

**CREATION OF INDEPENDENT  
REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA  
INTERNAL CONDITIONS AND EXTERNAL POLICY**

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## Preface

The idea of creating this work stems from the continuous cooperation that the Faculty of Law at Goce Delčev University in Štip creates between the teaching staff of this institution and its students. In this case, through the interdisciplinarity of Prof. Dejan Marolov, who constructs his academic opus in the field of political science, and Oliver Mitev (MA), as a graduate historian and MA in Applied Politics and Diplomacy, this project have emerged successful for a retrospective and analytical presentation of the processes related to the independence of the Republic of Macedonia. The vision of the Faculty of Law in Štip fits into the importance of the academic environment in making a wider social contribution outside the narrow framework of the curricula. Hence, the continuity of academic upgrading implies a wider communication with the social environment and a concrete contribution towards the development of the overall social thought, in this case, in the field of history, law, and political disciplines.

However, marking a quarter century of statehood, which, in addition to its historical continuity, is supplemented by an international legal guarantee of its own sovereignty, means much more than simply marking the historical distance. In the year labelling several anniversaries related to the independence of the Republic of Macedonia, from the adoption of the Declaration of Independence and Antinomy, through the referendum and to the formal legal construction of statehood in the face of the Constitution as the highest legal act, we can set the relative distance as a different perception from that of contemporaries built at that time as direct participants in these processes. It is precisely this alternative perspective that is offered by the authors of this work. Of course, concrete factographic markers form the basis of the analytical perception of political reality.

In this work, the authors raise several questions and dilemmas related to the process of the independence of the Republic of Macedonia. Thus, it necessarily begins with the structural reform of the former Yugoslav federation, created by the intense changes caused by liberalism and nationalist currents in the 1970s. This results in constitutional changes and substantial decentralization of the federation, with the constitution of 1074 becoming the owners of their own sovereignty as federal entities. This fact precisely, in the formal legal sense, will be crucial for the successful independence of the Republic of Macedonia. However, the process is influenced by various factors,

from geopolitical global shifts to regional and local conflicts, and the onset of the violent disintegration of SFR Yugoslavia. Furthermore, this book deals with specific issues related to the controversy over the referendum, the status and threat of the Yugoslav People's Army presence, foreign policy relations and issues related to international recognition, the blockade by the Republic of Greece and the beginning of the name dispute, and also the dilemmas related to the accession of the Republic of Macedonia to the UN.

This work is of significant importance, as it concerns the marking of the historical continuity of the Macedonian national consciousness. Although, as a protonational idea, the Macedonian national identity has been grounded since the 19th century, in parallel with the ideas of forming other Balkan nation-states, the possibility of creating their own statehood, even on the restricted part of its original territory, was even given to Macedonians towards the end of World War II. The continuity of national consciousness, however, has historically been underpinned by the activities of the Macedonian Revolutionary Movement and the proto-institutional capacities that the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization had during the period of the late Ottoman rule. The clash with the propaganda of the young Balkan nation states will also help generate and reinforce the idea of Macedonian uniqueness. Nonetheless, the real culmination of the fulfillment of the historic dream will be the proclamation of the Republic of Macedonia's independence, thus becoming an equal international actor, with the opportunity to integrate into all relevant international organizations and institutions.

However, the political and geostrategic positioning of the Republic of Macedonia, in parallel with the regional crisis of the 90s of the 20th century, will influence it to be part of the complex international relations. This section outlines US policy towards the Republic of Macedonia as part of its broader regional approach, as well as the policy that the European Community builds as a collective body, and partially its important member states. Of course, the construction of diplomatic relations involves the conflict with the Republic of Greece and the name dispute, which, for the last quarter of a century, have prevented any further Euro-Atlantic perspective of the Republic of Macedonia. Also, the status quo situation means only greater opportunities for internal destabilization which, as we have seen in the last two decades, may have an economic, inter-ethnic, or political precursor.

Stip, 09.11.2016

Prof. Dr. Straško Stojanovski



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## Апстракт

Процесот на создавање на независна Република Македонија се надоврзува на севкупниот процес на дезинтегрирање на поранешните источноевропски еднoпартиски општества, вклучително и она на СФР Југославија, и промовирањето на политичкиот плурализам и демократијата, како основни конституенти на модерните општества. Македонската независност е трасирана со Референдумот на 8 септември 1991 година, за веднаш потоа да уследи период на внатрешно консолидирање и дипломатска борба за меѓународно признавање. Дипломатската иницијатива, како и севкупните односи со ЕЗ и САД, резултира со прием на Република Македонија (под референцата Поранешна

Југословенска Република Македонија) во Организацијата на Обединетите нации.

Во следниот период, до есента 1995 година, како резултат на пошироката меѓународна регионална интервенција во поранешна Југославија, како и блокадата од Република Грција, Република Македонија се најде во тешка и комплексна состојба. Како резултат на т.н. спор за името, Грција воведува еднострано трговско ембарго, а блокадата е надополнета со неможноста за интеграција на Република Македонија во останатите меѓународни организации и иницијативи. Статус кво состојбата е надмината со Привремената спогодба, по што уследи процес на стабилизирање и унапредување на односите, во прв ред со САД и поголем дел од земјите членки на ЕУ.

