek identity by strengthening the predominance of:</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) <i>the Greek people;</i></li> <li>(2) <i>the Greek language;</i></li> <li>(3) <i>the Greek government and culture; and</i></li> <li>(4) <i>the Greek Orthodox religion.</i></li> </ol> <p><i>It is worth noting that nationalist policies of forced assimilation and persecution may create the nationalistic minorities they are intended to eliminate (Loring Danforth, 1995).</i></p> </li> </ul>	<b>x</b>
1914-18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• During World War I, Macedonia is occupied by Bulgaria.</li> <li>❖ <u>Caveat</u>: <i>Slavophone Macedonians once again become subservient to Bulgarians.</i></li> </ul>	<b>x</b>

1918 Dec	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• End of WWI. The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes is founded. Macedonia becomes part of Serbia again.</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>Slavophone Macedonians are re-colonized by Serbs.</i></li> </ul>	x
Inter-War Years	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Serbian government (later Yugoslavia) attempted to Serbianize Slavophone Macedonia (calling it “South Serbia”).</li> <li>• During this period, Slavophone Macedonians still define themselves as “Bulgarians.”</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>Macedonians attempt to differentiate themselves from their Serbo-Croat masters by defining themselves as “Bulgarians.”</i></li> </ul>	x
1929	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes is renamed Yugoslavia (Land of the southern Slavs). FYROM is then known as ‘Vardar Banovina’.</li> </ul>	–
1941	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Germany invades Yugoslavia.</li> </ul>	x
1944	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Macedonian is proclaimed a national language for the first time. The Macedonian language was based on the most popular Macedonian dialect spoken in the west-central part of the country. In 1948, this new language was banned in Bulgaria.</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>Macedonians start to identify themselves with the most appealing and least-threatening, non-Slavophone “imagined community” – Philip and Alexander’s “Macedonia.”</i></li> </ul>	x

1945	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes is transformed into Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). Tito is appointed President of Yugoslavia's federation of six republics, including Macedonia.</li> </ul>	+
1945	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tito's wartime representative in Macedonia, Gen. Tempo, is imputed with irredentist designs for an "autonomous Macedonia," covering both Slavophone and Greek provinces, with Greek city of Thessaloniki as the capital of liberated territories of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Aegean Macedon (in Greece);</li> <li>○ Mala Prespa Macedonia (in Albania);</li> <li>○ Vardar Macedonia (in FYROM);</li> <li>○ Gora Macedonia (in Kosovo-Serbia); and</li> <li>○ Pirin Macedonia (in Bulgaria).</li> </ul> </li> <li>❖ <b><i>Caveat:</i></b> <i>In building a multi-ethnic and multi-denominational Yugoslavia, President Tito seeks strength through unity among the Slavs that reside in the Ancient Macedonian territories. Collier's "greed factor" may also be pertinent, since these regions are reputed to be rich in minerals.</i></li> </ul>	x
1946-49	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Greek Civil War: Slavophone Macedonians join Bulgarians and Greek Communist Party (the Democratic Army of Greece) in fighting the army of Greece's post-WWII government. The UK and USA are backing the latter.</li> <li>❖ <b><i>Caveat:</i></b> <i>Yugoslavia only becomes neutral and non-aligned following Tito's spat with Stalin in 1948. In this first Cold War conflict, Yugoslavia and its Communist allies seek to fill the power vacuum left in Greece by the retreating German-Italian</i></li> </ul>	+

	<i>forces at the end of WWII.</i>	
1949	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Following the defeat of Communist forces, the Greek government forces either mass deportation or assimilation and renationalization of Slavophones in Aegean Macedonia.</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>Nationalist policies of forced assimilation and persecution may create the nationalistic minorities they are intended to eliminate. (Loring Danforth, 1995)</i></li> </ul>	x
1950s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Growth of nationalist sentiment in Macedonia: “We are not Bulgarian nor Serb, we are Macedonian.”</li> </ul>	+
1967	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Communists in Skopje re-establish independent ‘Macedonian Orthodox Church.’</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>A strong nation-state needs to bind the emotive concepts underlying a powerful nation - race, ethnicity, language, and religion (Clifford Geertz, 1973)</i></li> </ul>	+
1980	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Death of Tito: rise of nationalism pervades federation’s constituent republics.</li> </ul>	+
1991	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Following dismemberment of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), Republic of Macedonia declares its independence. 95% of voters (75% of registered electorate) had voted in favour of a “sovereign and independent Macedonia.”</li> <li>• New constitution is enacted despite opposition by ethnic Albanian deputies who wanted greater territorial autonomy.</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>It is significant that the majority of the strong</i></li> </ul>	+

	<i>Albanian community (one-fifth of the population) opt for independence.</i>	
1991 Sep 8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Macedonia declares independence.</li> <li>• Macedonia withdraws its membership from the Rump Yugoslav Parliament.</li> <li>❖ <b><i>Caveat:</i></b> <i>Matthew CR Craven (1995) highlights that, unlike its fellow former SFRY republics, Macedonia secured prompt Yugoslav recognition for its devolution from the former Federation.</i></li> </ul>	+
1991 Sep – to-date	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• After 50 years of Communism, Macedonia’s political system is still relatively new to the concepts of liberal democracy, free trade, and rule of law.</li> <li>• The challenge is to ensure that short-term privatisation of a vast legacy of ‘social resources’ is conducted in the most honest and transparent manner.</li> </ul>	x
1991 Dec	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The EC Council outlines certain conditions for the recognition of all Republics of the Former Yugoslavia. One condition, included on Greece’s insistence, is that the Republic of Macedonia must “adopt constitutional and political guarantees ensuring that it has no territorial claims towards a neighbouring Community State, including the use of a denomination which implies territorial claims.”</li> <li>❖ <b><i>Caveat:</i></b> <i>The ICJ Rep 1986 endorses as declaratory of customary international law that: “Declaration of the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty”;</i></li> </ul>	x

	<p><i>and “Declaration on Friendly Relations” both forbid: “the use of economic...measures to coerce another state in order to obtain from it subordination of the exercise of its sovereign rights.” Matthew CR Craven (1995) asserts that “with respect to Macedonia, the conditioning of recognition upon a requirement to alter its name, flag and constitution not only devalues the currency of recognition, but also offends the notion of sovereignty itself.”</i></p>	
1992 Jan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• EC’s Badinter Arbitration Commission concludes that Macedonia had formally renounced all territorial claims, and holds that use of name ‘Macedonia’ could not, therefore, imply any territorial claim against another State.</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>The EC Commission’s conclusion highlights:</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>The invalidity of Greece’s claim that “the use of a denomination (Macedonia.... implies territorial claims;” and</i></li> <li>2. <i>The EC Council’s unreasonableness in only recognizing the ‘Macedonian Republic’ “under a name which did not include the term ‘Macedonia’.”</i></li> </ol> </li> </ul>	+
1992 Jan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 million people demonstrate in Thessaloniki against the use of the name ‘Macedonia’ by the Republic of Macedonia.</li> <li>• Rally is organized by 100,000 members of the Greek diaspora in Melbourne, Australia, who chant “Macedonia is Greek.”</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>Greece’s ability to generate so much popular support at home and amongst the Greek diaspora overseas indicates that the issue of social identity is felt very strongly.</i></li> </ul>	x

