Petar Atanasov*

The Role of Non-
-Governmental
Organizations, Macedonia
10 Years after: Elements
for Multi-Ethnic Security
Doctrine

I had strong motives to accept the offer from one non-governmental orga-
nization, from Skopje, the Centre for Strategic Research & Documenta-
tion to be a Project Leader in the study *Macedonia – 10 Years after: Ele-
ments for Multi-Ethnic Security Doctrine,* and I was inspired by the idea. My

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educational background is in Sociology and my Master degree is in the area of ethnic relations, the Macedonian-Albanian relations in the Republic of Macedonia. For many years I have been studying and researching inter-ethnic relations in my country. In my opinion, interethnic relations are one of the key areas on which the future of the Macedonian society is relying on. The task of this Project is to elaborate some of the important issues related to ethnic relations.

I am going to address the following three topics:
– The role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs),
– The state of Macedonian-Albanian relations, and
– Some details about the Project *Macedonia – 10 Years after: Elements for multiethnic security doctrine.*

But before I start with my expose, I would like to draw some lines in the context of ethnic issues.

In the contemporary world, ethnicity and the race are among the fundamental organizational concepts. On the contrary, despite the predictions, the 20-th century became the ethnic century. It was assumed that modernity would bring an end to ethnicity. But that did not happen. Ethnicity and interethnic relations became fundament of the relations of different social groups, with great influence on relations in the modern societies.

In the contemporary societies many would argue that membership or belonging to some ethnic group is less important than in the traditional societies. But the re-awakening of ethnic identification as well as ethnic turmoils in the end of the century do not allow us to lessen the significance of the ethnic dimension of human behaviour.

Multicultural society, the society that involves different cultural, ethnic and religious communities, has a need to find the ways of reconciliation of two or more equal and legitimate and sometimes conflicted demands. Its minority communities cherished and want to preserve and transmit their ways of living.

Therefore, one of the major challenges of every multiethnic society is the inclusion of different ethnic groups into the mainstreams of social, political and economic life that enables the creation of a stable and prosperous environment.

Not even one society can survive without certain degree of cohesion and sense of togetherness. The task is integration preserved by all its members. These raise the question of how the society shall integrate its minorities and organize the collective life to fulfil their legitimate aspirations without losing its unity and continuation.

The Macedonian society is facing the same challenge, trying to involve different nationalities in the social processes of the society as a whole. The problems of the Macedonian-Albanian relations are on duty subject, and couple of times ethnic tensions occurred. I shall refer to this topic later on, but let me first make some considerations about the role of NGOs.

1. The role of the non-governmental organizations

NGOs and their role in the well-established democratic societies, though are not a *condicio sine qua non,* they are a significant ring in the society in a broader context. Although quite often the role of the NGOs is supplementary, they represent an important part of the society. If we accept that the society, as a state form, comprises of three segments: nation, political system and the rest are structures and organizations without which a modern society can lose its identity, then the NGOs in this third segment have a role of promoting, connecting and smoothening the social phenomena.

The role of the NGOs in Western Europe is by its essence different from the one in Central and Eastern Europe. While in the western societies the role of the NGOs is multilayered and has more of a sociological dimension, the role of the NGOs in the Eastern part of Europe is more humanitarian – psychological, without any intention to discredit the human dimension of the many NGOs that have been engaged in the Balkans in the past ten years.

Many NGOs in the West, particularly in the USA, in the 20th century were connected by the idea, with broader movements, often defending someone's rights, of some discriminated minority group, and their activity was in function of exercising certain right, the right of existence, the right of gender equality, the right to work, the right to vote, etc. In Central and Eastern Europe, especially in the Balkans, the experience of such kind of NGO's activity is rather poor. I do not mean to say that they do not exist, but that is way too little to prove themselves as a crucial factor in the country.

Now a short theoretical elaboration about the role of the NGOs in the South Eastern European countries. If we were to design the present position of the societies in the Balkans, we would come across the following constants: inefficient parliaments extremely politically public, a battle between the political parties, whose visions do not go beyond the following round of elections, taboo topics such as ethnic issues, insufficient interaction of many structures in the society, sexism, etc.

The first conclusion after this explication would be that these societies are a bit "sick", to which many politicians would say "we will cure them in

a year or two". But year-by-year, the countries of this region slowly understand that the treatment will be long lasting and painstaking.

In my opinion, if we take the societies as houses, four pillars should support them. If the first pillar is a stable political system, the second pillar is the media as a reflection of the reality and pressure for transparency, the third pillar is the education, health and social systems, then the fourth pillar must be the NGOs. The house could stand on three pillars, but it would be even more stable on four. The fourth pillar is the nongovernmental and voluntary organizations.

