Prof. Dr. Jonuz ABDULLAI
Pro - Dean for Postgraduate Studies
Public Administration Faculty

Memet MEMETI
MPA PRODEAN
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
SEEU

The Prolonged Transition – an Obstacle for Macedonia's Integration in Euro-Atlantic Structures

Introduction

This paper deals with different aspects of transition and the ways to overcome it. Different challenges countries in transition face take place in this respect, particularly in the Republic of Macedonia. Theoretical approaches and practical aspects of the impact and consequences of the prolonged transition are given in this paper, as well as the possibilities of escaping from this situation caused by the process of transition.

Transition, as a process of radical changes in social structures, by changing the economic structure of the society, for a short time changes the material position and the social status of people. It is already known that the transition period is manifested with the overall transformation of people's social lives and their living circumstances. As a multidisciplinary phenomenon, the transition in society has always been presented as a focus of great importance by scientific workers. Lots of scientists and scholars such as J.K. Galbraith, Karl Paper, Alvin Toffler, F. Fukuyama, A. Heywood, David Easton, etc., have considered transition as a social change from the industrial to the information-postindustrial level.

In this respect, A. Toffler, analyzing all social changes which were influenced by the industrial revolution in the second half of the 17th century, has created a brand new reality and a new analytical method about the world, as well as the human attitude towards nature.[1]

According to A. Touraine, human society, besides its reproduction abilities and those for adapting to changes, possesses abilities by which it can changes directions and define new goals and rules. He notes that society as a system recognizes changes and balances, assuming that the society's work and deeds against itself occurs within special economic and cultural circumstances, i.e. the society does

---

[1] A.Tofler 1983 "Treci Talas", Beograd, str, 124

not create its own identity in an inter-subjective way, but through self-reflective interaction with the environment. [2]

The human represents nature but he represents himself as well as a creature. According to K. Marks, the human being as a natural creature has partially natural and vital strength which exist in the form of lusts. These natural characteristics which are possessed by people and their behavior against nature are reasons enough to explain the changes in the society.

Problems that are related to human behavior against nature are global in their nature since the scientific technologic revolution and the economic development in contemporary societies directed the world to an extreme level of dependency.

Social innovations have always been an object of interest to a large number of theorists before and after the old philosophic thought, but this interest increased in intensity in the modern society.

Different theories deal with social changes as phenomena which appear at certain times having a certain form and shape.
The evolution theory, according to Talkot Parson, reviews social evolution as a continuation of the biological evolution, emphasizing that mechanisms and development factors are the ones that change.

Other ideologists, so called evolutionists, defend the idea according to which the environment influences the development of social changes.
The great Arab thinker, Ibn Haldun in his work "Prolegimena" explains the history of Arab nation and its neighbors, emphasizing that every country and nation develops, changes and eventually disappears.[3] According to him, the social life represents a natural invention of a historic process. Also, the author speaks about the social dimension of tradition which has the form of hierarchy of functions which joins people together as if they were a living organism. He is one of the so called geographic materialists, according to whom social life is a natural show in certain geographic and climatic circumstances. Ibn Haldun's conception about social changes rests upon sociologic analyses where one can see the relation between social phenomena. The interpretation of social changes should begin with objective and material factors.
We can conclude that Ibn Haldun analyzes the evolution laws and biological contexts of people's and societies.

According to Ali Dida, Ibn Haldun's *avangarda* ideas about the society require special analyses and attention, since he is considered the predecessor of the sociological thought.

---

[2] A. Touraine "Sociologija drustvenih pokreta",Beograd, Radnicka Stampa,1983 str.110
[3] Ali Dida "Filet e sociologjisë",Tetove 1997, f.79
  Neshet Toku, "Sociologjia e Ibën Haldunit",Shkup 2006,Logos-a, f-24.

