



University of Macedonia

School of Economic and Regional Studies

Department of Balkan, Slavic and Oriental Studies

M.A in Politics and Economics of Contemporary Eastern and Southeastern Europe

MEDIA IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA.

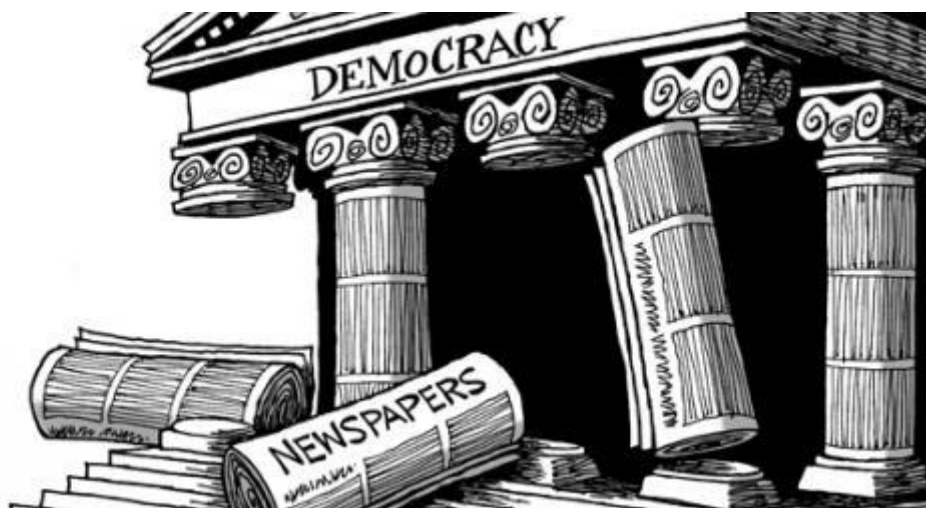
**AN EVALUATION OF THE MEDIA LANDSCAPE OF F.Y.R.O.MACEDONIA
BEFORE AND AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF SOCIALISM.**

Master Thesis submitted for the degree

Master of Arts in Politics and Economics of Contemporary Eastern and Southeastern Europe

Supervisor: Vlassis Vlasidis, Ass. Prof

Student: Ismini Rakitzi (M20/14)



Thessaloniki, December 2014

CONTENTS

Abstract.....	p.3
Introduction.....	p.4
The appearance of media in the Balkan Peninsula.....	p.5
Press in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia.....	p.7
During Socialism.....	p.7
Press in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia after state’s independence.....	p.9
Radio Broadcasting in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia.....	p.10
Television	
Broadcasting.....	p.13
During Socialism.....	p.13
After the independence of F.Y.R.O.Macedonia in 1991.....	p.13
Internet.....	p.15
F.Y.R.O.Macedonia towards Political and Media framework.....	p.18
Social, Economic and Political framework.....	p.18
Media liberalization in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia.....	p.19
Media and Politics on parallel spheres.....	p.20
The current situation.....	p.22
Conclusion.....	p. 24
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	p.26

Abstract

After the collapse of socialism in the Former Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, a new era of discussion has been created for the former Republics which were contributing Yugoslavia. F.Y.R.O.Macedonia is one of those Republics that after its schism with the Former Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, offers the ground for researches to be accomplished in many topics. The landscape of media in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia is the main issue that it is evaluated in this paper. By presenting the media landscape in the country, while it was still part of the Former Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, and even after its independence that was gained in 1991; we are able to derive interesting elements towards state's internal corpus. This paper firstly presents the means of massive information that are established in the country, from the period of socialism. In these chapters information towards media landscape are also presented for the overall territory of Yugoslavia, since F.Y.R.O.Macedonia was not an independent state by then. It continues with the analysis of the Legal and Political Framework which exist in the state, by presenting the development of the media legislation process. This chapter offers information until the first half of 2014. The paper finishes with the chapter that is consisted from the conclusions which the writer faces as the outcomes of the evaluation of the subject. At that point the reader easily estimates, at a degree, new eras of discussion that come out as new hypothesis able to contribute the incentive for future surveys.