1992 Jan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An unofficial referendum among ethnic Albanians (representing one-fifth of the population) shows overwhelming wish for their own territorial autonomy.</li> <li>• Fearing a secession, the Macedonia government begins a crackdown.</li> <li>• The Council of Albanian Political Parties in the Former Yugoslavia, decides to opt for autonomy in Macedonia only in the event that other democratic efforts to procure political and cultural rights fail.</li> </ul>	x
1992 Mar	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Government resigns after mass demonstrations over failure to win recognition for the country's independence.</li> <li>2. Federal Republic of Yugoslav acknowledges Macedonia's devolution and withdraws its People's Army (JNA) from Macedonia.</li> <li>3. Greeks, Bulgarians and Serbs refuse to recognize Macedonians as a distinct ethnic Macedonian group: Greeks refer to Macedonians as "Slavophone Macedonians"; Bulgarians as "Macedonian Bulgarians", and Serbs as "Southern Serbs."</li> </ol> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. UN approves dispatch of troops to monitor inter-ethnic tension.</li> </ol> <p>❖ <b><i>Caveat:</i></b> <i>Macedonians' insistence on being defined as a distinct ethnic group is critical to the naming dispute. This is why FYROM insists that any geographical modifier should qualify the nature of the state ("the Republic") and not the nation-state itself ("Macedonia"). This ensures that Macedonians are considered a distinct sovereign people per se.</i></p>	x
1992 May	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• On Greece's insistence, EC Member States, while recognizing</li> </ul>	x

	Croatia and Slovenia, withhold recognition from Macedonia.	
1992 May	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Members of the Greek diaspora place full-page ad in New York Times urging President George HW Bush “not to recognize the “Republic of Skopje” under any other name.</li> </ul>	x
1992 June	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Giving in to Greek pressure, the EC Council declares that it would only recognize the ‘Macedonian Republic’ “under a name which did not include the term ‘Macedonia’.”</li> <li>❖ <b><i>Caveat:</i></b> <i>The EC Council once again contravenes customary international law. Number of EC States suggested name “New Macedonian Republic,” but Greece prefers “Democratic Republic of Skopje.”</i></li> <li>The Macedonian Assembly flatly rejects the idea that the Republic should change its name before recognition. They fear that an association with the former Yugoslavia might arouse territorial ambitions among Serbian nationalists who still refer to the Republic of Macedonia as “South Serbia.”</li> <li>❖ <b><i>Caveat:</i></b> <i>Macedonia also plays the ‘Irredentist’ card. This, however, might be perceived to weaken its negotiating position.</i></li> </ul>	x
1993 Feb	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Greece accepts international arbitration over Macedonia’s name.</li> <li>❖ <b><i>Caveat:</i></b> <i>Greece wisely submitted to international pressure.</i></li> </ul>	+
1993 Apr	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The UNSC adopts Res. 817 (1993) admitting Macedonia under provisional name “<u>Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia</u>” (FYROM).</li> </ul>	+

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• On Greece's insistence, the Republic of Macedonia accepts to 'change' its flag which bears a strong resemblance to the Vergina Sun, a rayed, solar symbol appearing in ancient Greek art between the 6<sup>th</sup> – 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC.</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>Macedonia agrees to a wise, conciliatory gesture.</i></li> </ul>	
1993-94	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Over the next year, the Republic of Macedonia is recognized by all Member States of the EC (except Greece) and by a number of other States, including the US.</li> </ul>	+
1993 Oct	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Greece withdraws from UN-brokered negotiations.</li> <li>• Greece objects to Republic of Macedonia's names and constitutional terms.</li> <li>• Greece imposes punitive embargo on merchandise and oil from, and to, the Republic.</li> <li>• The European Commission requests the European Court of Justice to order Greece to suspend the embargo.</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>By withdrawing from UN-brokered talks and by imposing an embargo against FYROM, Greece is defying the international community and is undermining its own case based on the Principle of Good Neighbourliness.</i></li> </ul>	x
1995 Sep 13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>United Nations, New York:</u> Greece and the FYROM formalize relations in an <u>Interim Accord</u>, whereby: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ FYROM removes the Vergina Sun from its flag and the allegedly irredentist clauses from its constitution;</li> <li>○ Greece recognizes FYROM's independence and lifts trade restrictions.</li> <li>○ Both countries commit to continuing negotiations on the</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	+

	<p>naming issue under UN auspices.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ FYROM is able join a host of international organizations, including the UN, the Council of Europe, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, and Partnership for Peace.</li> </ul> <p>❖ <b><i>Caveat:</i></b> <i>This represents an important and diplomatically rewarding concession by FYROM.</i></p>	
1995 Oct 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● FYROM’s President Gligorov is injured in an assassination attempt.</li> <li>● FYROM’s Minister of Internal Affairs claims that “a powerful multinational company from a neighbouring country” was behind the assassination attempt. The suspected country is Bulgaria.</li> </ul>	
1996	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Sporadic ethnic Albanian protests are organized over curbs on Tetovo’s Albanian language university.</li> </ul>	x
1997	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● The Constitutional Court of FYROM forbids the use of the Albanian flag, sparking Albanian protests.</li> <li>● Albanians had been demanding constitutional amendments granting them greater political autonomy.</li> <li>● According to the 1994 census, Albanians living on the north-western border with Kosovo account for 22.9% of FYROM’s total population.</li> <li>● Parliament adopts law on restricted use of the Albanian flag.</li> </ul> <p>❖ <b><i>Caveat:</i></b> <i>Although not directly related to the ‘Naming Dispute’, this incident demonstrates the perils of excessive nationalism. By marginalizing Albanian minority groups, Macedonia upsets</i></p>	x

	<i>a fragile, multi-ethnic peace.</i>	
1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• FYROM elections bring into power a coalition government led by Ljubco Georgievski, that includes ethnic Albanian representatives.</li> </ul>	+
1999 Mar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• NATO starts bombing campaign against Serbia over its mass expulsions and genocide of Kosovo Albanians. Exodus of Kosovo Albanians to neighbouring countries, including FYROM. UNHCR estimates 234,500 Kosovar refugees (11.7% of total FYROM population).</li> </ul>	-
1999 Jun	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Serbia accepts Kosovo peace plan. Displaced Kosovars return home from FYROM.</li> </ul>	-
2001 Jan 22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A group of armed Albanians attack police killing some officials and injuring others.</li> <li>• Most of the fighting is concentrated in the heavily Albanian-populated, porous, northwest border-areas with Kosovo. FYROM's government claims that Kosovo is "used as a rear base."</li> <li>• A group calling itself the National Liberation Army (NLA) claims responsibility for the attacks.</li> <li>• In the words of NLA leader, Ali Ahmeti, the goal is "not a territorial war. We want to live as equals in our land and be treated as citizens." (Wood, 2001).</li> </ul> <p>❖ <b><i>Caveat:</i></b> <i>The judgement by FYROM's Constitutional Court in 1997 appears to commit almost a quarter of Macedonia's population to second-class citizenship. The NLA's Ahmeti is</i></p>	x