It is evident that social changes depend on many factors, one of the most important of which is the demographic factor.[4]

The impact of demographic factor upon social changes can be found in many antique authors and modern ones, under the conception of "demographic explosion". The first more serious attempts for a general analysis of the population growth as a social occurrence were made by the well known English theorist Thomas Malthus in his work "An essay on the principle of population" in 1789.

The Malthus's theory on social changes was highly criticized by a large number of theorists such as David Ricardo, J.M. Keynes, K. Marks, etc.[5] Today, this theory is again taking a deserved place within scientific debates and is constantly actualized as a result of the enormous population growth, especially in third world countries. In these regions there is a lack of food, the poverty is high, one fourth of world population shares the fate of the poor and hungry. According to Anthony Giddens, the population growth in the third millennium is again requiring the Malthusian approach, even though the number of those who subdue to the original idea is very small. A.Giddens thinks that the explosion in third world countries surpasses the production abilities of these countries.[6] This social appearance is upsetting for a fourth of the world population. Scientific circumstances all over the world upon this problem pose great importance on it, since this situation does not exclude Europe too.

The poverty in EU countries not only is worrying, but alarming in some places. About 60 million people or 18% of the population live on the verge of poverty and this shows that this social occurrence is present in all parts of modern society.[7] If we add to these data the vision of contemporary radical phenomena which were happening in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia by the end of the 20th century, we will have a clear view of events and problems that covered world population. This can be best illustrated if we consider present times where there are extremely difficult circumstances due to the global financial crisis. The fight with the crisis has become quite challenging for Europe, whereas the transition countries are the most struck by it.

The situation in these countries is not only a product of economic factors but of social changes that happened as a result of different political processes. To date scientific analyses show that the fall of totalitarian regimes and the rise of political pluralism have had the greatest impact on social changes in Central and

---

[4] Ali Dida "Fillet e sociologjisë", Tetovë 1997, f.80
[5] Vlado Dimoski – Ideje, Beograd nr.4-5, 1998 fq.109
[6] A.Giddens "Socilogjia", Tiranë 2002 f.560
[7] Hemerijk Anton "Models", Oxford University Press, 2002, p.186

Eastern Europe. The countries in this region were facing enormous political-social and economic problems, including poverty and undisguised unemployment.

Social changes in Central and Eastern Europe

The second half of the 20th century is manifested through an open discontent articulated in the form of revolutionary changes, in almost all spheres of life.

The culmination of these social problems in Central and Eastern European countries was the fall of Berlin Wall, in 1989, as well as the start of development of democratic societies with lots of changes and casualties.

The last years of the 20th century in Central and Eastern Europe, according to Etem Aziri, were revolutionary years, the end of the Cold War, the withdrawal of the Iron Curtain and the beginning of democratic processes in order to build the civil society.

Not only analysts but centers of power in western countries are expressing their interest in social changes, offering material and staff support with the aim of overcoming the difficulties countries in transition are facing with.[8] There are differences among scientists as well about the way of building sustainable democracies.

On the other hand, we can say that there is an agreement as regards the Rikard Lang's opinion, according to whom it is impossible to make a miracle and establish a state with the rule of law and good market economy out of a country in transition.[9]

The process of transition is long, with lots of surprises and with already determined deformations and social issues such as unemployment, industrial production minimization, triple inflation and a lot of other changes which remind us of the Great Depression in the 1930s. The transition process in ex-communist countries has been manifested through enormous difficulties, more than in the period of the transformation of the society in post-totalitarian regimes in Spain and Portugal. Besides the similarities among these groupings, there also many differences, starting with differences in time and space (territory). Anyway, one of the most important changes is the support by European Union countries, without the help of which the overcoming of these problems would have been impossible in countries in transition. The transformation and development of democratic society would be an illusion during the 1970s for the populations in Greece, Portugal and Spain. We should

---

[8] Etem Aziri "Organizimi politik i Shqiptarëve në Maqedoni", Shkup, 2004 f.11
[9] Rikard Lang, "Kencepcija i strategija Razvoja" Zagreb 1989, str.33

particularly mention the material and moral support that was offered to them by EU countries for their accession into the Euro-Atlantic structures and institutions.