Introduction

The evaluation of a media landscape is potentially able to present several inner elements for every single system and society they are established for. From the period of the National Enlightenment in the 19th century, the press starting to appear in the area of the Balkan Peninsula, a more political character is represented by promoting National and Political ideologies and norms. Their subject matter had more to do with the analysis of specific political issues of the period in order to be able to promote the concerned influences to the public. The informative and informational attitude of the media began its' existence at the beginning of the 20th century.

The area where currently the state of F.Y.R.O.Macedonia is established, has presented a long historical heritage towards the media landscape. Each period within F.Y.R.O.Macedonia's development leads to an equally unique period for the media; the period of socialism, while F.Y.R.O.Macedonia was part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the period when it decided to become an independent state and through until the present day. The media were able to reflect and present the specific situation that was taking place in the country throughout each of these aforementioned periods.

This paper contributes a detailed chapter where the political and media framework are analyzed, with the purpose of understanding how the media was working in parallel with the politics; moreover it offers thoughts on the ways the legislation is able to protect the freedom of speech and minimize the non-transparent relations between media and politics. However, because of the cultural complexity and the ethnic variety that is part of its multi-ethnic community that describes the country in overall terms, the media won an important role in this era as well. The way the minority media was developed hand in hand with the means of mass information of the Slavmacedonian majority of the state, is also presented. The press, or the broadcasting media, such as radio and television, and last but not least the internet are those means by which eras are reflected. The aim of this essay is to present all the information surrounding the media landscape in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia in order to lead to a closing chapter, the conclusion, where historical knowledge, facts, data and aesthetics of politics might be able to offer a new area of discussion, regarding the relations between politics and media, as takes place presently in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia.

A necessary background to provide for F.Y.R.O.Macedonia, is that this landlocked country in the southern Balkan Peninsula, gained its independence

peacefully in 1991. The name dispute, still existing with the Hellenic Republic, is the reason why in this paper refers to the country as "F.Y.R.O.Macedonia". The country consists of five official ethnic groups; Slavmacedonians 64.2%, Ethnic Albanian 25.2%, Turks 3.9%, Roma 2.7%, Serbs 1.8%, other 2.2% (according to the 2002 census). According to the World Fact Book there are two official languages in the state. The Slavmacedonian language is spoken by 66.5% of the population meanwhile, the Albanian language by 25.1% of the total population. Furthermore, Turkish, Roma and Serbian are also spoken by part of the population in the country. In this colorful ethnical environment, with the grand historical heritage, a new era of equilibrium seems to appear; the balance between the Europeanization process that the country follows in order to become member of the E.U and the obsession of the contemporary political hierarchy for an overall "cleansing". The landscape of media is always an integral part of general interpretation of a state, and has a responsibility to present directly, or not, information that can complete the view we have towards its' past, present and future.

The appearance of media in the Balkan Peninsula

It seems that the media in Balkans in general, appeared with a constant delay. The delay of the media presence in the peninsula might be explained because of the political, social and economical gap, which existed between the Ottoman Empire's citizens and those living in Western European territories. Right after the creation of the national states, press was the most popular mean of media; moreover it was the most effective mean of political expression towards many important issues of the period.