In my point of view, there are four important areas where the influence of the NGOs in a democratic society is desirable:

– The first one is the area of articulation and opening of important issues in the society and their promotion. This area is the broadest by its meaning and has an exceptionally important role. Certain issues must be spoken about openly so that they can experience a public promotion, for their hiding does not contribute to the awareness creation for their importance, even less for their solution. In this area, the role of the media as a factor of promotion of significant issues that inform, as well as educate the public for crucial issues, is very important.

Here the public is not considered just the people, but all relevant factors in the state as well. The opening of the topics and speaking about them by itself represents a first step toward their solution. There are issues that must be spoken about for months and years until the first signs of change appear. Nobody says that this role of the NGOs is easy. This function gives great weight to the NGOs both on macro and micro plan.

– The second area is the pressure that the NGOs can put on the factors in the state, the political first of all. Here we come across an action function that literally means action. A small number of NGOs is capable for its implementation because this function demands numerous active membership, leadership that is persistent in carrying out its determined goals, significant financial resources, etc. The pressure which can be made may be classified into two categories, big pressure – which means protests, marches, rallies, boycott, again large media support, and small pressure – mailing protest letters, faxes, e-mails, showing transparencies, blocking the entrances of public institutions, etc. Yet, this second area would be desirable to follow after the implementation of the first one, when the public has already been informed about the problem, a public support has been received, the education has given certain results and the second area can proceed. For certain minor issues, the second area may not even be necessary.

– The third area is transparency of knowledge, deeper elaboration by eminent representatives of the society in different issues of great importance. This area pertains to the NGOs that deal with certain issues that should be said on an academic level or scientifically based, with a possibility for public presentation of knowledge, ideas and experiences about the real problems in the country as a direction for solving some of them. This area is independent and its function is to offer more knowledge, which would be used by the factors in the state. The knowledge that is required is not in the kind of consulting services, rather it is a knowledge that is productive, usable, with theoretical and practical weight and which concerns the most sensitive issues in the society. This form of NGOs most often can be found in the kind of Centers for Strategic Research, which can work independently, as well as parts of the official structures, at the Universities, official institutions of the country, but most importantly of all is that they have full freedom and independence in presenting their attitudes.

In the same time this third area contains both the first and the second area, but its approach is with more weight and more pressure, so it cannot be left aside.

– The fourth area is the area where assistance is given to individuals, groups, as well as whole regions. This area includes the activities of the humanitarian organizations, which offer assistance in clothing, food, accommodation, health protection, etc. In this area the activity is mainly directed toward giving one time or several times material assistance, but here are also the NGOs that have SOS telephone lines, that offer protection to discriminated persons on different grounds, that offer assistance in areas that have suffered natural disasters, but also help in the area of environment protection.

Some may argue about the categories I have presented. Still, that does not decrease the role of NGOs in the society. In the modern multilayred societies the role of NGOs is increasing for at least the four reasons that I have presented. Moreover, each political elite is trying to present more brighter picture of its government, only the positive side of the state of the country, or even worse to ignore some of the issues that are potentially latent volcano whose eruptions would shake the society and contribute to its disintegration. That was the case in the way of hidden or not openly spoken about ethnic issues in former Yugoslavia. Each of us is a witness of the consequences, and many of us can agree that the disintegration of former Yugoslavia started with internal instability of which the ethnic questions were among the most salient. But that dilemma is out of my scope today.

The crucial question is how the role of NGOs is linked with the ethnic issues, ethnic conflicts and its prevention and management. The answer is very simple. About the ethnic problems, if we really want to resolve them and prevent ethnic conflicts, we have to fulfill the role of the three areas as the essence of the engagement of NGOs that I have elaborated. First, we have to speak about it, second we have to push the political factors to do something about, and most important, we have to try to find solutions, to offer options and create alternatives and make them transparent to the public, so that the officials will have to consider them in the process of implementation of the important issues, in this case ethnic issues. These are difficult obligations, yet necessary steps that can accomplish the plural mosaic in the society.

In this whole elaboration, the domestic origin of the NGOs is very important, that they come from the society, not only because of the understanding and sensitivity of the problems that different societies are facing but also because of the credibility in front of the public. The one whose house is on fire, would be the fastest in its extinguishing. Certainly, the fire should not be let uncontrolled and spread around, for all the efforts to extinguish it afterwards will be in vain.

The experiences with the foreign NGOs, particularly after their invasion in the past five years, always leave a small dosage of doubt in their goals, and not always they are focused on the most important issues in the society. Probably their skills in providing finances are greater, but they often concentrate on short-term projects, projects which have quick effect and which can probably easily justify their funds.

Financing of the NGOs is a special problem. The NGOs representatives should use their inventiveness in providing sources of financing. The fact that this is about non-profit organizations makes it even more difficult to find real sources of financing. Here funds should be immodestly asked from the state, with well-prepared programs, to ask for donations from the country and abroad, but also to look for sponsorships from companies and well-situated economic entities.