	<p><i>aware of the horrors of ethnic warfare in nearby Slovenia (1991), Croatia (1991-95), Bosnia (1992-95) and Kosovo (1998-99). He wisely seeks to avert the transformation of a war of grievance into a war of greed by clearly articulating the grievances and distancing himself from any territorial claims. (Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, 2004).</i></p>	
2001 Mar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Within two months, the NLA “announces a unilateral ceasefire and called for political dialogue....Albanian political leaders throughout the region condemned the use of force.” (Alex J. Bellamy, “New Wolves,” 135)</li> <li>❖ <b><i>Caveat:</i></b> <i>NLA leaders briskly calms matters, shrewdly avoiding an escalation of nationalist tensions.</i></li> </ul>	+
2001 May	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• PM Georgievski’s government of national unity pledges to address minority grievances.</li> <li>• Armed protesters besiege parliament in Skopje, angry at leniency towards ethnic Albanian rebels.</li> <li>• Pres. Trajkovski makes national appeal for peace.</li> </ul>	+
2001Aug 13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Ochrid Framework Agreement</u> ends armed conflict, avoiding a full-scale civil war between the FYROM government and ethnic Albanians.</li> <li>• Between Jan-Aug 2001, 88 insurgents, 63 soldiers, and 70 civilians had died: 170,000 persons had been displaced.</li> <li>• Agreement increases rights of ethnic Albanians in FYROM to decentralization and recognizes Albanian as a co-official language.</li> <li>• Albanian rebels hand over weapons to NATO peace force,</li> </ul>	+

	<p>renounce separatist demands, and fully recognize FYROM institutions.</p> <p>❖ <b><i>Caveat:</i></b> <i>This Framework Agreement establishes a significant, albeit fragile, precedent.</i></p>	
2001 Oct	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government announces amnesty for former members of the NLA after it disbands.</li> </ul>	+
2001 Nov	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parliament approves new constitution incorporating reforms required by Ochrid Framework Agreement, including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ the recognition of Albanian as an official language; and</li> <li>○ the increased access for ethnic Albanians to public-sector jobs, including the police.</li> </ul> </li> <li>❖ <b><i>Caveat:</i></b> <i>FYROM fulfils pledges embodied in the Ochrid Agreement.</i></li> </ul>	+
2002 Jan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parliament cedes more power to local government to improve status of ethnic Albanians.</li> </ul>	-
2002 Apr	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Erection of first, giant 66-meter, Millennium Orthodox cross on highest point of Mt Vodno, serving as memorial of “2,000 years of Christianity in Macedonia and the world.” Cross funded by Macedonian Orthodox Church, Macedonian government, and donations.</li> </ul>	
2002 Jun	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Democratic Union for Integration (DUI), a party composed of Albanians and NLA fighters, prevails over other Albanian parties during the elections.</li> <li>• DUI elect Ahmeti as president.</li> </ul>	+

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The DUI joins coalition government with the ruling Social Democrats.</li> <li>• Ahmeti is removed from US black-list.</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>The Albanian leaders' choice of party name – “The Democratic Union for Integration” tactfully allays any fears about a secessionist bid by the large Albanian community.</i></li> </ul>	
2003 Oct	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Albanian Roman Catholic nun and missionary born in Skopje in 1910, Mother Teresa, is beatified as “Blessed Teresa of Calcutta.”</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>FYROM's own Albanian Roman Catholic, Mother Teresa, is widely admired for bridging cultures and religions around the world: “By blood, I am Albanian. By citizenship, an Indian. By faith, I am a Catholic nun. As to my calling, I belong to the world. As to my heart, I belong entirely to the Heart of Jesus” (Mother Teresa of Calcutta, Vatican News Service retrieved 30 April 2012).</i></li> </ul>	
2004 Mar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• FYROM submits application to join EU.</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>FYROM submits its application to join the EU in line with the EU's Policy for the Western Balkans, adopted at the Thessaloniki European Council in June 2003.</i></li> </ul>	+
2005 May	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• UN Special Representative, Matthew Nimetz, suggests various names for FYROM for official purposes.</li> <li>• FYROM's PM Vlado Buckovski rejects “Republika Makedonija-Skopje”, counter-proposing “<u>Double-Name Formula</u>”:</li> <li>• the international community, barring Greece, may use</li> </ul>	-

	<p>“Republic of Macedonia” or “Republika Makedonia,” and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Greece may use “Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” or “Republika Makedonija-Skopje.”</li> <li>• Greece rejects Double-Name proposal.</li> </ul> <p>❖ <b><i>Caveat:</i></b> <i>UN’s Mediator, Matthew Nimetz, seeks to address both parties’ preferences by proposing a “Double-Name Formula” designed to partially satisfy each.</i></p>	
2005 Jul	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parliament passes a law giving Albanians the right to fly the Albanian flag in districts where they form a majority.</li> </ul>	–
2005 Dec	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• FYROM becomes a candidate for EU membership.</li> </ul>	+
2006 July	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nikola Gruevski, leader of the nationalist VMRO-DPMNE wins elections and forms a governing coalition, including the DUI, after leaders of the coalition parties reach agreement granting further rights to Albanians.</li> <li>• The DUI indicates it is interested in FYROM’s early accession to NATO and the EU.</li> </ul>	+
2006 Sep	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In defiance of 1995 Interim Accord, Greek Foreign Minister announces that will veto FYROM’s accession to NATO and the EU, if the name issue is not resolved beforehand.</li> </ul> <p>❖ <b><i>Caveat:</i></b> <i>Greece violates its 1995 Interim Accord in an attempt to force a satisfactory solution to the naming dispute. This strains relations with FYROM.</i></p>	x
2006 Nov	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• NATO offers the prospect of FYROM being invited to join the</li> </ul>	+

	military alliance at its next summit in 2008.	
2006 Dec	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nationalist VMRO-DPMNE government in FYROM introduces provocative, ‘pressure-inducing’ “<u>Antiquisation</u>” policy which renames airports, stations, squares, stadia, major thoroughfares and new monuments after Alexander the Great, Philip II of Macedon and Pella, the Greek capital of the ancient kingdom of Macedon.</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>Macedonia retaliates in response to Greece’s threat of a veto by embarking on its grandiose “Antiquisation” policy.</i></li> </ul>	x
2007 Apr	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fmr Interior Minister Ljube Boskovski goes on trial at the International Tribunal at the Hague, charged with war crimes during the 2001 ethnic Albanian rebellion.</li> </ul>	x
2007 Apr	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Greeks organize rally in Melbourne, Australia protesting use of FYROM’s use of name “Macedonia.”</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>Greek diaspora is mobilized again.</i></li> </ul>	x
2007 Oct	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Greek PM states that, without a mutually acceptable solution to the name issue, FYROM could not join either NATO or the EU.</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>Greece re-states its provocative quid pro quo.</i></li> </ul>	x
2008 Feb	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Republic of Kosovo declares its independence from Serbia.</li> <li>• Serbia refuses to recognize Kosovo as a state.</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>Kosovo replaces Serbia as former part of Ancient Macedon.</i></li> </ul>	