The role of the USA after WWII together with Western European countries, expressed through the Marshall Plan, according to Werner Weidenfeld, should be taken by developed countries of Western Europe and help the countries in transition in Eastern Europe[10], especially those of Western Balkans.[11]

Social changes in Central and Eastern European countries, especially in the Balkans, are in step with other changes which are a sub-product of time and place where those transition and transformation processes are taking place. How serious and sustainable the offered model is, can be illustrated through the case of Republic of Macedonia during its transition period. The model of neighborhood help and support can be applied in Macedonia, since a country of only two million inhabitants has all the qualities to be analyzed, beginning with the social re-stratification to the development and perspectives that are provided by the process of democratization.

The process of transition in Macedonia

The process of transition in Macedonia can closely be related to the model of the German sociologist, Ralf Dahrendorf, according to whom the transformation from a planned-centralized economy to a free market economy assumes the change of political institutions within six months, the change of economic relationships within six years, the transformation of human behavior, attitudes and values within 60 years.[12]

This model would be applied in Macedonia, contributing towards the prolonged transition time but on condition of not wasting time in unnecessary re-compositions of the state administration.

The local analysts as well as international ones warned about a permanent crisis or a conflicting situation in Macedonia, beginning with its independence on 8 September 1991. But, Macedonia managed to gain its independence peacefully without nay bloodshed, which was not the case with other parts of former Yugoslavia. The policy of two-facedness during the government of the former president Kiro Gligorov and his scion Branko Crvenkovski, two politicians closely connected to Serbian decision making centers, would produce consequences in the Albanian – Macedonian relationships.

---

[10] Verner, Vajdenfld (ED) Demokracia dhe ekonomia e tregut në Europën Lindore, Strategji për Europën, Argeta-LMG, Tiranë, 1999, f.49

[11] Verner, Vajdenfld (ED) Demokracia dhe ekonomia e tregut në Europën Lindore, Strategji për Europën, Argeta-LMG, Tiranë, 1999, f.49

[12] NISPA cee-Instituti Otvoreno opstestvo Makedonija, Skopje, 2005, fq. 7.

Kiro Gligorov, Stojan Andov, Vasil Tupurkovski, academician Vllado Kambovski, holders of high positions in the structures of federal state until the dissolution of Yugoslavia, replaced their residences but not their activities. Kiro Gligorov was the first president of the newly formed state; Stojan Andov was the first president of the multi-party assembly in Macedonia. One can see that there are no Albanians in any of the above-mentioned positions – they were always considered as second-hand people – their positions could no go above vice-presidents (let's mention the vice-president of the first Parliament during 1990-1994, Xheladin Murati, who was accompanied by two other Macedonian co-vice-presidents; 1992-1994, vice-prime minister Beqir Zhuta, again accompanied by two other Macedonian co-vice-prime ministers, and without any Albanian counselors in the presidential cabinet).

Macedonia continued to be a stretched arm of Serbia, serving as an alternative way for export of goods from Serbia and contributing to the mitigation of consequences and the effects of the international embargo. This caused Macedonia to remain dependent on Serbia, a fact that would follow this country up to date. Many Albanian, Macedonian and international analysts note that Macedonia is still led by the Serbian politics. If we refer to Macedonian analytical resources, we will see that the latest approach during the compilation of the so called "Macedonian Encyclopedia" was made in accordance with Serbian projections. Furthermore, Macedonian analysts themselves (such as the former Prime Minister Ljubco Georgievski and the former Foreign Affairs minister, Prof. Dr. Ljubomir Frckovski) do not hesitate to call this kind of encyclopedia – a product of perverted opinions from the SASA[13] (read: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts). But, it is worth mentioning that since the beginning of the creation of this republic, many things went wrong. In this context, the initiative of building new state institutions continued with the same politics, by different means and under different circumstances. State institutions presented a continuation of the monist system of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

Macedonia's Euro-Atlantic Integration

In modern societies, political-judicial changes and economic-social ones are followed by a Euro-Atlantic process as e recipe that has decisive impact on democracy and world peace. The third millennium began with the so called "third wave in democracy". In particular, this democratic spirit covered Eastern Europe, a very tense region and isolated from modern trends.

