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**IMPLEMENTING MINORITY RIGHTS IN THE BALKANS**

**BY**

**COLONEL MIRKO ATANASOVSKI**

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USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PAPER

**IMPLEMENTING MINORITY RIGHTS IN THE BALKANS**

by

COL MIRKO ATANASOVSKI

Professor R. Craig Nation  
Project Advisor

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U.S. Army War College  
CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013



## **ABSTRACT**

AUTHOR: Mirko Atanasovski, Colonel, Republic of Macedonia

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Though we stand at the beginning of the twentieth century and a new millennium, many unresolved issues continue to divide peoples. This is particularly the case in the Balkans. The Balkan region is one of the most important because so many disputes between states and nations have their origins in this part of Europe. The minorities within the countries of the Balkan region represent from 10 percent to 35 percent of the total population. In many cases they do not play a significant role in their societies. An exception is the Republic of Macedonia, where minorities represent 33 percent of the total population and play a significant role in the state. Unfortunately, this is not an example that many other Balkan states seek to follow. The future of the Balkans is however tied to resolving the minority rights issue within existing international norms, including the principles of open borders, free communication between nations and minorities, and the elimination of embargoes and sanctions.



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## I. Introduction.

Minority rights are not only a question for individual states and regions, or even for Europe as a whole. They are a challenge all over the world. After the Cold War and collapse of communism, numerous issues have appeared on the world stage involving nationalities and their rights, particularly when minorities exist within neighboring countries. In central and southeastern Europe, this question has been a dominant one. The Balkan region in particular is a "hot spot" where minority rights have always been and still are a major "apple of discord." Minorities represent a significant percentage of the population of all states in the region, and especially in its southern part.

Unfortunately, the international community has not succeeded in finding a generally accepted definition of minorities and minority rights. This is often used by states as a pretext for the non-recognition of national minorities. We are far from having reached an international consensus on the acceptance and implementation by states of the minimum minority rights standard contained in international documents and in national legislation. The only exception is the Council of Europe's *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*, an excellent document which unfortunately has not come into force.

The Republic of Macedonia is a typical example of a state with important national minorities, which represent over 30 percent of its population. The observance of minority rights is of critical importance for stability in the Republic of Macedonia, as well as in the Balkan region as a whole.

We will attempt to analyze the issues related to this problem from the following perspectives.

1. What is the minorities structure in the Balkan region?
2. What is the constitutional position of minorities in the social life of the countries of the region, including in the sphere of defense?
3. Can minorities serve as a bridge of intimacy between states and nations?
4. How do minorities impact upon stability both in the region and within each particular country?
5. Does the international community need to take steps on behalf of the protection of minorities lest they be assimilated into dominant national majorities?
6. Macedonia may be said to represent a model for the protection of minorities.
7. How can the situation of the Albanian minority in the Republic of Macedonia be stabilized?
8. What are the perspective looking into the new millennium?

One of the basic strategic commitments and goals of the Republic of Macedonia is the protection and promotion of the rights of persons belonging to national minorities. This

commitment is not just a product of the transition period. On the contrary, there is a decades long tradition of guaranteeing basic rights to the greatest part of the minorities within the Republic of Macedonia. The established model for the protection of minority rights is based upon the deeply-rooted sense of mutual understanding and tolerance in the collective memory of our nation, as well as being grounded in international standards and practices in this field.

*(a) Ethnic Structure in the Balkan Region.*

Among the Balkan nations we may count the following: Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, Romania, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Republic of Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia, and Cyprus.(1)

The peoples who live in these countries are not ethnically homogenous, with the partial exception of Slovenia.(2) It can in fact be said that the Balkan region looks like a tiger's skin in view of its mixed populations. In our analysis we will not look at the issue of minority rights in cases like Romania, which lie outside the core of the region. We will rather focus on the southern Balkan sub-region, where Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, the Republic of Macedonia, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are located, and seek to draw parallels between the status of minorities in the region. The southern Balkan sub-region includes about 90 million inhabitants (70 percent of the total population of the Balkans) and minorities in the countries in question represent almost one-third (28 percent) of the total population.