2008 Feb	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• UN mediator Matthew Nimetz presents “<u>Composite Name Formula</u>” for universal (domestic and international) purposes which includes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ “New Republic of Macedonia” and</li> <li>○ “Republic of Upper Macedonia.”</li> <li>○ Greek nationalist party protested use of “Macedonia” for international purposes.</li> </ul> </li> <li>❖ <b><i>Caveat:</i></b> <i>Greece objects to use of name “Macedonia.”</i></li> </ul>	x
2008 Mar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Vienna:</u> Greece retreats from its opposition to “<u>Composite Name Formula</u>”</li> <li>• Nimetz limits his proposal to three names: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. “Republic of Upper Macedonia”;</li> <li>2. “New Republic of Macedonia” or “Republic of New Macedonia”;</li> <li>3. “Republic of Macedonia-Skopje.”</li> </ol> </li> <li>• Greece is prepared to consider “New Macedonia” used universally, but FYROM rejects all three options.</li> <li>❖ <b><i>Caveat:</i></b> <i>Greece has dropped its opposition to “Macedonia” as a composite name with geographical qualifier.</i></li> </ul>	+
2008 Mar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>New York:</u> UN Mediator Nimetz announces his final proposal for <u>Double Composite Name</u> with geographic dimension: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ “Republic of Macedonia (Skopje)” would be used for international purposes,</li> <li>○ “Macedonia” and “Macedonian” for FYROM’s domestic use.</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Greece announces that proposals did not meet Greece’s stated</li> </ul>	+

	<p>objective that the selected name should be used universally (both at home and internationally).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• FYROM agrees to consider but would discontinue talks if Greece vetoes FYROM's accession into NATO.</li> <li>• Police in Skopje investigate death threats against academics, journalists and politicians who publicly favour compromise with Greece (CFOM, 2016).</li> </ul> <p>❖ <i><b>Caveat:</b> Death threats against those publicly favouring compromise testify to some of the nationalistic pressures bearing on free-thinking liberals and independent-minded politicians.</i></p>	
2008 Apr	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Bucharest</u>: Greece blocks FYROM's accession to NATO during Summit.</li> <li>• Major concern is expressed by Greece that, a few weeks earlier, FYROM's PM had been photographed laying wreath under map of "United Macedonia," including Greece.</li> </ul> <p>❖ <i><b>Caveat:</b> Greece invokes veto, using FYROM PM's photo as justification.</i></p>	x
2008 Oct	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Skopje</u>: UN mediator Nimetz proposes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ "Republic of North Macedonia" for international purposes;</li> <li>○ "Republic of Macedonia" for FYROM's domestic use.</li> <li>○ Both parties would confirm that they have no territorial claims towards each other.</li> </ul> </li> <li>• FYROM is dissatisfied.</li> <li>• Greece had set on a single name to be used universally.</li> </ul> <p>❖ <i><b>Caveat:</b> Both parties stall.</i></p>	+

2008 Oct	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• FYROM recognizes Kosovo, despite protests from Serbia.</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>FYROM asserts its independence from Serb influence.</i></li> </ul>	+
2008 Nov	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• FYROM applies to International Court of Justice at the Hague for a ruling re Greece’s “flagrant violation of (its) obligations under...the Interim Accord,” by vetoing FYROM’s accession to NATO.</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>FYROM seeks legal redress from Greece.</i></li> </ul>	x
2009 Feb	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• UN Mediation talks: FYROM is prepared to allow Greece to use another name, such as: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ “Republic of Macedonia (Skopje),” if approved by FYROM population.</li> <li>○ Greeks more inclined to “Republic of Northern Macedonia” for international purposes.</li> </ul> </li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>FYROM makes small concession.</i></li> </ul>	–
2009 Aug	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Talks stall due to Greece’s objections to name proposals and pending elections in Greece.</li> </ul>	–
2009 Dec	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• FYROM’s citizens start benefitting from visa-free travel within the EU’s Schengen zone.</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>FYROM citizens begin to experience one of the EU’s prospective benefits.</i></li> </ul>	+
2010 Apr	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Greece accepts: “Northern Macedonia,” a possible compromise name.</li> <li>• FYROM PM rejects and calls for a vote on new name.</li> </ul>	–

2010 Jun	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• FYROM close to accepting any of following names: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ “Republic of Macedonia of Vardar”;</li> <li>○ “Republic of Vardar Macedonia”;</li> <li>○ “Vardar Republic of Macedonia”; or</li> <li>○ “Republic of Macedonia (Vardar).”</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	+
2010 Aug	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• FYROM’s Australian diaspora organizations launch newspaper and billboard advertising campaign in FYROM “demanding an end to all negotiations with Greece over ‘Macedonia’s’ name.”</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>FYROM mobilizes its own diaspora organizations.</i></li> </ul>	+
2011 Aug	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dispute is inflamed by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ erection of statue in Skopje of mounted warrior, copying portrait of Alexander the Great; and</li> <li>○ naming of new sports stadium after Alexander’s father, Philip II.</li> </ul> </li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>FYROM provokes.</i></li> </ul>	x
2011 Dec	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The ICJ ruled 15-1 (excepting Greek representative) that, by objecting to the admission of FYROM to NATO at Bucharest 2008 Summit, Greece breached its 1995 Interim Accord.</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>We are fast reaching William Zartman’s “Mutually Hurting Stalemate.” In such a situation, both disputants are able to hurt each other publicly, but neither enjoys sufficient diplomatic support to win completely over the other. (I. William Zartman, 2000)</i></li> </ul>	+

2011 Dec	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 133 out of 193 nations have recognized FYROM under its original constitutional name “Republic of Macedonia.”</li> </ul>	+
2012 Mar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Injuries and arrests follow clashes between ethnic Macedonians and Albanian youths.</li> </ul>	x
2012 Jun	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bulgarian PM states that names like “Northern Macedonia” would be completely unacceptable since this geographical term would include Bulgarian territories, giving rise to irredentist territorial claims against Bulgaria by nationalist ethnic Macedonians.</li> </ul>	x
2012 Nov	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Greeks reject proposal by EU Enlargement Commissioner Stefan Fuele that FYROM should start EU membership talks: the resolution of the ‘name’ dispute would be achieved within 1-2 years.</li> <li>• Greek proposal, devised by Greek historian Evangelos Kofos, recommends that: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ FYROM’s language should be designated as “Macedonian/Makedonski.” The latter is the pronunciation of the word for the Macedonian language in Latin transliteration.</li> <li>○ Ethnic Macedonians should be described as “Macedonian/Makedonsko citizens.”</li> <li>○ Greece also proposes the name “<u>Republic of Upper Macedonia</u>” for the country.</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Nimetz acknowledges FYROM’s preference for the name “<u>Upper Republic of Macedonia</u>” on the argument that “nationality” is “the legal bond between a person and State and</li> </ul>	x