"The democratic transition can be considered a completed process when there is good synchronization with democratic procedures in which state powers are

---

[13] Televizioni Alsat M, Emisioni "Rruga drejt", Shkup, 1 tetor 2009

determined, when the government takes power through free elections and when the executive, legislative and judicial powers generated by the new democracy *de jure* does not share the power with other bodies". [14]

- The harmonization of laws in Macedonia with the European Union Law is one of the fundamental preconditions for full EU membership;
- The fulfillment of political criteria is a requirement for Macedonia's integration into NATO and the EU;
- The bases of political criteria.

What in fact do these political criteria consist of?

The answer can be found by having a glance at fundamental documents of the EU and NATO, from the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992 to the Declaration of Alliance on Security in the Bucharest summit in 2008. [15]

Those political criteria could be included into these sections:
1) Democracy
2) The Principle of Rights
3) Human rights

The regional cooperation of Macedonia in the war against corruption is a part of standards for accession into the EU and NATO.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall, democracy in Western Balkans and Central – Eastern Europe has often been experienced as a great uneasiness.

We should point out that Macedonia was the first country in Western Balkans that signed the Association-Stabilization Agreement with the EU, on April 9th 2001 which fully came into force three years later, but still did not manage to proceed in that way. Even though Macedonia applied in 2004 for accessing the EU, it has not received a starting date for negotiations. Macedonia has already handed in the questionnaire, but the waiting anxiety is still going on. All these problems are conditioned by two issues: the name contest with Greece and the internal circumstances in terms of the non-implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement.

Macedonia is one of the rare countries in transition, where the segment of the state departization as a condition for democracy and civic pluralism has turned into

---

[14] Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stephan, "Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation-Southern Europe, South America and Post Communist Europe", the Johns Hopkins University press, 1996. pp.3.

[15] Shih më gjërësisht Vlatko Mileta, Lidija Sehuliq "Victory", Prishtinë 2006-f 184 dhe e përditshmja Koha. 04.04.2009 fq11

strong-partisan stronghold. The partisan state from the former mono-party system has merely turned into a pluro-partisan state, depending on which party or coalition is governing the country, since they are going to switch places after a while, depending on election results – put it simple, the state gains new owners of it.[16]

The society with partisan domination is hidden in the civil society. According to experts, after each parliamentary election there are partisan changes in about 10 thousand public changes, in all sectors in the administration.

In countries such as the USA or Germany, after presidential or parliamentary elections, there are about 400 – 4,000 political or public functions that are replaced. Furthermore, some of the officials are not given the sack; they are just moved to some other positions, e.g. business, universities, science, culture, diplomacy, etc.[17]

Inequality and the so called "Oasis of Peace"

The Macedonian Constitution of 1991 determined the Macedonian population as dominant in its preamble, i.e. it defined the state as unitary. The Macedonian language and its Cyrillic alphabet are declared as official; the Macedonian Orthodox Church was also separated from other religious institutions in Macedonia. According to Robert Hayden from the University of Michigan, this phenomenon is known as "constitutional nationalism".

During the 1991-2000, the Macedonian state was hybrid, something between a national state (based on the form and the aspect of public administration and usage of languages) and civic state being governed by mixed national structures. But, the representation Albanians has always been peripheral without any important role in decision and policy making.