However we may underline the fact that this period has been characterized of the existence of newspapers and magazines, whose vision was to offer a new era where ideological forums were created. Many different opinions, norms and beliefs have been expressed through newspapers. Not many newspapers had an informative character, while the daily information was not newspapers' target till the beginning of the 20th century.(Vlasidis,2003, p.2)During the period of the national intellectual movement in the Balkan territory, newspapers was the media which was used in order to be promoted the idea of a common national identity; through press the ideas of the leadership of the intellectuals were easily available to the public so the idea of the national identities to be easier accepted from the mass population. (Johnson, 1999. p.7)

The first newspaper written in Serbian was the "Serbiskija Povsednevnija Novini" has been typed in 1791 in Vienna, likewise the first Slav speaking magazine the "Slavenko-Serpskimagazin" has been published abroad, in Venice in 1768.Many other newspapers and magazine have been typed by that period, while the magazine named "Letopis Matice Srpske" can be underlined as the most important one; it has

been published in 1826 by Matica Srpske one of the most important and oldest cultural scientific institution in Serbia. Matica Srpske and Letopis Matice Srpske, played an important role the period of the national awakening of Slavs in the Balkan territory. The first newspaper that has ever been typed within the borderlines of Yugoslavia, is the "Ljubljanske Novice" which has been published in 1797; presently we may estimate "Ljubljanske Novice" as the first Slovenian newspaper. In 1926 the independent Serbian state appears and the typing centers were moved to the Serbian territory.

The first Serbian newspaper was the "Novice Serbske" has been published in 1834 in Kragujevac and one year later the first Croatian newspaper appears with the name "Narodna Novine", published in Zagreb in 1835; another press of the period was the Italian "L'avvenire" which was typed in Dubrovnik in 1848.(Johnson, 1999. p.11)The Serbian National Enlightenment might have been belated in comparison with the Western Enlightenment; however it has already become a movement able to promote national rebel norms in early 19th century, the same exact period with the florescence of the Greek Age of Enlightenment. However the fact that most of the population living in the Western Balkans were not well educated even uneducated people living in the countryside away from the urban centers, has influenced the development of media in the territory during the 19th century.(Johnson, 1999. p.18)Moreover, there were no organized systems of press delivery around the Balkans, as it is already mentioned the press was mostly capturing an era of subjects that was closer to the elite of the population than the masses.

The important development of the media in the territory started the period the Great World War. Politics was the main subject that was covered in the press microcosm before, during and after the end of World War I; lots of different opinions have been promoted through press by that period. As a matter of fact over than 2500 newspapers, magazines and flyers were published in the Serbian territory, 91 of those have been published in the presently area of F.Y.R.O.Macedonia.(Vlasidis,2003. p. 7)During the Second World War Media started adopting a more important role into the politics, radio and press became the main propaganda tools.

Press in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia

During Socialism

Yugoslavia's been under Tito's rule for three and a half decades (1945-1980). After the establishment of Tito's authority, the main body of Yugoslavian press, was under the influence of the Partisans' party; however until 1948 we may note press' publishing of other political sides as well. The most important achievement of Tito's policy towards media and especially press, lays on the fact that in Yugoslavia by that period had been published many newspapers and magazines specifically dedicated to minorities' populations around the country. In the south, we can underline "Nova Makedonija" for the Slavspeaking Macedonians and "Flaka" for the Albanians of Tetovo's territory. There was further press even for the Turkish minority of Kosovo. (Vlasides, 2003, p. 57)

We may point out three stages, three different periods, while Yugoslavia was searching on its unique face of socialism. In addition to that, media have been organized by following this norm of identical specification through socialism's world. From 1945 to 1950 it is referred as the period of Yugoslavia's first stage, while it was following the strict and direct, Soviet model of propaganda. The second stage of "searching for its brand of socialism with a different face" ,as Kemal Kurspahic writes on his book *Prime Time Crime*, is the period between 1951 and 1974. The third period follows the norm decentralization when the republics establish authority by achieving even a control of media, towards the general reestablishment processes over all spheres of life.

This theoretical timeline can help us easily understand, the progress of media's establishment in the country. In late 1947, every single citizen of Yugoslavia was asked if he supports Tito or Stalin. It is not a surprise understanding the fact that those who seemed to express any kind of doubts towards Tito's policies and especially those who remained loyal to Stalin faced Tito's frustration. There are documents that report cases of isolation and expulsion, where citizens have been deported to isolated islands in Adriatic Sea, as it is written in Kurspahic's book. He notes that according to an Article published in National Geographic in 1990 by Kenneth C. Dannfort, "thousands of people were imprisoned at Goli Otok". These incidents, promoted a tense of obedience to Tito's authoritarian needs, which demanded for all those that were managing or handling media by that period, to exist under his control.