**TABLE 1: Approximate Structure of Minorities in the South Balkan Sub-region**

| State/Min. | Albania | Bulgaria  | Greece  | Macedonia | Yugoslavia | Total |
|------------|---------|-----------|---------|-----------|------------|-------|
| %          | 17.6%   | 14.5%     | 9.5%    | 33.5%     | 28.6%      | 21%   |
| Albanian   |         |           |         | 442,914   | 1,900,000  |       |
| Bulgarian  |         |           |         |           | 27,000     |       |
| Greek      | 400,000 |           |         |           |            |       |
| Macedonian | 85,000  | 250,000   | 240,000 |           | 53,000     |       |
| Serbian    |         |           |         | 39,260    |            |       |
| Turkish    |         |           |         | 77,252    | 12,350     |       |
| Muslim     |         | 1,200,000 | 800,000 | 15,000    | 340,000    |       |
| Roma       | 15,000  | 70,000    | 15,000  | 43,732    | 143,519    |       |
| Vlak       |         | 15,000    | 20,000  | 8,467     | 17,810     |       |
| Croat      |         |           |         | 2,178     | 121,650    |       |
| Magyar     |         |           |         |           | 345,000    |       |
| Other      |         |           | 10,000  | 8,703     | 45,000     |       |

*Sources: Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Macedonia*

*Guidance for Minorities in the World (London, 1997)*

*Toward Comprehensive Peace in Southeast Europe*

*(New York, Center for Preventive Action, 1996)*

*Facts About National Minorities in the Republic of Macedonia (Skopje, 1997)*

*Human Rights Violations Against Ethnic Macedonians*

*(Macedonian Human Rights Movement of Canada, 1996)*

As was pointed out in the introduction, the minorities within these countries are treated differently depending upon reigning definitions and constitutional procedures. Greece and Bulgaria do not recognize national minorities, though they do acknowledge larger or smaller ethnic groups. The ethnic groups

are allowed to use only the official language of the state or the constituted nation. Both Greece and Bulgaria refuse to recognize the existence of a Macedonian minority despite numerous statistical proofs to the contrary. Since 1912 Greece has not conducted a census of its population by ethnic affiliation. Government officials frequently assert that Greece has no minority problem because it has no minorities.(3)

On the other hand, in the Republic of Macedonia, Albania, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia national minorities are acknowledged to exist and their rights are guaranteed by the constitutions of their respective countries.

In practice, however, the situation is sometimes different. Numerous violations still exist, especially in Yugoslavia. According to the report submitted by Elisabeth Rehn, Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, "there are a number of concerns regarding the protection of minorities. Widespread discrimination against particular ethnic and religious groups continues to be reported in the areas of Kosovo, Vojvodina, and Sanjak. In a word, minority rights in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia remains an area of special concern."(4)

*(b) Advantages and Disadvantages.*

State borders in the Balkan region do not correspond to lines of ethnic division. They are a product of the historical domination of more powerful over less powerful nations and do not always represent a real need for expressing national affiliation. Therefore, in the past borders have often been a source of armed

conflict between Balkan states. Nevertheless, the present situation includes possibilities for successful cooperation. National minorities who live in neighboring countries should become a bridge between their respective states and nations, developing cultural, economic, trading, sporting, and other relations. Only in this way can existing differences be overcome in ways that improve the prospects for good-neighborly relations.

In this context, the Republic of Macedonia has no territorial pretensions towards any neighboring state. The borders of the Republic of Macedonia can only be changed in accordance with generally accepted international norms. It will not interfere in the internal affairs of neighboring states in any way.

Unfortunately, some neighboring countries neglect minority rights to a greater or lesser extent, thus holding the question open. In these cases the actual situation regarding minority rights in the sub-region is characterized by their use to negate other nationalities rather than to build mutual respect. For this reason, the Balkans remain a potential source of political violence in the contemporary world.