"The inequality at a national, confessional, and cultural level presented a danger for the development and perspectives of these societies. In fact, the lack of a just and principal approach against the national, confessional and cultural composition, especially in the two biggest socialist states, the former USSR and Tito's Yugoslavia, reflected its destructive effects not only in these two countries but on socialism as a process".[18]

Therefore, Macedonia too, which gained its independence without war and conflicts, did show readiness and sincerity for establishing a civic state which would

---

[16] Dimitar Mirçev " Shteti i së Drejtës dhe Reformat në AP, rasti Maqedoni" UEJL-Tetovë 2008-fq 119

[17] Mirçev " Shteti Juridik" UEJL-Tetovë 2008-fq 123

[18] Etem Aziri "Ndarja e pushtetit dhe zbatimi i marrëveshjes kornizë të Ohrit" Fridrich Ebert Stiftung, Shkup 2008 fq 51-52.

reflect the multinational, multireligious and multicultural character of the state. Albanian political parties made it clear a long time ago that they would not allow for Albanians to remain "renters at their own homes".

But, unfortunately, regardless of all efforts, "the first decade of the pluralistic life in Macedonia is qualified by the tendency of domination and positioning".[19] After all, the images of disregard which was growing over these tendencies would become quite evident. "Unfortunately, soon after the first pluralistic elections, there were some dysfunctional relations that were created at a political level which implied the institutional and non-institutional tendency of domination by the Macedonian side as well as the tendency of partisan (not national) positioning of Albanians…".[20]

It is worth mentioning that the Macedonian Constitution of 1991 which was establishing the new state was not voted by the Albanian MPs because of the lack of its real offer. Exactly this constitution would become a crisis generator in the relationships between Macedonians and Albanians in the so called "Oasis of Peace" (a notion that was unjustly advertised by the former president Gligorov), because of the unjust treatment of Albanians, leaving them as a national minority.

Recently, the struggle with the non-accomplishment of duties that come out from the Ohrid Framework Agreement is a clear indicator about the obstacles for integrative aspirations of Macedonia. "If the Ohrid Framework Agreement is considered as a document of democratic consensus between the two biggest ethnicities, then the lack of sustainable analyses about the conflict of 2001 would mean further hostage of Albanian – Macedonian relationships, and this means that it will negatively affect the democratic development and the integration of Macedonia in Euro-Atlantic structures".[21]

Consensual democracy

The American political scientist with a Dutch origin, Lijphart, in his famous work "Democracy in pluralist societies" warned about the disadvantages of majority democracies in multi-ethnic states about 20 years before the bloody ethnic conflicts in Balkans. Not only is this kind of democracy unjust but it is also dangerous, since smaller ethnic groups are denied in terms of government participation. Lijphart's

---

[19] Etem Aziri "Ndarja e pushtetit dhe zbatimi i marrëveshjes kornizë të Ohrit" Fridrich Ebert Stiftung, Shkup 2008 fq 56

[20] Etem Aziri "Ndarja e pushtetit dhe zbatimi i marrëveshjes kornizë të Ohrit" Fridrich Ebert Stiftung, Shkup 2008 fq 56

[21] Etem Aziri "Ndarja e pushtetit dhe zbatimi i marrëveshjes kornizë të Ohrit" Fridrich Ebert Stiftung, Shkup 2008 fq 60

theory of consensual democracy is based upon the history of war and peace in Belgium and Switzerland as well as conflicts between Catholics and Protestants in the Netherlands. Lijphart studied the political systems of these countries emphasizing the ways of dealing with religious conflicts and establishing the consensual model of power exchange known as Agreed Democracy. This theory is based on the limitation of the majority prevalence in multiethnic societies and differs from liberal democracy and the democracy of majority in these elements:

1) A government which is based upon a broad coalition of parties – the most important elements of a pluralist society

2) Reciprocal rights for veto and protection of vital minority interests

3) Proportionality as a basic measure for determining the political representation and distribution of means

4) High level of autonomy for segments in resolving internal issues (decentralization, which should not be understood only as an "ethnic" decentralization).[22]

After the signing of the Ohrid Agreement, Macedonia, according to Florian Bieber from the University of Kent, has become a consensual minimalist system since it does not fulfill all aspects of consensualism.