In the past several years there have been positive experiences from projects which are financed by the United States International Development Agency (USAID) and the European Union, not even mentioning the Stability Pact, which have long-term goals and which tackle essential problems. Nevertheless, the most sensitive issues of the society are the matters of the indigenous NGOs, because of their sensitivity, importance and because of the duration of the set goals.

Probably one of the most sensitive areas where active participation of the NGOs is required is the ethnic issues and their interaction on all levels of the society. This is of particular importance for the Republic of Macedonia. Particularly for one such project of an NGO, I would like to speak. The project goals are related exclusively to the Macedonian society, but the experiences that thereby will be obtained, will probably be used in other regions as well.

I will make some remarks of the current situation in the area of interethnic relations in the Republic of Macedonia concerning this topic.

2. The state of Macedonian-Albanian relations

In the Macedonian society, on whose soil different cultures and civilizations have been changing for centuries, exist two, in many things different ethnic groups from several aspects. The Macedonians and Albanians have different cultures, different languages, and different religions and have different economic development. The key moment, perceiving the outlined elements, which can increase the number of people with prejudice, is precisely the problem of differences. The question is how to overcome these differences? According to the theory, greater communication is one of the important factors for reducing the influence of prejudice in the intergroup relations.

The Republic of Macedonia is an ideal ground for appearance and existence of ethnic prejudice for several reasons. Among other things, according to the sociological theory, the collision of customs, religions, ideologies and cultures cannot pass by and not cause tensions, and the prejudice are inevitably a direct consequence to these processes. It is a process that constantly generates prejudice.

In the present Republic of Macedonia, particularly independence, the Macedonian-Albanian relations have constantly been the on duty, topic of discussion on all levels in the society. Often there are disagreements in terms of bigger demands of the Albanians in the area of employment in the public administration, more education as well as an equal status in the political establishment of the country. The Macedonians, considering that the state belongs to the Macedonian people, are unwillingly making exceptions for the issues related to the above-mentioned areas. In such conditions when the integration is hard, and when the problem of differences between the ethnic groups open space for interethnic intolerance, particularly emphasizing the problem of self-isolated ethnically "clean" environment, the intergroup relations by definition cause ethnic prejudice.

The relations of the Macedonians and Albanians as relations between a dominant and minority ethnic group are constant source of frustrations, especially on the side of the members of the Albanian ethnic group.

Contrary to the possibilities for integration, the creation of pure ethnic villages, cities, companies, etc. is a direction in which slowly but surely the Macedonian society is moving, creating two parallel worlds, where the "pure individuals and groups" exist and live.

Nevertheless, in the Republic of Macedonia there is positive climate and institutional support for building good interethnic relations between Macedonians and Albanians. But that is not enough for explaining the current situation in this area. Speaking about societal level, I can tell you in simple words that there are a number of prejudices that exists between Macedonians and Albanians. This is so obvious on every public domain.

One of the answers of this is that Macedonians and Albanians are competing for scarce and limited resources that are available in the society. There has been prejudice before, and the prejudice exists now. Also, one can find examples of different forms of discriminations, even since the last local election one new form appeared. The word is oppression, but not between Macedonians and Albanians, but among Albanians themselves on one hand and among Macedonians on the other. There is a lot of evidence that behind the proclamation for tolerance, on the highest level of society, lies a world of intolerance, for sure between Macedonians and Albanians.

Let's go one level bellow, the medium level – schools, neighborhood, religion, different social groups. No one in the Macedonian society is mentioning that in the Republic of Macedonia exists a pure segregation. Not imposed by law, but imposed by good will and salient mutual agreement. Macedonians and Albanians live in separated and isolated societies. There are segregated schools, segregated residential areas, and segregated private companies... in one word a big gap exists between the two largest ethnic groups. For some reasons this was inevitable, but little has been done for overcoming this situation.

 Let's go another level below, the micro level, the level of personal relations. One can find not only modern prejudice, for instance, Albanians are asking for too much, they do not deserve what they are getting. Also one can find the so-called form of aversive prejudice, subtle avoidance of members of the other group in private context.

According to some researchers in the communication process between Macedonians and Albanians, the biggest problem lies in the differences of

the religion and the language. Macedonians and Albanians have different religion, different language and different values.

What can we do about religion? Not much! What is the problem in the language area? Albanians want to study in Albanian. That is not the problem. But if they want to get closer to Macedonians, they need to study in Macedonian as well. There has to be a communication in between. On the other hand, nobody could expect that Macedonians should study in Albanian, Turkish, Romanes, etc. The agreement for education in English in, the college that was proposed by Mister Max van der Stoel, shows that the language is not the problem. Not having the intension or good will to study in Macedonian and get integrated in the society is the problem. Of course, we have to agree that in the past 10 years little has been done for the improvement of the education of the Albanians, especially on the highest level of education. Still, the problem of language studying opens the problem of communication in the society. And the value system. It should go like this: if one has common interests that mean that he/she should have common values that will produce common goals. Let me propose some of them.