	<p>does not indicate the person’s ethnic origin.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Greece rejects FYROM’s proposal on the argument that the geographical qualifier should precede the regional name.</li> <li>❖ <b><i>Caveat:</i></b> <i>FYROM insists that any geographical modifier should qualify the nature of the state (e.g. “the Republic” vs. “The Monarchy”) and not the nation-state/ethnic group itself (“Macedonia” vs. “Greece”). This ensures that Macedonia is recognized as a distinct sovereign state per se rather than as, say, “Slavophone” Macedonia. In contrast, Greece insists that, because there is more than one Macedonian ethnic group, “there should be a way for third parties to differentiate the separate Macedonian identities that exist within FYROM, Greece and elsewhere.”</i></li> </ul>	
2012 Dec	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Expulsion of opposition legislators and journalists from FYROM’s parliament leads to a political crisis, following which most EU members lose enthusiasm for Fuele’s proposal.</li> </ul>	x
2013 Apr	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• EU report on FYROM’s path towards membership indicates country has made progress in all areas, despite domestic political tensions. The report also calls on FYROM to continue efforts to improve relations with Bulgaria and Greece.</li> </ul>	+
2013 Apr	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b><u>Brussels Agreement:</u></b> Through EU mediation, Serbia accepts legitimacy of Republic of Kosovo’s institutions.</li> <li>❖ <b><i>Caveat:</i></b> <i>Kosovo replaces Serbia as former part of Ancient Macedon.</i></li> </ul>	
2013 Apr	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Greece indicates that would allow FYROM to join NATO and</li> </ul>	x

	<p>the EU if the word “Upper” was included in its official name.</p> <p>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>Greece ignores FYROM’s insistence that “Upper” only qualifies the word “Republic” and not “Macedonia.”</i></p>	
2013 Apr	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Erection of second giant 50-metre Orthodox cross by an NGO close to VMRO-DPMNE ruling party in Aerodrom municipality, a predominantly Muslim municipality of Skopje. The cross attracted some negative reactions from the Albanian minority in the capital. The World Macedonian Congress (WMC) states that “The cross is neither a conspiracy nor a provocation but a cultural affirmation. It is not an anti-Islamic symbol but an integral part of the Macedonian culture.” (Balkan Insight, 11 November, 2013)</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>Given that FYROM only just avoided a fully-fledged civil war in 2001 between the FYROM government and the Albanian Muslim community, this WMC statement is all but conciliatory. Within a multi-ethnic community, a culturally integrating policy either places potentially competing religious symbols alongside each other, or does not erect them at all.</i></li> </ul>	
2013 Oct	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Greece’s chief negotiator, Adamantios Vassilakis, proposes name “The Slavophone-Albanian Macedonia” to end the dispute. Name subsequently withdrawn.</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>Greece misjudges FYROM sensitivities. Hence the brisk withdrawal.</i></li> </ul>	x
2013 Nov	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• FYROM’s Liberal Party proposes draft law to ban use of Vergina Sun for civil purposes within FYROM to promote “good neighbourly relations between Macedonia and Greece.”</li> </ul>	+

	<p>Draft is rejected by nationalistic VMRO-DPMNE-led majority in FYROM Parliament.</p> <p>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>A minority of FYROM parliamentarians are moderating their views.</i></p>	
2014 Feb	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• European Parliament passes resolution stating that FYROM has sufficiently fulfilled Copenhagen criteria to start negotiations for EU accession, and calls on EU Council to confirm date for start of accession negotiations straight away.</li> </ul> <p>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>EU members are embarrassed that 19 years have elapsed since 1995 Interim Accord.</i></p>	+
2014 Mar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• UN mediator Nimetz notes that, in 2013, FYROM had favoured composite geographic name “Upper Republic of Macedonia” while Greece was insisting on “Republic of Upper Macedonia.”</li> </ul> <p>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>Disagreement persists because FYROM is only willing to use its approved name in bilateral affairs involving Greece rather than universally, as demanded by Greece.</i></p>	-
2014 Apr	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• PM Gruevski forms new coalition government with the support of DUI.</li> </ul>	+
2015 Feb	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The EU voices concern over the worsening feud between FYROM’s main political parties, after Social Democrats accuse the government of illegally tapping 20,000 people, including opposition politicians. (Dimitrov, 2015).</li> </ul>	x
2015 May	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Large protests in FYROM against government of PM</li> </ul>	x

	<p>Gruevski, following Opposition's publication of information about wiretapping scandal.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pro-government allies are attended by 10,000 persons.</li> </ul>	
2015 May	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Clashes in north FYROM leave 8 police and 14 gunmen dead, some wearing uniforms of the disbanded ethnic Albanian Kosovo Liberation Army. The government blames the unrest on ethnic Albanian "terrorists" from neighbouring Kosovo.</li> </ul>	x
2015 Jun	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• At the request of the FYROM Opposition, an EC Senior Experts' Group, led by retired Commission Director Reinhard Priebe, confirms systemic Rule of Law issues within FYROM, and submits recommendations designed to address: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The illegal interception of communications;</li> <li>2. Interference in judicial affairs and prosecution services;</li> <li>3. Lack of external oversight by independent bodies of intelligence services;</li> <li>4. Electoral irregularities; and</li> <li>5. Restrictions of freedom of the media.</li> </ol> </li> <li>• Agreement is brokered by EU and US by which Gruevski pledges to resign in January 2016 and hold early elections.</li> <li>❖ <b><i>Caveat:</i></b> <i>Close oversight is warranted to deter the "greed" or "power corruption" factor. This "greed" factor had affected many Eastern European countries when they privatized their economies in the immediate post "Cold War" period.</i></li> </ul>	x
2015 Jun	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Greek Foreign Minister ends 12-year embargo with visit to Skopje.</li> <li>• Seen as confidence-building measure, FM Nikos Kotzias</li> </ul>	+

	<p>declares: “We want all our neighbours to be members of the European Union, because our own country, to great degree, is dependent on what happens in the Balkans as a whole.” (Guardian, 16 December, 2015)</p> <p>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>This is a judicious, conciliatory gesture by Greece.</i></p>	
2015 Dec	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• FYROM PM announces that it is prepared to change the country’s name, as long as the new name is approved in popular referendum. [The Guardian, Macedonian PM open to dialogue – 16 December, 2015]</li> </ul> <p>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>In a conciliatory reply, the FYROM authorities lay the responsibility for endorsement of the new name on the electorate.</i></p>	+
2015-16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• FYROM struggles with huge numbers of migrants making their way from the Middle East to northern Europe.</li> </ul>	x
2016 Feb	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Erection of third, giant 55-meter Orthodox cross in Butel municipality. Construction announced week after Albanians in nearby Cair municipality had erected a large statue of an Albanian eagle on a prominent street, angering some Macedonian political parties. Tensions in Butel: DUI Albanian Party supporters filled up cross foundations, and burnt surrounding palm trees. (Independent, March 3, 2016). Plans to build the cross have been cancelled.</li> </ul> <p>❖ <b><u>Caveat:</u></b> <i>Suggests retaliatory activity.</i></p>	
2016 Apr 12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4,000+ protesters rampage through Pres. Ivanov’s office after he blocked legal proceedings against 56 top politicians</li> </ul>	x