## **II. Definition of the Minority Rights Problem.**

### *(a) UN Documents Concerning Minority Rights.*

At the outset it should be stressed that there is no common, accepted definition of a minority. Each country treats this issue in distinctive ways that often depend on the political

climate of the moment. Nevertheless, the Charter of the United Nations, Universal Declaration of Human Rights and European Convention of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms are dedicated to identifying universal rights that apply to everyone.

The international law of human rights presents a complex mosaic of the rights of individuals, the rights of specific categories of persons, and the rights of groups. This creates formidable problems of recognition of categories, as well as intricate questions of integration. International law depends on the terms "state," "nation," and "people" and articulates the rights and duties of such entities.

Despite the lack of a generally accepted definition, attempts to fix the meaning of the term "minority" do not lack. An influential analytical definition by Capotorti defines a minority as:

A group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a state, in a non-dominant position whose members, being nationals of the state, possess ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population and show, if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity directed towards preserving their culture, traditions, religion, or language.

The Council of Europe has also tried to adopt an acceptable definition for persons belonging to national minorities, but without success. The Council of Europe, in almost all

descriptions of minorities, prefers the term "ethnic group" rather than "national minority."

In accordance with the Protocol to the European Convention on Human Rights, the ethnic group is nevertheless defined in a manner reminiscent of the definition of national minority, as a group of citizens within a State who;

(1) are traditionally residents of the territory of a state;

(2) are smaller in number than the rest of the population of a state or a region within this state;

(3) have ethnic or linguistic features different from those of the rest of the population; and

(4) have their own cultural identity.

In any case, states are in agreement on at least one thing--that human rights have to be protected by law regardless of whether they refer to ethnic groups, minority rights, or individuals.

*(b) The European Convention for the Protection of Minority Rights*

The Council of Europe has never ceased to be interested in the question of national minorities. The issue appeared again with new intensity after the explosion of nationalism that followed the collapse of communist regimes. Against that background, the European parliamentary assembly requested the adoption of the Convention on the Protection of Minorities. It

should be noted, however, that several countries (including Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey) have not signed the convention.

The Convention on the Protection of Minorities reaffirms a legal monitoring system charged with following the situation regarding human rights and recommending ways to insure them in each country of Europe, and especially in the Balkans. It rests upon the assertion that the protection and promotion of minority rights in Europe can make an important contribution to the building of a greater Europe based on the principles of democracy and cultural diversity within the framework of national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

*(c) The Constitutional Status of Minorities in the Balkan States*

The constitutional status of minorities is different within the various Balkan states. Some states observe full respect for minority rights, while others make no mention of such rights in their constitutions.

The Republic of Bulgaria and Greece do not recognize national minorities despite the fact that 15 percent of the population of Bulgaria is comprised of such minorities, and 9.6 percent of the population of Greece. Although Greece asserts its principled compliance with the many international human rights conventions and covenants to which it is a signatory, the reality is rather different. Many ethnic minorities in Greece, and especially the Macedonians, Turks, and Roma, are the subject of systematic discrimination that is in many cases condoned, initiated, and supported by the Greek state.

The Republic of Albania recognizes and guarantees fundamental human rights and freedoms, including those of minority rights, and states as much in international documents.

One of the fundamental strategic commitments and objectives of the Republic of Macedonia is the promotion of inter-ethnic relations. Special attention is devoted to the actual realization guaranteed minority rights. Special attention to for minorities is provided at the constitutional level, where all minorities in the Republic of Macedonia are guaranteed equal treatment and enjoy equal rights.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia recognizes national minority rights in theory, but in practice it does not respect them. This is particularly the case with the Albanian minority in Serbia.

The contrast between these varied constitutional practices carries over into inadequate inter-state relations in the entire Balkan region. This is an important dimension of a comparative study of national minorities in the Balkans. And such analysis will not only help us to understand the problem--it can also contribute towards reduced inter-state tensions and inter-ethnic relations.

### **III. Implementing Minority Rights in the Republic of Macedonia.**

A basic intention of the Republic of Macedonia is creating a state that is compatible with the vision of a pluralistic civil society. The government of Macedonia takes measures designed to encourage pluralism within and between ethnic communities and to

enable politicians to deliver concrete benefits to constituents by equalizing the population of electoral districts across the country, introducing a measure of proportional representation into the legislative electoral system, and strengthening the autonomous powers of local government over taxation, delivery of services, and language use.