– The first value should be the Republic of Macedonia as state that belongs to all citizens, state of togetherness.
– Second, the Macedonian language, not as a language of majority, but as one of the most important communication tools, a tool for integration. Searching for common values anticipate communication.
– Strengthening the democratization processes, as a framework for prosperity, is also a common value.
– Foster differences as an advantage, not as a disadvantage, etc.

Conclusions

If the Macedonians and Albanians continue this way, they will enter into completely isolated worlds, isolated groups and isolated individuals. Macedonia would not reach Europe in this direction. In the same time no one can blame Macedonians for maintaining status quo, but also no one can blame Albanians for searching for more rights.

What can be done? A lot! I already mentioned the existing government support, also equal opportunities should be created for participation in the state administration, integrated school programs should be created, media support should be created in respect of differences, high level programs for positive action, etc.

Assimilation or pluralism is not under dispute. Of course pluralism, because assimilation in this stage of the Macedonian society is not possible. But pluralism as an arena for struggling together for the same values and of course same goals, assuming that we have common interests with respect to own identity and own cultural heritage.

I will conclude this second part of my elaboration with the thesis that seems most logical one to me, concerning the integration of the Albanians in the Macedonian society. I am strongly convinced that the integration of the Albanians in the Macedonian society will and should come through the political and other global institutions of the state. That will be the most, proper way of integration that should be created by mutual efforts between Albanians and Macedonians. Above all, the Macedonians should do the biggest share of the integration, not as a compulsory task, but as a common interest of the country as a whole. There are some considerations among Albanian intellectuals that the integration should come through Albanian cultural institutions and cultural products that those institutions should produce in the broadest aspect of the word culture. To me that is a quite wrong direction. May be in some other part of Europe, but not in the Balkans. These separated cultural products in the Macedonian society will lead to a greater separation, isolation and even getoization. Everyone remember pre-war Sarajevo and the wealth of cultural products that was produced there. Unfortunately, that did not save the city and Bosnia from the unseen atrocities. If Bosnia even then tried to establish or find the way through political solutions that would have saved the thousands of lives. The political system of the Republic of Macedonia is the battleground and we should explore the possibilities and opportunities in it. This will be one of the theses that should be studied in depth in the research.

3. About the Project *Macedonia – 10 years after: Elements for multiethnic security doctrine*

Ten years of the Macedonian multiethnic democratic experience is a valuable resource from which we can draw certain conclusions about the functioning of multiethnic societies in complex socio-political and economic transitions and difficult regional conditions. Macedonia has been facing problems of interethnic tensions in the society ever since its independence in 1991. On its way through social and economic transition and in a process of building a modern state, it is making strong efforts in the communication between the different ethnic groups. However, it can be said that, to a certa-

in extent, the Republic of Macedonia is the only functioning multiethnic democracy in the Balkans. Because of that, this project aims to investigate all-important lessons learned through the perpetuated process of building the multiethnic tolerance in the fields of security and stability in the Republic of Macedonia. This means that some of the most important internal and external factors influencing the multiethnic status and security capacity of Macedonia will be explored and analysed.

Ultimately, the authors will try to suggest required measures and initiatives in different fields of the society that need further discussion or implementation to strengthen security and enhance greater stability and prosperity in the country.

When we speak about Macedonian multiethnic society, we are talking about the two largest ethnic groups that live in Macedonia – ethnic Macedonians, who represent about 67 % of the population, and ethnic Albanians, who represent about 23 % of the population. The remaining 10 % are declared as ethnic Turks, Roma, Serbs and the others.

The two largest ethnic groups, Macedonians and Albanians, have different cultures, traditions and languages (Macedonian and Albanian), different religions (Orthodox Christian and Muslim) and social development. In spite of officially promoted state policy for ethnic coexistence and tolerance, ethnic tensions have been a constant characteristic of Macedonian-Albanian relations during the past decade.

It seems that discussion these days goes in two different directions: On one side, the ethnic Macedonians are prepared, in accordance with existing international standards, to extend all minority rights up to the same international standards for ethnic Albanians in the present constitutional and political framework of society; on the other side, the ethnic Albanians would like to re-negotiate their basic political status in society, which defines them as a minority.

The dynamism of these interethnic relations dictates discussion at all levels and fields in society: political organizations, media, public administration, education, culture... The quality of the interethnic relations has a specific influence on a country's security, with important implications in the context of regional security.

Many factors influence inter-group relations. One can emphasize one cluster of factors, or another.