"The biggest step that Macedonia should undertake is the achievement of consensus", the Euro-ambassador Ervan Fuere would say.[23]

"The Ohrid Agreement according to analysts and scholars is treated and understood as a unique model for establishing a political consensus, a full agreement within the society with regard to the consensual and unitary order of the state".[24]

During the first decade since its independence (1991-2001), Macedonia became an area of social-political changes with a/an (uncontrolled) dose of partial inter-ethnic conflicts.

The political pluralism before the conflict of 2001 was characterized by the political struggle between the "small majority" and the "big minority".

Here are some data about the 2002 census in Macedonia:

1.297.981 - Macedonians	64%	
509.083 - Albanians	25.2%	
77.959 - Turks	3.9%	
53.879 - Roma	2.6%	

---

[22] Arend Liphard "Demokracia në shoqëritë pluraliste", Shkup, 1994, fq. 59-101

[23] "Zaman", mars 2009, Shkup, fq. 26

[24] Farimah Daftary "Conflict Resolution in FYR Macedonia: Power sharing or the 'civic approach'," Helsinki Monitor, Vol.12,12,No.4 (2001) fq. 291-312

35.939 - Serbs	1.8%
17.018 – Bosnians	0.8%
Other	1%. [25]

The Macedonian Constitution from 1991 was the major cause of the armed conflict and it was modified in 2001 by signing the Ohrid Framework Agreement which ended the armed inter-ethnic conflict and established peace.

Even after the conflict Macedonia continued to struggle with problems, having gone through a very long period of transition which caused radical changes in the society. These changes are evident in every sphere of life but they have negatively affected the lives of people according to data taken from different public surveys and questionnaires. According to an analysis performed in March 2009 by the South East European University – Tetovo (Macedonia) and UNDP – Skopje (Macedonia), it has been concluded that even the high social stratum in Macedonia is not contended with the current situation and is not optimistic about the future.[26]

The state is struggling with different problems that have arisen due to the extremely long transition period with lots of structural strikes which have given way to desperation generated by the negative international political environment, including the delays in the resolution of the name dispute with Greece as well as the slow advancement towards the accession to NATO and the EU. At the same time we should mention the inter-ethnic and security issues the resolution of which represents one of the main factors for creating a positive climate in terms of Macedonia's integration in Euro-Atlantic processes.

According to research data from the Center for Ethnical and Security Issues at the St. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje during the 2004-2006 period, we can conclude that the Macedonian society is ethnically separated.[27]

There are lots of arguments about ethnical divisions in Macedonia, and we are going to mention some of the achieved results by the above-mentioned research where the author offers evidence in favor of the drawn conclusion. The two biggest communities in Macedonia have opposing approaches in relation to the Ohrid Framework Agreement. Macedonians see it from a very negative viewpoint whereas Albanians are

---

[25] www.stat.gov.mk

[26] Analyses based on citizens' opinions (regional Development, local government and quality of life in FYROM, March 2009 Tetovo, p.29 – 38.

[27] Petar Atanasov, Партнери во Мир и превенција Регионална стабилност преку човекова безбедност, одбрани текстови од Конференција за Превенција и човекова безбедност 2005-2007,стр 87, Скопје 2008.

in favor of that agreement since it is a solid foundation for the promotion of their rights and status.

When talking about the relationship between the two biggest communities in Macedonia, we should point out that there also some vital issues for which both sides agree. One of them is the issue of security and stability in this country. The agreement can be best seen in people's reaction to the question about the issue upon which Macedonia's stability relies.[28] Even though there are slight differences in terms of the impact of the living standards and the accession to the EU, they are still the most important things in Macedonia's reality.