	<p>involved in the wire-tapping scandal. Demonstrations are led by a coalition of FYROM's Social Democratic Union and other opposition parties.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Protest is named "<u>Colourful Revolution</u>" because protesters daub FYROM's parliament, public buildings, and grandiose new monuments with day-glo paintballs. 12 protesters are detained (Strickland, 2016)</li> <li>• The EU and USA criticize FYROM's government for pardoning of indicted politicians, stating that government's initiative undermines FYROM's prospects of becoming member of NATO and the EU.</li> </ul> <p>❖ <b><i>Caveat:</i></b> <i>In view of the country's high (27%) unemployment rate, the FYROM electorate and the international community are concerned about the government's improper administration and mismanagement of resources. Impropriety is testified by the Priebe Report; Mismanagement is evidenced by Skopje's non-productive, neoclassical makeover.</i></p>	
2016 Apr 21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Two rallies, each attended by thousands of people, are held near each other in Skopje: one anti-government organized by the SDSM shouting "No Justice No Peace"; the second organized by the Citizens for Macedonian Defence (GDOM), supported by the ruling VMRO, shouting "No one can harm you Nikola (Gruevski)".</li> </ul> <p>❖ <b><i>Caveat:</i></b> <i>The simultaneous organization of large, adversarial rallies threatens to partition Macedonians politically at a time when the country needs to unite behind important, constitutional – NATO/EU-related - decisions.</i></p>	x

2016 Apr 22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Large anti-government demonstrations, supported by united opposition of Macedonia, organized in 11 cities in FYROM.</li> <li>• EU announces sanctions against officials with VMRO-DPMNE.</li> </ul>	<b>x</b>
2016 Apr 26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Anti-government protests are organized in 15 cities.</li> </ul>	<b>x</b>
2016 May 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Farmers join the anti-government protesters organizing road blocks around the country.</li> <li>• Pro-government demonstrations, organized by GDOM, in 9 cities, in support of June 5 elections.</li> </ul>	<b>x</b>
2016 May 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Anti-government protests are organized in 14 cities.</li> </ul>	<b>x</b>
2016 May 9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Large anti-government protests are organized in 11 cities, waving FYROM and EU flags.</li> </ul>	<b>x</b>
2016 May14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Large anti-government protests are organized in 12 cities. 2 GDOM pro-government protests in two cities.</li> <li>• State election commission advises that only two parties, including VMRO-DPMNE, had submitted lists for elections. The SDSM, and 16 parties part of ‘platform for democratic Macedonia,’ the ruling DUI, the Democratic Party of Albanians, and other opposition parties boycott elections because “conditions did not exist for free, fair, and democratic elections.”</li> </ul>	<b>x</b>
2016 May18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Macedonia</li> </ul>	<b>x</b>

	<p>cancel the elections, recommending to parliament the postponement of early elections. The anti-government protests continue in the next weeks in several cities.</p>	
2016 May 26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Macedonian media announce that next day that coalition of opposition parties will start impeachment procedure of Pres. Ivanov.</li> </ul>	<b>x</b>
2016 Jun 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Huge anti-government demonstrations are organized in Skopje and Bitola giving Pres. Ivanov's government till 18 June to resign.</li> </ul>	<b>x</b>
2016 Jun 20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tens of thousands protesters participate in massive anti-government protest in Skopje.</li> </ul>	<b>x</b>
2016 Jun	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Washington, DC</u>: FYROM's Defence Minister Zoran Jolevski, while addressing NATO Conference, states that FYROM is "committed" to finding a mutually acceptable solution for long-running dispute with Greece."</li> <li>• He reminds participants that, over the past two decades, FYROM has supported NATO's efforts to establish peace and security in the (Balkans) – most recently "during the tackling of the migrant crisis." [FYROM Wants to Find Solution in Name Dispute with Greece, Mary Harris, GreekReporter.com, Jun 9, 2016]</li> <li>❖ <b><u>Caveat</u></b>: <i>FYROM's Foreign Minister reminds both Greece, NATO and EU members about FYROM's valuable assistance in managing migrants on its porous border with Greece and the EU.</i></li> </ul>	<b>+</b>

## APPENDIX II

### COMPARATIVE ECONOMIC STATISTICS FOR FYROM & GREECE

<i>Source: CIA Factbook 2015</i>	<b>FYROM</b>	<b>Greece</b>
<b>Geography</b>		
Geographical location	<u>Southeastern Europe</u> North of Greece Landlocked, major transportation corridor from West & Central European to Aegean	<u>Southern Europe</u> Bordering Aegean, Ionian & Med Seas Between Albania & Turkey
Total area	25,713 sq km	131,957 sq km
Land boundaries	838 km	1,110 km
Border countries	Albania 181 km Bulgaria 162 km Greece 234 km Kosovo 160 km Serbia 101 km	Albania 212 km Bulgaria 472 km Macedonia 234 km Turkey 192 km
Climate	Warm, dry summers and autumns Relatively cold winters with heavy rainfall	Temperate, Mild, wet winters Hot dry summers
Terrain	Mountainous Three large lakes	Mountainous extending into sea as peninsulas or chains of islands

Natural resources	Iron ore Copper Lead Zinc Chromite Manganese Nickel Tungsten Gold Silver Timber	Lignite Petroleum Iron Ore Bauxite Lead Zinc Nickel Magnesite Marble Salt Hydropower potential
Land use		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Arable</li> <li>• Perm crops</li> <li>• Perm pasture</li> </ul>	16.4% 1.4% 26.5%	19.7% 8.9% 34.8%
<b>People and Society</b>		
Ethnic groups	Macedonian 64.2% Albanian 25.2% Turkish 3.9%	Greek 93%
Languages	Macedonian 66.5% Albanian 25.1% Turkish 3.5%	Greek 99%
Religions	Maced Orth 64.8% Muslim 33.3%	Greek Orth 98% Muslim 1%
Population	2,096 k	10,775 k
Age Structure		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 0-14</li> <li>• 15-24</li> </ul>	17.5% 13.9%	14.0% 9.7%