The main ones are heterogeneity itself, ignorance and barriers to communication and direct competition. While heterogeneity stresses the differences and results in clashes of customs, tastes and ideologies that lead directly to

frictions, barriers to communication hinder the gaining of knowledge of other groups through free communication, consequently producing prejudices. In addition, an important factor in this study is competition, involving the struggle for scarce resources. The desire of Macedonians so to maintain a status quo is another factor influencing the persistence of anti-Albanian prejudice.

Another way of defining factors of influence might be the division into *internal* and *external factors*. On the internal side, the Macedonians are afraid that the Albanians have a long-term plan for destabilization of the state, its separation and its break up, whereas the Albanians believe that they have been treated as "second-class citizens" and that their rights are to a great extent limited. On the external side, there is some considerable influence by the "Kosovo syndrome" toward the creation of "Great Albania", as well as the pressures of the international community, the European Union and the USA towards creating a democratic, multiethnic society.

The third discourse lies in the *capacity* or *possibilities for substantial changes* that should improve the conditions or status of the different ethnic group members. This cluster of questions one may define either as a perspective of Macedonian society as a society of various collectives, or vice versa – a society of individuals. In this context, while Macedonia is stuck between two options, the dominance of the ethnic divisions may result in isolated sub-societies and groups. That would mean that Macedonia might lose the strength to update its structural system, without new ideas and without moving away from the current position, sustainable for the time being but unstable in the longer term. Creating space for new qualitative changes among other things would mean a better life for most Macedonian citizens.

The focus of this study will be the inter-group relationship from the ethnic perspective of the Macedonian *social* and *political* model, which to a great extent influences the *security* model.

The Macedonian social model

This part shall consider the three basic prejudices of modern societies ethnic prejudice, class and sexism – in an effort to shed light on their interpenetration and interdependence. Although all of these prejudices, according to the theory, may have different forms and different reasons for existing, it would be interesting to confront them in the complexity of the society.

Other categories of interest in this study will be multiculturalism and its consequences, communication as a process of getting closer or getting apart, and of course the integration of the society as a modus vivendi in the Macedonian society.

One of the theses in this model shall be toward creating a multiethnic or multicultural society.

The Macedonian political model

This part will focus on the political system, more solid in some political institutions, and the interaction and participation of different ethnic groups within. Particular interest should concentrate on the structure, methods and level of human resources involved in the most important political parties and their interaction with both – political institutions and NGOs and the ways of articulating citizens' interests.

One of the topics in this context should be whether Macedonian society is strong enough to paralyse the ethnic tensions on the political field through the institutions of the system. Does the Macedonian political model have the capacity to resolve queries on this subject?

One of the theses in this model shall be toward creating ethnic or civil society democracy.

The Macedonian security model

This part shall explore the Macedonian security model, sources of threats to security and the common values and interests in the context of building a new security structure. The main focus is on the security challenges that Macedonia is facing concerning its stability, focusing on both external and, to a greater extent, internal threats for destabilization. Some of them are permanent issues about which analysts, especially foreign ones, usually speculate when discussing the future of Macedonia. There have been many scenarios on the breakdown of Macedonia; none of them fulfilled yet. Most of them speculate about interethnic clashes that would lead to greater internal conflict with the potential for regional destruction.

One of the most interesting questions is the way Macedonia has avoided apocalyptic scenarios during the past 10 years. The articulation of this process among ethnic groups and the threats that Macedonia is facing today will be elaborated on. What are the various aspects of the model that should be considered in the future, that would strengthen Macedonian security structures?

One of the theses in this model shall be toward creating either a fragile or stable society.

The main goal of this study is to analyse Macedonian practice and to establish a particular theoretical model that derives from the Macedonian society as a multiethnic, social, political and security model that can be used

as a guide for the integration of minorities in transitional and "disturbed" societies.

A general hypothesis of the study is that the Republic of Macedonia is not making sufficient use of positive experience and practices in the creation of its complex socio-political system. The dangerous consequence is the possibility of the creation of "ethnicized" social and political society that would strongly influence its internal and external security value system.

In this concise explanation about the study I would like to stress that this refers to the third area of the role of NGOs, the transparency of knowledge, that should be shared within the society itself, and that will be done. The Project will be implemented in the period from January to October 2001 and will probably end with a public promotion and campaign.

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Resumé:

Petar Atanasov: *Úloha mimovládnych organizácií, Macedónsko po desiatich rokoch: základy pre multietnickú bezpečnostnú doktrínu*

Autor príspevku je vedúcim projektu *Macedónsko po desiatich rokoch – základy pre multietnickú bezpečnostnú doktrínu*, ktorý realizuje mimovládna organizácia *Skopje – Centrum strategických štúdií a dokumentácie*. Ako sociológ sa sústreďuje na vzťahy medzi macedónskym a albánskym etnikom v Macedónskej republike. Pokladá ich za kľúčovú oblasť budúcej macedónskej spoločnosti.