The government of the Republic of Macedonia greatly respects the strivings of the international community for full respect for minority rights, as one of the basic indicators of the degree of democratic development and internal stability of states. In these terms, the impact of international subjects on the process of promotion and protection of minority rights in general as well as in particular states may be respected only if based on objective perceptions of the application of international standards with regard to minority rights in every state.

A special treatment of minorities is provided for at the constitutional level, where all minorities in the Republic of Macedonia are guaranteed equal treatment and enjoy the same rights. "In that legal framework, minorities have the right to freely express, foster and develop their identity and national characteristics. At the same time the State guarantees protection of ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of minorities. The realization of the guaranteed rights is provided with no discrimination, what so ever. Accordingly, there is no legal base that would permit favoritism if a certain minority vis-à-vis other minorities, no matter of the percentage they have in the total population. In this context, it must be pointed out that the standards incorporated in our domestic legislation fully comply with international standards," whereas

in certain spheres, particularly education and local self-government, they go beyond them.(5)

The protection of guaranteed rights and freedoms is established by the Law on Ombudsman, adopted during the past year. According to the provisions of this law, the National Ombudsman shall be a state body which protects the constitutional and legal rights of the citizens when violated by the state administration organs or other organs and organizations that have public authorities.

The Council for Inter-Ethnic Relations operates within the framework of the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia. This body deals with issues regarding inter-ethnic relations in the state, delivers opinions, and offers proposals for their resolution. The Assembly is obliged to consider them and make a decision on them. Furthermore, a commission is established in the framework of the council of the local self-government unit where persons belonging to minority groups constitute a majority or a considerable number.

The Center for Ethnic Relations at the Institute for Sociological, Political, and Juridical Research, as a scientific institution, has prepared several studies on inter-ethnic relations and the problems of intolerance.

*(a) The Constitutional Status of Minority Rights in the Republic of Macedonia*

The principal of non-discrimination has been fully incorporated in the legal system of the Republic of Macedonia.

In accordance with Article 9 of the Constitution, its "citizens are equal in their freedom and rights, regardless of sex, race, color of skin, national and social origin, political and religious beliefs, property and social status. All citizens are equal before Constitution and Law."

This is one of the fundamental values of the constitutional order of the state. Measures to increase the number of minorities in the state administration have shown considerable results; continuous efforts have been made to raise the percentage of persons belonging to minorities in the state administration to an adequate level.

As an illustration, the circumstances in the most sensitive ministries--such as the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of Education--are as follows:

(1) In the Army of the Republic of Macedonia, a relatively high percentage has been achieved in the recruitment of persons belonging to all national minorities. The percentage of ethnic Albanian soldiers ranges between 16 percent and 26 percent depending on the reference year. For other national minorities the percentage corresponds, to a great extent, to their percentage in the total population structure. The remaining structure in this ministry is as follows:

i. The national structure of civilian personnel at the Ministry of Defense and the Army comprises a total of 10 percent national minority members, of whom 5.5 percent are Albanians, 4

percent Serbs, and 0.5 percent Turks.

ii. Among junior officers, 10.5 percent are members of national minorities within the Ministry and the Army, of whom 7 percent are Albanians, 3 percent Serbs, and 0.5 percent Turks.

iii. As for senior officers, members of national minorities at the Ministry and the Army constitute 6 percent, of whom 3.8 percent are Albanians, 1.6 percent Serbs, and 0.6 percent Turks.

iv. The percentage of general members of national minorities is 16.5 percent. All of them are Albanians.

v. The Deputy Minister at the Ministry of Defense is an ethnic Albanian, and the General Staff Chief of Operations is an ethnic Albanian general officer.

vi. Among cadets at the Military Academy, 15 percent are members of minorities, of whom 13 percent are Albanian, 1 percent Serb, and 1 percent Turk.