• 25-54	43.7%	43.0%
• 55-64	12.2%	12.8%
• 65+	12.7%	20.5%
Median Age Total	37.2 years	43.8 years
Population Gr Rate (2015)	0.2%	-0.01%
Urbanization (2015)	57.1%	78.0%
Major Urban Area	Skopje (Cap) 503k	Athens (Cap) 3,052k
Life Expectancy Total	76.0 years	80.4 years
Literacy Total	97.8%	97.7%
Total Unemployment 2015	26,.9%	25.0%
Unemployed (15-24 yrs)	51.9%	58.3%
• Male	52.5%	53.6%
• Female	51.0%	64.2%
<b>Government</b>		
Government type	Parliamentary Republic	Parliamentary Republic
Legal system	Civil Law System Judicial Review	Civil Legal System based on Roman law
National symbol	Eight-rayed sun	Greek cross
National colours	Red, yellow	Blue, white
<b>Economy</b>		
GDP (PPP) 2015	\$29.0 bill	\$286 bill
GDP Real Growth (2015)	3.7%	-0.2%
GDP per capita 2015	\$14,000	\$26,400
Gross nat saving 2015	30% of GDP	9.8% of GDP
Invest in fixed capital	24%	11.7%

Exports of goods & serv	52% GDP	30.1% GDP
Imports of goods & serv	-68.5% GDP	-30.3% GDP
GDP Composition 2015		
• Agriculture	10.2%	3.9%
• Industry	24.9%	13.3%
• Services	64.9%	82.8%
Agriculture	Grapes Tobacco Vegetables Fruits Milk Eggs	Wheat Corn Barley Sugar beets Olives Tomatoes
Industries	Food processing Beverages Textiles Chemicals	Tourism Food/tobacco processing Textiles Chemicals
Labour force	961 k	4,832 k
Pop below poverty live	30.4%	36%
Public debt 2015	40.3% of GDP	171.3% GDP
Export partners 2015	Germany 33.2% Kosovo 11.5% Bulgaria 5.1% Greece 4.5%	Italy 11.2% Germany 7.3% Turkey 6.6% Cyprus 5.9%
Import partners 2015	Germany 15.9% UK 13.6% Greece 10.9% Serbia 8.7%	Germany 10.7% Italy 8.4% Russia 7.9% Iraq 7.0%

<b>Energy</b>		
Electricity – imports 2014	3,073 bill kWh	4,705 bill kWh
<b>Military and Security</b>		
Military Expenditures (2015)	1.1% GDP	2.5% GDP
<b>Transnational Issues</b>		
Disputes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Greece rejects name Macedonia</li> <li>• Porously landlocked, thus providing major transshipment routes for SE Asian heroin and hashish &amp; S. American cocaine to Europe.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Greece &amp; Turkey seek resolution of maritime issues</li> <li>• Greece &amp; Macedonia seek resolution over latter's name</li> <li>• Porous borders facilitating mass migration challenges</li> </ul>

## **APPENDIX III**

### **FYROM's Economic Prospects**

Sources: World Bank Report – 2013/Eurostat - 2015

The breakup of Yugoslavia in 1991 deprived the federation's poorest republic, FYROM, of its key protected markets and large transfer payments from the Yugoslav federation. The absence of infrastructure – notably transportation within a landlocked country - and Greece's current economic embargo over the naming hindered the country's economic growth since 1996.

Today, FYROM is experiencing one of Europe's highest growth rates at an average of 4% in Real GDP (even during the political crisis), making it comparable to relatively new EU member states like Romania and Poland. Real GDP has grown almost every year since 2000. Real GDP growth was mainly driven by 23.6% growth in the construction sector and 13.2% in mining, quarrying, and manufacturing.

Successful privatisation in 2000 boosted the country's reserves to over \$700 million. Thanks to its climatic conditions and its agricultural potential, the economy can with suitable investment meet its basic food needs. The economy does, however, depend on outside sources for its oil, gas and most industrial technology.

The 2008 global economic crisis had little impact on the country due to FYROM banks' stringent reserve rules. FYROM today maintains a low debt-to-GDP ratio and is

experiencing a revitalized investment interest by companies from Turkey, Algeria, Albania, and others – notably Muslim countries.

Macedonia has maintained macroeconomic stability with low inflation, but lags the region in attracting foreign investment and creating jobs, despite extensive fiscal and business sector reforms, slightly improving its trade to BB+.

Many FYROM residents lost their jobs with the collapse of Yugoslavia. Official unemployment remains at 24.6% (52% amongst the 15-24 years), but may be overstated due to the extensive gray market that is not captured by official statistics.

FYROM's trade deficit has averaged 25% of GDP. 56% of FYROM's total trade is with EU countries, including Greece. FYROM enjoys bilateral trade agreements with EFTA and CEFTA members.

Between 2011-14, FYROM benefitted from World Bank and IMF support to improve competitiveness, social protection, and increase in the use of sustainable energy.

## **APPENDIX IV**

### **GREECE'S ECONOMIC PROSPECTS**

Sources: World Bank Report – 2013/Eurostat - 2015

The Greek economy is the 46<sup>th</sup> largest in the world and, as of 2015, 15<sup>th</sup> largest in the EU. It is a developed country with an economy based on the service (82.8%) and industrial sectors (13.3%). Important industries include tourism and shipping. Greece has the largest economy in the Balkans and is FYROM's most important trading partner and largest foreign investor (12%).

The Great Recession of 2008 and Greek government–debt crisis plunged the economy into a sharp downturn with negative GDP growth rates. Despite renegotiating the biggest debt restructuring in history with the public sector, Greece's country's public debt still hovered at 172% of nominal GDP in 2015.

As a result of the ongoing economic crisis, Greece's industrial production continues to fall. In 2015 unemployment was rated around 24% and youth unemployment at 58%.

Austerity measures, when introduced in 2013, generated anger and public protests. Under the new austerity measures, personal tax ceilings and corporate tax percentages were dropped, while VAT rates were marginally increased.

Greece became the first developed market to be reclassified as an emerging market by financial services company S&P Dow Jones Index. The challenges persist for securing political stability and debt-sustainability.

Greece's biggest challenge is that it suffers from very high levels of tax evasion, estimated to have reached 49% in 2005. The Greek Ministry of Finance has revealed that Greek Swiss bank account holders will either have to pay a tax or reveal information such as the identity of the bank account holder to the Greek internal revenue services.

## APPENDIX V

### GOVERNMENTAL RESPONSIBILITIES IN FYROM AND GREECE

Year	FYROM		Greece	
	Prime Minister	Foreign Minister	Prime Minister	Foreign Minister
1991	Nikola Kljusev	Denko Maleski	Konstantinos	A Samaras ND
1992	Independent	Independent	Mitsotakis	K Mitsotakis ND
1993	Branko Crvenkovski SDU	Stevo	ND	Papakonstantinou ND
1994		Crvenkovski	A Papandreou	K Papoulias
1995		Independent	PSK	PSK
1996		L Frekovski I	Kostantinos Simitis PSK	Theodoros
1997		B Handziski		Pangalos
1998		Independent		PSK
1999		A Dimitrov		George Papandreou PSK
2000		Georgievski VMRO-DPMNE		
2001	I Mitreva SDU			
2002	Casule VMRO			
2003	Crvenkovski SDU	I Mitreva SDU	Petros Molyviatis ND	
2004	H Kostov SDU			
2005	V Buckovski		Kostantinos Karamanlis ND	Dora Bakoyannis ND
2006	SDU			
2007	Nikola Gruevski VMRO-DPMNE	Antonio Milososki VMRO-DPMNE	George	G Papandreou PSK
2008			Papandreou	
2009			PSK	Droutas/Lambrinidis PSK
2010			L Papademos I	Dimas/Molyviatis ND
2011		Nikola Poposki VMRO-DPMNE	A Samaras ND	Avramopoulos ND
2012				E Venizelos PSK
2013			A Tsipras	Kotsias I / Molyviatis ND
2014				
2015			SP	Kotsias SP
2016				