Príspevok člení do troch častí. V prvej sa zaoberá úlohou mimovládnych organizácií, v druhej súčasným stavom macedónsko-albánskych vzťahov a v tretej zoznamuje čitateľa s projektom Macedónsko po desiatich rokoch: základy pre multietnickú bezpečnostnú doktrínu.

Prvú časť otvára konštatovaním, že aj keď mimovládne organizácie nie sú bezpodmienečnou podmienkou vyspelej demokratickej spoločnosti, tvoria jej významný prvok. Ak prijmeme predpoklad, že spoločnosť sa skladá z troch častí, ktoré predstavujú národ, politický systém a spoločenské štruktúry a organizácie, potom mimovládne organizácie plnia úlohu významného spoločenského fenoménu, ktorý spája spoločnosť.

Autor porovnáva charakter a poslanie mimovládnych organizácií v USA, západnej Európe a tých, ktoré pôsobia v strednej a východnej Európe. V západnej Európe majú viac sociologický rozmer, vo východnej humanitárno-psychologický.

Najmä mimovládne organizácie v USA sa spájali so širším hnutím, ktoré často bránilo ľudské práva jednotlivej osobnosti alebo skupiny, postavili sa

proti diskriminácii nejakej menšiny. Presadzovali uplatňovanie určitého práva, ako napr. právo na existenciu, rovnoprávnosť pohlaví, právo na prácu, volebné právo atď. Skúsenosť s mimovládnymi organizáciami tohto typu Balkán prakticky nemá.

Keď P. Atanasov charakterizuje súčasnú spoločnosť na Balkáne, hovorí o neefektívnom parlamente, extrémne spolitizovanej verejnosti, o boji medzi politickými stranami, vízie ktorých nepresahujú horizont volieb. Stále existujú tabuizované problémy (napr. národnostná otázka), spoločenské štruktúry medzi sebou nedostatočne spolupracujú, existuje diskriminácia pohlaví.

Fungovanie spoločnosti podporujú štyri piliere: prvým je stabilný politický systém, druhým médiá a ich reflexia reality vrátane tlaku na transparentnosť, tretí tvoria, podľa autora, vzdelávací, zdravotnícky a sociálny systém. Štvrtý predstavujú mimovládne a dobrovoľné organizácie.

Úloha mimovládnych spoločností v macedónskej spoločnosti vzrastá. Mimovládne organizácie nastoľujú dôležité spoločenské otázky, formuluj problémy a podporujú ich riešenia. Významnú úlohu tu zohrávajú médiá, ktoré nielen informujú, ale aj vychovávajú a vzdelávajú spoločnosť. Dôležitým faktorom sú rozličné formy tlaku, ktorý mimovládne organizácie vyvíjajú na štát. Záslužnou oblasťou ich činnosti je vypracúvanie analýz, ktorých autormi sú významné osobnosti. Mimovládne organizácie tak sprostredk - vajú poznatky a skúsenosti o najcitlivejších problémoch, čím sa stávajú akýmsi druhom strediska strategických výskumov. Dôležitá je úplná sloboda a nezávislosť v prezentácii postojov. Ďalšou oblasťou aktivít je pomoc jednotlivcom, skupinám i celým regiónom. Ide o aktivity humanitárnych organizácií či už vo forme materiálnej pomoci (oblečenie, potraviny, ubytovanie) alebo linky SOS, ochrany diskriminovaných osôb atď.

Príspevok sa zaoberá otázkou, ako môžu mimovládne organizácie pôsobiť pri predchádzaní, resp. zvládnutí etnických konfliktov.

Autor je presvedčený, že odpoveď je veľmi jednoduchá – ak chceme predchádzať etnickým konfliktom, mimovládne organizácie musia splniť tri úlohy: po prvé, musia o probléme hovoriť, po druhé, vyvíjať tlak na politické štruktúry, aby sa problémom zaoberali, a čo je najdôležitejšie, musia sa pokúsiť nájsť riešenie, vytvoriť alternatívy a ponúknuť ich verejnosti.

Za veľmi dôležitú autor pokladá domácu provenienciu mimovládnych organizácií. Nie je to iba otázka lepšieho pochopenia problémov, ale aj väčšej citlivosti, vnímavosti a väčšej dôveryhodnosti zo strany obyvateľstva. Sk - senosť so zahraničnými organizáciami najmä z posledných piatich rokov ukazuje, že domáca verejnosť pochybuje o tom, či sa zameriavajú na najdôležitejšie otázky. Zahraničné organizácie síce obyčajne majú k dispozícii

viac finančných prostriedkov, ale často sa sústreďujú len na krátkodobé projekty.