There have been many analyses carried out which illustrate the citizens' opinion about Macedonia's accession in to the EU and NATO, and we can see that the percentage of those in favor of these integrative processes is quite high. In this respect we can mention the scientific research that is being realized by CRPA at SEEU in Tetovo.[29]

The chances of Macedonia's accession to the EU and NATO

This issue has become e discussion topic for quite a long time now and there have been different optimistic and pessimistic viewpoints, depending on the authors and the circles where these issues are discussed. All the preparations for Macedonia's integration into the EU and NATO have been made in a timely manner by the state representatives and this can be illustrated by the National Strategy.[30] It is a very important and long-lasting strategy for Macedonia which includes the steps and measures that are to be undertaken by the state itself. It represents a final product of the engagement of different experts, including the symbolic participation of Albanian ones.

Even though there is consensus about the implementation of this national strategy, there are still differences in ways and approaches towards it depending on

---

[28] Petar Atanasov, Партнери во Мир и превенција Пегионална стабилност преку човекова безбедност, одбрани текстови од Конференција за Превенција и човекова безбедност 2005-2007,стр 88, Скопје 2008. From the overall number of the surveyed, 63% think that the stability in Macedonia depends on the greater living standards; 18% think that it depends on Macedonia's integration into the EU. These figures among the Albanian population are 47% and 24% respectively.

[29] CRPA – SEEUTetovo 2008, Report – project "Euro-Atlantic Perspectives of Macedonia, problems, challenges and the new reality after the failure of the Bucharest Summit in 2008.

[30] www.sei.gov.mk , национална стратегија за интеграција на Р.М во Европска Унија, септември 2004 Скопје.

the government structures that are leading the country. It is normal to have different government compositions, but they should proceed with what has been done by the previous government and not start everything from the beginning or even move things backwards.

Unfortunately, regardless of the political wing that has come to power, Albanians have also been marginalized, being left therefore on the edge of euro-integrative processes in Macedonia.

In order to achieve better results for this country, the Government should:

- determine a more active role of the Albanian factor in the overall integrative processes that Macedonia is going through;
- continuance of the dialogue among important political subjects under the patronage of the President of the country;
- conclusion of reforms in public administration and jurisdiction;
- fight against corruption;
- creation of a more favorable business environment;
- extension of the democratization of the elective process (without violence and manipulations)
- overall democratization of the society.

All of these contribute toward Macedonia's aspirations to become a member of the great family of NATO and the EU. The first chance of entering NATO was missed, separating in this way from the Adriatic group of states to access NATO, due to a stubborn policy which leads towards isolationism. It is time to overcome the challenges by following the example of Croatia and Slovenia which managed to find a solution to a similar dispute through compromise, or the political consensus achieved among political parties in Albania at the time of its accession to NATO. From all what was said, we come to conclusion that the only prosperous way for Macedonia is its soonest accession to NATO and the EU, which, we should not forget, is conditioned by the fulfillment of certain requirements and standards. One of those was the decision made by the Macedonian Parliament about the adoption of the Law on Public Administration, which was the most important for the EU. But, even though there was an inter-party consensus between a part of the opposition and the parliamentary majority, there are still considerable differences to be overcome in terms of its implementation. This is mainly because of the extreme partization of the administration and the deceleration of public administration reforms.