## LEGEND POLITICAL PARTIES

### Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

SDU = Social Democratic Union of Macedonia – *Centre-Left*

VMRO-DPMNE = Int Mac Revol Org - Dem Party for Mac Nat Unity – *Centre-Right*

I = Independent

### Greece

ND = New Democracy – *Centre-Right*

PSK = PASOK – *Centre-Left*

SP = Syriza Party – *Left-Wing*

I = Independent

**APPENDIX VI**

**DEVELOPMENT OF PROPOSALS DURING THE NAMING DISPUTE**

**1995 SEP –2015 DEC**

	<b>PROPOSALS</b>		
<b>Date</b>	<b>UN Mediator</b>	<b>FYROM's</b>	<b>Greece's</b>
<i><b>Social Identity Objectives</b></i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>To establish compromise between:</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Christian Orthodox Slavophone Macedonians wish to be finally recognized as a sovereign people.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Christian Orthodox Greeks wish to be recognized as the sole propagators of Hellenism.</li> </ul>
<i><b>Naming Objectives</b></i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>To reflect the respective country's Social Identity objectives.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>FYROM is contesting their sovereign right to determine their own symbols of national identity – their right to retain their country's long-standing name, to choose their flag, and to determine their constitution,</li> <li>FYROM is also contesting the right to enjoy politico-economic participation within the EU and mutual defence agreements with NATO.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Greece is demanding from their neighbour state – FYROM - the observance of good neighbourliness: the respect of the name of the birthplace of their Hellenic legacy: "Macedonia."</li> <li>Greece initially also feared that FYROM had irredentist claims on territory previously belonging to the Ancient Kingdom of</li> </ul>

			<i>Macedon.</i>
<b>1991 Dec</b>	1. <u>EXPLORATORY STAGE</u>		On Greece's insistence, EC Council outlines condition that Republic of Macedonia must "adopt constitutional and political guarantees ensuring that no territorial claims towards neighbouring Community State, including the use of denomination which implies territorial claims."
<b>1992 Jan</b>		EC's Badinter Arbitration Commission concludes that Macedonia had formally renounced all territorial claims, and holds that use of name 'Macedonia' could not, therefore, imply any territorial claim against another State.	
<b>1992 May</b>		EC Member States recognize Croatia and Slovenia but withhold recognition from Macedonia on Greece's insistence.	
<b>1992 Jun</b>		EC Council would only recognize Macedonia "under a name which did not include the term 'Macedonia.'	
<b>1993 Feb</b>			Greece accepts international arbitration over Macedonia's name.

<b>1993 Apr</b>	2. <u>BIDDING STAGE</u>	UNSC admits Macedonia under provisional name "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM)."	
<b>1993 Oct</b>			Greece withdraws from UN-brokered negotiations, objecting FYROM's names and constitution. Greece imposes trade embargo on FYROM. EC requests ICJ to order Greece to suspend embargo.
<b>1995 Sep</b>		FYROM/Greece commit to <u>Interim Accord</u> : will resolve naming dispute under UN auspices. FYROM changes flag & removes allegedly irredentist clauses in constitution.	
<b>2005 May</b>	3a. <u>BARGAINING STAGE I</u> <i>Double-Name Formula</i>	Macedonia: Domestic Other: International	One Universal Name No Use of Macedonia
<b>2006 Sep</b>			Greece threatens to veto EU/NATO Accession Talks
<b>2006 Dec</b>		FYROM provokes with 'Antiquisation' Policy	
<b>2007 Oct</b>			Greece threatens to veto NATO/EU Accession Talks
<b>2008 Feb</b>	3b. <u>BARGAINING STAGE II</u> <i>Composite Name Formula</i> New Republic of Macedonia Republic of Upper Macedonia		Greece disagrees: One Universal Name No Use of Macedonia

<b>2008 Mar</b>	4. <u>SETTLING STAGE</u>		Greece agrees to Use of Composite Formula including Use of Macedonia
<b>2008 Apr</b>			Greece blocks FYROM's Accession to NATO
<b>2008 Oct</b>	Rep of Northern Macedonia (Int) Rep of Macedonia (Dom) Both acknowledge that have no territorial claims	Northern Rep of Macedonia	One Universal Name
<b>2008 Nov</b>		FYROM applies to ICJ for ruling on Greece's violation of Interim Accord	
<b>2009 Feb</b>		FYROM prepared to use Republic of Macedonia (Skopje) if approved by referendum	Greece prefers Rep of Northern Macedonia
<b>2010 Apr</b>		FYROM prefers Rep of Macedonia of Vardar.	Greece accepts Rep of Northern Macedonia
<b>2011 Aug</b>		FYROM erects statue of Alexander the Great	
<b>2011 Dec</b>		ICJ rules in FYROM's favour.	
<b>2012 Nov</b>		FYROM prefers Upper Rep of Macedonia	Greece proposes Rep of Upper Macedonia
<b>2014 Mar</b>	Upper Rep of Macedonia Rep of Upper Macedonia		
<b>2015 Jun</b>			Greece lifts 12-year embargo on FYROM.
<b>2015 Dec</b>		FYROM prepared to change country's name as long as approved by referendum.	

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## **BIOGRAPHY**

Mark Miceli-Farrugia completed his secondary education at Stonyhurst College, Lancashire, UK, in 1968. He received his Bachelor of Arts in Economics from the University of Malta in 1973 and a Master of Science in Management Studies from the London School of Economics, University of London, UK, in 1976.

On graduating, Mark was employed in the Maltese beverage sector, successfully establishing a Farsons' subsidiary importing wines and spirits in 1978. He subsequently managed the construction of Farsons' New Brewing Process Block and established Farsons' Export Business Unit. In 1982, he emigrated to Canada, where he was appointed National Brands Manager for the Joseph E. Seagrams (Vintners & Distillers) Group in Toronto, Ontario. In 1985, he transferred to Perugia, Italy where he served as Export Manager with Lungarotti Wine Estate. This experience inspired his founding in Malta of the well-known Meridiana Wine Estate in 1994.

In 1992, Mark qualified for a Diploma in Diplomatic Studies after attending an evening course at the Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies at the University of Malta. He was later appointed Non-Resident Ambassador to the Baltic States (2003-2007), and Resident Ambassador to the United States, Canada, and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas (2007-2011). On his return to Malta, Mark graduated in 2013 with a Dual Master's Degree in Integrated Marketing Communication, a collaborative program between the University of Malta and San Diego State University.