Jednou z najcitlivejších oblastí, ktorá si vyžaduje aktívne pôsobenie mimovládnych organizácií je národnostná problematika. V tomto bode prichádzame k druhej časti príspevku, a to k macedónsko-albánskym vzťahom, o ktorých sa diskutuje na všetkých úrovniach spoločnosti.

Keď hovoríme o macedónskej mnohonárodnej spoločnosti, máme na mysli dve najväčšie etnické skupiny, ktoré žijú v Macedónsku – etnických Macedóncov (predstavujú 67 % obyvateľstva) a etnických Albáncov (23 % populácie; zostávajúcich 10 % tvoria Turci, Rómovia, Srbi a ďalší).

Macedónci a Albánci majú rozdielnu kultúru, jazyk, náboženstvo a úroveň hospodárskeho rozvoja. Táto rozdielnosť vytvára predsudky a spôsobuje problémy. Macedónsko čelí problémom národnostného napätia od roku 1991, keď získalo nezávislosť.

Rozdiely medzi etnikami vytvárajú priestor pre etnickú neznášanlivosť, a to najmä zdôrazňovaním etnicky „čistého" priestoru. Vzťahy medzi Macedóncami a Albáncami ako vzťahy medzi dominantnou a menšinovou národnostnou skupinou sú stálym zdrojom frustrácií najmä na strane Albáncov. Tieto vzťahy ovplyvňuje viacero faktorov, ako napr. heterogénnosť, neznalosť a neinformovanosť, bariéry komunikácie i priame súperenie. Zatiaľ čo heterogénnosť zdôrazňuje rozdiely a výsledkom je konflikt obyčajov, zvyklostí, štýlov a ideológií, ktoré priamo vedú k nezhodám, bariéry v komunikácii bránia tomu, aby sme získavali poznatky o druhej skupine. Dôsledkom sú predsudky.

Macedónci sa obávajú, že Albánci majú dlhodobý plán destabilizovať štát, oddeliť sa od Macedónska, zatiaľ čo Albánci si myslia, že sú „druhotriednymi občanmi" a že ich práva sú veľmi ohraničené. Želanie Macedóncov zachovať status quo je ďalším faktorom, ktorý ovplyvňuje pretrvávanie protialbánskych predsudkov.

Napriek oficiálne podporovanej štátnej politike etnickej koexistencie a tolerancie je etnické napätie konštantou macedónsko-albánskych vzťahov v priebehu celého minulého desaťročia.

Macedónsku republiku charakterizuje autor ako ideálny základ vzniku a existencie národnostných predsudkov, a to z niekoľkých dôvodov. Vytváranie etnicky čistých dedín, miest a spoločností predstavuje nebezpečný antipód integrácie a znamená hrozbu existencie dvoch paralelných svetov, kde žijú „čistí jednotlivci a skupiny". Tento proces v podmienkach obmedzených ekonomických zdrojov ustavične generuje nové predsudky.

V Macedónsku neexistuje vynútená, zákonom zavedená segregácia; tá je prejavom vôle, slobodného rozhodnutia Macedóncov a Albáncov, ktorí na základe vzájomného tichého dohovoru žijú v oddelených, izolovaných spoločenstvách (oddelené školy, obytné štvrte, súkromné spoločnosti atď.). Vzájomná izolácia sa praktizuje aj na mikroúrovni medziľudských vzťahov, keď sa členovia oboch komunít navzájom vyhýbajú užším osobným kontaktom. Je nebezpečenstvo, že tieto oddelené jednotlivé kultúry budú viesť v macedónskej spoločnosti k väčšej izolácii, ba dokonca k vytvoreniu geta.

Za proklamáciami k tolerancii na najvyššej úrovni spoločnosti leží svet netolerancie.

Výskumy procesu komunikácie medzi Macedóncami a Albáncami ukazujú, že najväčší problém spočíva v rozdielnosti náboženstva, jazyka a hodnôt.

Rozdielnosť náboženstva treba rešpektovať, to sa nedá zmeniť. Zložitejšia je situácia v jazykovej oblasti, kde absentuje dobrá vôľa na oboch stranách a vlastné predstavy, aké nároky sú opodstatnené, sa diametrálne líšia. Autor pritom uznáva, že v posledných desiatich rokoch macedónska strana málo urobila pre zlepšenie vzdelávania Albáncov, najmä pokiaľ ide o najvyššiu úroveň vzdelávania.

Problém jazyka otvára problém komunikácie v spoločnosti a otázku systému hodnôt.

P. Atanasov si myslí, že spoločný záujem by mal viesť k spoločným hodnotám, ktoré by vyústili do spoločných cieľov. Prvou hodnotou by mala byť Macedónska republika ako štát, ktorý patrí všetkým svojím občanom; druhou macedónsky jazyk – nie ako jazyk väčšiny, ale ako jeden z najdôležitejších nástrojov komunikácie, ako nástroj integrácie, hľadania spoločných hodnôt. Tretiu spoločnú hodnotu by predstavovalo posilnenie demokratizačných procesov ako rámca prosperity. Štvrtou hodnotou by bola podpora, pestovanie rozdielov, ktoré by sa pokladali za prednosť, nie za nedostatok.