(2) At the Ministry of Internal Affairs, members of national minorities represent 16.5 percent of the total number of those employed, a figure that has almost doubled in only two to three years. This ministry has taken special measures to improve the situation.(6)

(3) The most positive trend with regard to the participation of national minorities has been recorded at the \

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where the deficit of this population group had previously been most evident. Currently, 18 percent of the total number of employees are members of national minorities, of whom 10.3 percent are Albanians, 2 percent Turks, 2.2 percent Serbs, 0.8 percent Vlachs, and 2.7 percent other national minorities.

(4) Of the total number of employees at the Ministry of Education, 7 percent represent national minorities. What is characteristic of this Ministry in these terms is the fact that most of the members of national minorities hold high-level positions. This Ministry also includes the Pedagogical Institute, an expert body where 11 percent of all employees are members of national minorities (9.4 percent are Albanian and 2 percent Turk). Public competitions for vacancies for teaching in the languages of the national minorities are underway, so that this figure will rise significantly in the next period.

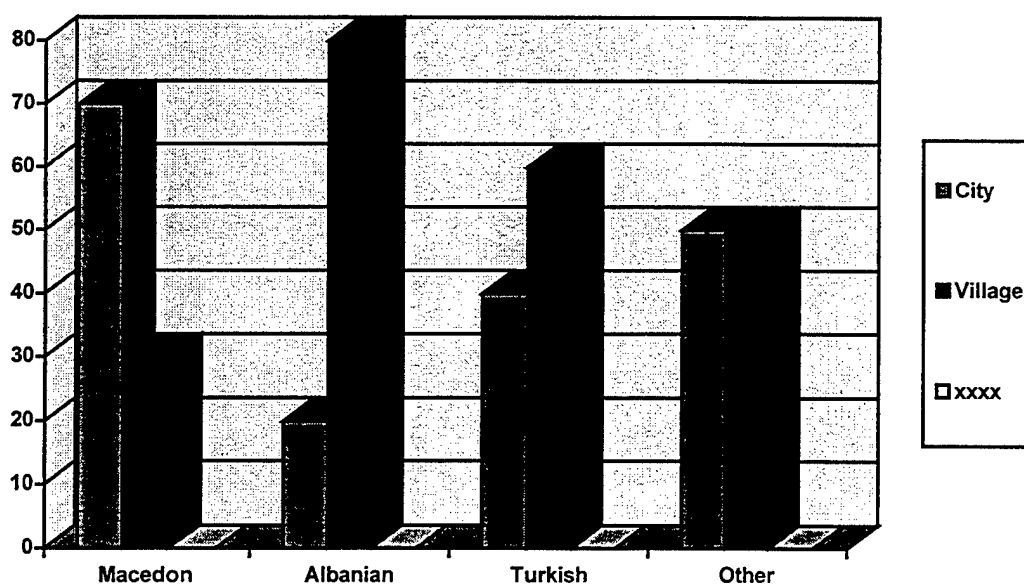
In regard to the executive power, the last four governments selected by the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia have been coalitions. Among the partners in the coalition government there is one party of the Albanian minority. Therefore, seven members of the current government comprised of twenty ministers are persons belonging to national minorities.

There are 55 active political parties in the Republic of Macedonia. Fifteen political parties (31 percent of the total) represent the interests of national minorities. Twenty-three representatives elected to the Assembly of the State in the most recent multi-party elections belong to national minorities.

(b) Social and Educational Status

An analysis of social structure reveals that persons belonging to national minorities in Macedonia, and especially the Albanian population, live mainly in rural communities and manifest relatively low interest in continuing education. The following chart reveals the structure of the population of the Republic of Macedonia according to place of residence and ethnic identity in 1991.

TABLE 2



Instruction in primary schools in the Republic of Macedonia is carried out in the Macedonian, Albanian, Turkish, and Serbian languages. In 1995-1996 extra-curricular language instruction has been introduced.