──────────────────────────────

References:
- A. Tofler 1983 "Treci Talas", Beograd
- A. Touraine "Sociologija drustvenih pokreta" Beograd, Radnicka Stampa 1983
- Ali Dida "Filet e sociologjisë" Tetove 1997
- J.Abdullai "Ndryshimet sociale dhe tranzicioni", Arbëria design, Tetovë, 2008
- "Proceset e integrimit Euroatlantik dhe Republika e Maqedonisë", UEJL- CRPA dhe
    Fridrich Ebert Stiftung, Tetovë, 2008
- Neshet Toku "Sociologjia e Ibën Haldunit" Shkup 2006 Logos a
- Ali Dida "Fillet e sociologjisë" Tetovë 1997
- Vlado Dimoski – Ideje, Beograd nr.4-5, 1998
- A.Giddens "Socilogjia" Tiranë 2002
- Hemerijk Anton "Models" Oxford University Press, 2002
- Etem Aziri "Organizimi politik I Shqiptarëve në Maqedoni" Shkup, 2004
˗ Rikard Lang "Kencepcija I strategija Razvoja" Zagreb 1989
- Verner, Vajdenfld (ED) Demokracia dhe ekonomia e tregut në Europën Lindore,
    Strategji për Europën, Argeta-LMG, Tiranë, 1999
- Verner, Vajdenfld (ED) Demokracia dhe ekonomia e tregut në Europën Lindore,
    Strategji për Europën, Argeta-LMG, Tiranë, 1999
 NISPA cee-Instituti Otvoreno opstestvo Makedonija, Skopje, 2005
˗ Televizioni Alsat M, Emisioni "Rruga drejt", Shkup, 1 tetor 2009
˗ Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stephan "Problems of Democratic Transition and
    Consolidation-- Southern Europe, South America and Post Communist Europe",
    the Johns Hopkins University press, 1996.
- Shif më gjërësisht Vlatko Mileta, Lidija Sehuliq "Victory", Prishtinë 2006 dhe e
    përditshmja Koha 04.04.2009.
˗ Dimitar Mirçev " Shteti i së Drejtës dhe Reformat në AP, rasti Maqedoni", UEJL-Tetovë
    2008
- Mirçev "Shteti Juridik", UEJL-Tetovë 2008
- Etem Aziri "Ndarja e pushtetit dhe zbatimi i marrëveshjes kornizë të Ohrit" Fridrich
    Ebert Stiftung, Shkup 2008
- Etem Aziri "Ndarja e pushtetit dhe zbatimi i marrëveshjes kornizë të Ohrit" Fridrich
    Ebert Stiftung, Shkup 2008
- Etem Aziri "Ndarja e pushtetit dhe zbatimi i marrëveshjes kornizë të Ohrit" Fridrich
    Ebert Stiftung, Shkup 2008
˗ Etem Aziri "Ndarja e pushtetit dhe zbatimi i marrëveshjes kornizë të Ohrit" Fridrich
    Ebert Stiftung, Shkup 2008
- Arend Liphard "Demokracia në shoqëritë pluraliste", Shkup, 1994, fq. 59-101
- "Zaman", mars 2009, Shkup

- *Farimah Daftary "Conflict Resolution in FYR Macedonia: Power sharing or the 'civic approach'," Helsinki Monitor, Vol.12,12,No.4 (2001)*
- *www.stat.gov.mk*
- *Analizat e përqendruara në mendimet e qytetarëve (Zhvillimi rajonal, qeverisja lokale dhe cilësia e jetesës në Ish-Republikën Jugosllave të Maqedonisë, mars 2009, Tetovë*
- *Petar Atanasov, Партнери во Мир и превенција Регионална стабилност преку човекова безбедност, одбрани текстови од Конференција за Превенција и човекова безбедност 2005-2007, Скопје 2008.*
- *CRPA – UEJL Tetove 2008, raport – projekti "Perspektivat Euro Atlantike të RM, Problemet, sfidat dhe realiteti politik pas dështimit të Samitit të Bukureshtit 2008.*
- *Tim Bajhelt "Evropskata Unija po prosiruvanjeto kon istok", BC Izdavac za socijalni nauki, Vizbaden, Fondacija Kanrad Adenauer, Sekretarijat za evropski prasanja, Skopje, 2005.*
- *www.sei.gov.mk*
- *http:/www.bbc.co.uk/albanian/news*