Autor varuje, že ak by Macedónci a Albánci pokračovali doterajším spôsobom, dostanú sa do dvoch navzájom absolútne izolovaných svetov a Macedónsko sa neintegruje do Európy. Nik však nemôže vyčítať Macedóncom, že podporujú súčasný stav, a nik nemôže obviňovať Albáncov, že požaduj pre seba viac práv. Na otázku „čo robiť?" odporúča vytvoriť rovnaké príležitosti pre účasť v štátnej administratíve, budovať integrované školské programy a rozvinúť mediálnu podporu rozdielov.

Nejestvuje alternatíva asimilácia alebo pluralizmus. Jedinou voľbou je pluralizmus ako oblasť prebojúvania spoločných hodnôt a spoločných cieľov, spoločných záujmov so zreteľom na vlastnú identitu a kultúrne dedičstvo.

Druhú časť príspevku končí autor tézou, že pokiaľ ide o integráciu Albáncov do macedónskej spoločnosti, mala by sa realizovať prostredníctvom politických a ďalších spoločných štátnych inštitúcií – to bude najlepší spôsob integrácie, ktorý by vznikol spoločným úsilím oboch etník. Macedónci by sa mali podieľať na integrácii vo väčšej miere, a to nie z povinnosti, ale pre spoločný záujem celej krajiny.

Tretiu časť príspevku predstavuje prezentácia projektu Macedónsko po desiatich rokoch: základy mnohonárodnej bezpečnostnej doktríny. Projekt, ktorý sa bude realizovať v období január až október 2001, sa sústredí na štúdium macedónskeho mnohonárodného sociálneho, politického a bezpečnostného modelu.

Časť venovaná sociálnemu modelu sa bude zaoberať interpretáciou a vzájomnými vzťahmi troch základných predsudkov modernej spoločnosti, a to národnostným problémom, triednou príslušnosťou a problémom rovnosti pohlavia.

Predmetom záujmu bude aj fenomén multikulturalizmu a problematika komunikácie. Autor tvrdí že v procese budovania moderného štátu sa veľké úsilie venuje komunikácii medzi rozličnými etnickými skupinami. V istom zmysle možno povedať, že Macedónska republika je jediná fungujúca mnohonárodnostná demokracia na Balkáne.

Pracovná téza tejto časti znie – vytvorenie multietnickej alebo multikultúrnej spoločnosti.

Časť, ktorá sa bude zaoberať macedónskym politickým modelom, sa bude koncentrovať na štruktúru a úroveň ľudských zdrojov v najvýznamnejších politických stranách a ich vzťahy s politickými inštitúciami a mimovládnymi organizáciami.

Odpoveď na otázku, či je macedónska spoločnosť dostatočne silná, aby paralyzovala etnické napätia v politickej sfére, súčasne naznačí riešenie pracovnej tézy – etnická alebo občianska demokratická spoločnosť.

Problematika bezpečnostného modelu bude zahrnovať identifikovanie bezpečnostných hrozieb, ale aj spoločných hodnôt a záujmov pri budovaní novej bezpečnostnej štruktúry.

Ťažiskom budú bezpečnostné výzvy, ktorým musí Macedónska republika čeliť, predovšetkým vnútorná hrozba destabilizácie.

V scenároch sa uvažuje o národnostných konfliktoch, ktorých dôsledkom je vnútorný konflikt väčšieho rozsahu, čo môže zapríčiniť regionálnu nestabilitu. Pracovná alternatíva je formulovaná ako vytvorenie krehkej, slabej alebo stabilnej spoločnosti

Hlavným cieľom projektu je analyzovať macedónsku prax a vytvoriť osobitný teoretický model, ktorý vychádza z macedónskej spoločnosti ako mul-

tietnického, sociálneho, politického a bezpečnostného modelu, ktorý by bol vodidlom na integráciu menšín do „narušenej" spoločnosti prechodného obdobia.

Projekt pravdepodobne potvrdí všeobecnú hypotézu, že pri tvorbe uceleného spoločensko-politického systému Macedónsko v súčasnosti dostatočne neuplatňuje pozitívnu skúsenosť a prax. Nebezpečným dôsledkom môže byť na národnostnom princípe sociálne a politicky rozdelená spoločnosť, čo by sa odrazilo v hodnotovom systéme a v bezpečnosti.

Riešitelia sa pokúsia navrhnúť opatrenia pre oblasť fungovania mnohonárodnej spoločnosti v období transformácie spoločensko-politického a ekonomického života.*

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