TABLE 3

| Year    | Total   | Macedon | Albanian | Turkish | Serbian |
|---------|---------|---------|----------|---------|---------|
| 1991/92 | 261,127 | 185,086 | 69,950   | 5,084   | 0.38%   |
|         | (100%)  | (70.9%) | (26.8%)  | (1.95%) |         |
| 1992/93 | 258,955 | 183,044 | 69,952   | 5,172   | 0.33%   |
|         | (100%)  | (70.7%) | (27.2%)  | (2%)    |         |
| 1993/94 | 258,671 | 182,185 | 70,320   | 5,368   | 0.32%   |
|         | (100%)  | (70.4%) | (27.2%)  | (2.1%)  |         |
| 1994/95 | 261,385 | 183,409 | 71,767   | 2.1%    | 0.30 %  |
|         | (100%)  | (70.2%) | (28%)    |         |         |
| 1995/96 | 261,226 | 181,718 | 73,103   | 2.2%    | 0.28%   |
|         | (100%)  | (69.6%) | (28%)    |         |         |
| 1996/97 | 260,181 | 181,212 | 27.9%    | 2.3%    | 0.24%   |
|         | (100%)  | (69.7%) |          |         |         |

The following table gives a detailed review of ethnic minority students enrolled in the first year at St. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje and St., Clement of Okhrid University in Bitola.

TABLE 4

|          | 1990/91        | 1991/92        | 1992/93        | 1993/94        | 1994/95        | 1995/96        | 1996/97        |
|----------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Albanian | 100<br>(2.1%)  | 117<br>(2.34%) | 168<br>(3.40%) | 292<br>(5.10%) | 373<br>(6.7%)  | 490<br>(7.7%)  |                |
| Turkish  | 46<br>(0.95%)  | 36<br>(0.72%)  | 44<br>(0.9%)   | 48<br>(1.0%)   | 54<br>(1.2%)   | 69<br>(1.4%)   | 80<br>(1.5%)   |
| Vlachs   |                |                |                |                | 24<br>(0.40%)  | 84<br>(1.5%)   | 81<br>(1.30%)  |
| Roma     |                |                |                |                | 5<br>(0.10%)   | 6<br>(0.10 %)  | 9<br>(0.1%)    |
| Serbs    |                |                |                |                |                | 111<br>(2.00%) | 130<br>(2.10%) |
| Others   | 137<br>(2.84%) | 157<br>(3.14%) | 139<br>(2.90%) | 206<br>(3.60%) | 203<br>(3.40%) | 102<br>(1.80%) | 116<br>(1.80%) |
| Total    | 283<br>(5.87%) | 310<br>(6.20%) | 357<br>(7.20%) | 546<br>(9.50%) | 603<br>(10.0%) | 745<br>(13.3%) | 906<br>(14.1%) |

The social structure of the Republic of Macedonia, where national minorities, and especially the ethnic Albanian population, come mainly from rural areas, has been responsible for the fact that these minorities have often demonstrated a relatively low interest in continuing their education. This situation, of course, is not relevant only to the Republic of Macedonia.

There is a significant underrepresentation of the female population in the total number of students belonging to national minorities that continue their education. This is a result of traditional attitudes that are once again characteristic of the rural Albanian population.

#### (c) *Culture and the Media*

Cultural institutions have special significance in

preserving the cultural and ethnic identity of persons belonging to minorities. In the Republic of Macedonia, there is a rich and many-decades old tradition of according minorities considerable rights and opportunities to express and foster their cultural identity through institutionalized forms.

The government completely funds Turkish and Albanian theaters. For the needs of these theaters, the faculty of Drama Arts has formed a separate class of students who attend classes in the Albanian and Turkish languages.

In the framework of activities undertaken in the sphere of information, the government of the Republic of Macedonia fully finances the daily Albanian newspaper, as well as a Turkish newspaper, which is published three times a week. Also, the number of state television and radio broadcasting hours in minority languages has been significantly increased. In this context, special attention is paid to educational and children's' programs in minority languages.