### **Abstract**

The process of creating the independent Republic of Macedonia is parallel to the all of the global processes of disintegration of the former East European one party systems, including the former SFR Yugoslavia and the promotion of political pluralism and democracy as basic constituents of the modern societies. The Macedonian independence was established with the referendum of September 8, 1991. After this, the period of internal consolidation and the diplomatic fight for international recognition followed. The diplomatic initiatives, as well as overall relations with the EC and the USA, resulted with the membership of Republic of Macedonia (under the temporary reference of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) in United Nations.

In the period that followed, as a result of the wider international intervention in former Yugoslavia and the blockade from Greece, Macedonia was in a very difficult and complex situation. Due to the so called Name Issue, Greece imposed onside trade embargo and blockade for further integration in other international organizations and initiatives. The status quo situation was changed with Interim accord, after which the period of stabilization and establishing of relation with USA and most of EU countries followed.

## **Introduction**

The thematic content of this book is an attempt for a more comprehensive analysis of the events in the period of the late 1980s and early 1990s that led to the creation of an independent Republic of Macedonia. The focus of this research and analysis will be on the period from the declaration of independence on September 8, 1991, until the signing of the Interim Accord on September 13, 1995, both from the point of view of internal and external relations and alliances.

The process of independence of the Republic of Macedonia is a very important segment of the history of the Macedonian people. The attempts and the desire of the Macedonian people for an independent state finally became a reality at the end of the 20th century. The events that took place on the territory of the former Yugoslavia in the late 1980s and early 1990s strongly influenced the Macedonian state and the Macedonian people. Finally, after nearly five decades of existence as an integral part of the common SFRY state, in the early 1990s the Macedonian people and the political elite in Macedonia had to decide about the direction the state would move. During this period, many events occurred that left a mark on the history of the Macedonian people and contributed greatly to the future of the Republic of Macedonia. The research of the legal-political events aims to give a clearer picture of how the Republic of Macedonia was prepared for the events that took place not only in the former Yugoslavia, but throughout Eastern Europe, in which the socialist mode of governance was decaying. The analysis will also attempt to determine the role of the Macedonian political elite in the creation of an independent Republic of Macedonia. A special segment of this book will be the foreign policy and diplomacy, which is very important for all the events that took place in relation to the Republic of Macedonia internationally.

Through a systematic analysis of the historical facts and events in this initial period of the creation of an independent state, by systematically studying the testimonies of the direct participants in these processes and comparing their stories and attitudes from a distance of about two decades, we will try to determine the number of actions taken that were systematically and longtime prepared with some prior analysis. We will also focus on what they would

bring in the future and to what extent the actions of the Macedonian statesmen were stymied and brought under the influence of external pressure. Thus, this has significantly traced the way for the Republic of Macedonia to be internationally recognized and established on the world stage. The events that took place during this period will be treated chronologically, which will offer a clear picture about the creation of an independent Republic of Macedonia. The most important events during this period from the Referendum on September 8, 1991, to the achievement of the Interim Accord on September 13, 1995, will be studied in particular and divided into two phases. The first phase is the follow-up of the events to Macedonia's accession to the United Nations on April 8, 1993, while the second phase is the period after its accession as the 181st member of the world family of nations, until the autumn of 1995 when several significant events took place (the conclusion of the Interim Accord with Greece, the completion of the process of recognition of independence and the attempt for assassination of the President Kiro Gligorov). The developments on the domestic political scene are of great importance for the future of Macedonia. During this period when the socialist regime of government was crumbling all over Eastern Europe, when the military crisis in the former common state ruled, the transition to a multi-party system and the creation of new institutions and political order in Macedonia left a strong mark on the state. In this context, the first parliamentary elections, the election of the Government of Experts, the foundation of the Macedonian Army, the monetary independence, and the series of steps for an international recognition are very important. An analytical study of events from the point of view of historical retrospective allows one to locate certain positive or

negative reflections within the current position of the state. Thus, from the perspective of internal political developments, we can clearly distinguish between two periods: the period of the Expert Government and the subsequent formation of a political, coalition government that will continue to exist after the elections in 1994.

Foreign policy and diplomacy will also play an important role in this book. The above mentioned period is an integral part of all the events that took place on the international stage, both bilaterally with a particular state and multilaterally within the organizations in which the state aspired to become a member state. An attempt will also be made to analyze how successful is the Macedonian young diplomacy in the international promotion of the country and its role in the process of gaining independence. In this context, special attention is paid to the US and EU policies towards the disintegration of Yugoslavia, with particular reference to Macedonia.

This book retrospectively offers an opportunity to review the situation in the Republic of Macedonia in the process of its gaining independence. The book will also contribute to the systematization of data and the essential analysis of the more important legal, political, and international aspects of this process.

We are hoping that this book will arouse the interest of the public scientifically, i.e., it will provide the basis for other scientific research related to this topic from another or similar perspective, analyzing processes from a time distance that is sufficient for the analysis of the specific period and events that occurred at that time. Considering that the direct participants in these events have published their papers and memoirs during that period, in direct correlation with the existing documents, they will offer a clearer picture of

everything that has happened, with direct consequences and repercussions to the present moment. It would be interesting to study the decisions of the political elite in that period, the internal events, the foreign policy and diplomacy set up, and the skillful maneuvers or omissions that have brought either direct or indirect consequences or benefits to the state and the Macedonian people.