*(d) Multi-Ethnic Tolerance and Cohabitation*

The process of integration of the Balkan countries and the countries of southeastern Europe into a new, post-Cold War European order will develop continuously, irrespective of the fact that all countries of the region have not set out from the same position. In this process, the implementation of the agreement on cooperation with the European Union is of particular importance. The need for an integration process in Europe which will help overcome the isolation of the region and create prospects for development and close cooperation among the

countries of the region should be followed by confidence-building measures in the field of minority relations.

The Council of Europe has launched projects designed to strengthen democracy, and especially respect for the rights of minorities, at the "grass-roots" level. These projects complete initiatives taken at the governmental and institutional level for the protection of the rights of minorities by promoting mutual understanding, tolerance, and trust between the communities involved. They constitute the culmination of the Council's actions in the field of confidence-building measures in human relations. These projects have been carried out:

- (1) In the educational and cultural field (by devising intercultural teaching methods);
- (2) In the social field (by promoting community relations);
- (3) In the institutional field (by promoting local self-government); and
- (4) In the political and legal fields (by formulating the fundamental principles of every democratic and pluralistic society).

Their final goal is the elimination of tension liable to develop into serious conflict through managing the multicultural nature of European societies and changing people's mentalities and their approaches to "others" on the basis of respect for pluralism and respect for minority opinions.(7)

Of particular importance should be a well-designed policy for the promotion of minority rights protection and a permanent commitment to that policy by all the governments of the region. It is an ongoing process whose results we are already pleased to note and whose more comprehensive effects will be multiplied with the passing of time.

The basic aim of this policy is a society with a high sense of integration and commitment on the part of all citizens, on one hand, and a developed feeling for individual freedom and respect for diversity, on the other.

We consider that full and open cooperation with international monitoring has played a positive role since it has contributed to a realistic and objective presentation of the status of human, including minority, rights in the Republic of Macedonia.

#### **IV. Conclusion.**

Minority rights within the present constellation of international relations are resolved in various ways, depending upon how individual states treat the issue. No matter what kinds of options states choose, however, this issue remains a focus of attention for the international community. Some kind of balanced and equal standards for resolving the problem are essential.

This issue is particularly inflammable in the countries of east-central and southeastern Europe. Obviously, during the communist period the national question and the issue of minority rights was not resolved satisfactorily. Now, in a period of

transition including the appearance of new countries, minority rights concerns cannot be ignored.

Our century has been characterized by struggles for national emancipation as well as for domination. The Balkan region is a typical example of countries that have a complex mixture of nations, ethnic minorities, and other groups. No country is entirely homogenous. The above analysis represents what is in some ways a typical situation.

After the breakup of communism, Europe fashioned another vision embodied in the Helsinki principles (1975) and the Copenhagen documents (1990) which established the human dimension as an integral element of security in Europe. That vision permits the free circulation of people and ideas and demands that borders become channels of communication and exchange, not mechanisms of exclusion.

Unfortunately, in the Balkan region we continue to impose embargoes and sanctions, and refuse to recognize existing states and nations. The potential for war is thereby only increased. In order to avoid this trap, the international community, and particularly to the United States and NATO, might consider the following recommendations. The Balkans need more investment, access to membership in international financial institutions, and open borders for the export of domestically produced commodities and the import of advanced technology. The region also needs the presence of an international military force, at least until the Kosovo issue is resolved. By working to resolve its own minority rights issues, the region can perhaps make its own positive contribution to the realization of these goals.

## ENDNOTES

1. Cyprus is represented here as a Mediterranean and Balkan country with divided Turkish and Greek nationalities.

2. Almost 97 percent of the population is Slovene.

3. Human Rights Watch, Denying Ethnic Identity: The Macedonians of Greece (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1994), p. 2.

4. U.N. Commission on Human Rights (52nd Session, Report submitted by Ms. Elisabeth Rehn).

5. Cited from International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. See also The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities; The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages; The Declaration of the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities; and the CSCE Copenhagen Document.

6. The Ministry has introduced a special quota of 22 percent for the admission of national minorities to the Police School, and a special quota of 50 percent for new employment of members of the Albanian national minority.

7. The Council of Europe and Minorities (September 1994), p. 96.



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