Back to 1948 Stalin made his final move in order to punish Tito's disrespectful policies by orchestrating Yugoslavia's expulsion from the Cominform.

"The breakup opened a new chapter in Yugoslav history as the country entered its second stage of searching for a unique brand of socialism"(Kurspahic, 2003,p. 9) West played an important role to this era of media expression because of West's will to show its support to Tito's decision towards Yugoslavia's choice to abandon Moscow. We may estimate this approach by West, as a great opportunity to understand what was really happening behind the iron curtain, through a visualization offered by the Yugoslav media.

"The split from Moscow had an immediate positive affection the Yugoslav media too. In order to counter Soviet propaganda, Tito needed an analytical, critical, and well-documented response. Foreign Political Propaganda, departments within Party headquarters in Belgrade and the capitals of the five other republics brought together some of the best journalists of the time."(Kurspahic, 2003, p.9)

This process of compare and contrast within the two socialistic countries, was offered as a chance to be promoted by the Yugoslav writers, as the need for a stronger freedom of expression, especially in non important politically subjects, such as culture and social issues in order to be underlined Yugoslavia's difference from the Soviet Union. However the positive effect which had faced journalism in Yugoslavia and was offered from this well organized strategy of state's reconstruction, under the need of presenting a whole new image based on differentiations from their Soviet East European neighbors; was not enough to prohibit Party-appointed supervisors to control the publishing houses. It is worth mentioning though that this entire situation, introduced a kind of semi-independence to journalism's world, who accepted a better level of freedom of expression. It is well-known that this situation of a bipolar press conditions in Yugoslavia between the two sides of those of media's existence under party's control and the media's existence as an anti-Moscow propaganda toolbox, created an interesting and singular era towards media in Eastern Europe. This situation automatically created the establishment of Yugoslavian Press as an equal one to other Western European press systems. (Kurspahic, 2003, p. 11)

Under these conditions, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia adopted a more liberal approach onto media's freedom, which led to press' florescence. (Vlasidis, 2003,p. 63)

As a matter of fact it is remarkable that in 1972 in Yugoslavia were released over those 25 daily newspapers, 1493 magazines and 1436 magazines of general information, while most of them had as a target the increase of the conservation of the political, religious and ethnic unique identity of Yugoslavia's ethnic groups.

The period that followed Tito's death in May of 1980, might have been one of the less productive periods for the press in Yugoslavia. The financial recession began. The continuous financial crisis can easily be renamed as protracted one, by estimating the wars that followed the decades that followed. The Yugoslav dinar faced its deep division from 1979 to 1985. (Boduszynski , 2010, p. 64) Afterwards, Yugoslavia decides to accept loans under the supervision of IMF the International Monetary Fund. These loans finally led the country fell into a financial debt. The whole situation started becoming more obvious while the unemployment rates dramatically stated falling from the first years of the new decade. In addition, in 1980 the unemployment rate was less than 14%, without counting this one million of people who had already left country. It is worth mentioning that in the middle 1980's more than half of the unemployed people were under the age of 25. The financial recession led thousands of companies went into bankruptcy; some of them belonged to the publishing world. We may able to underline the fact during the whole decade of 1980 until the collapse of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia there is not much of new press, which at least had survived from the crisis. All of the republics realised that each one of them should manage with the recession on its own. Ante Marcovic and his government decide to pass a new legislation towards financial issues; by which the companies that were not able to pay their bills within a period of 45 days long, then the government had the right to lead the company into bankruptcy within two weeks. By the end of this financially dramatic decade, the fiscal environment of Yugoslavia was not the same. According to the World Bank, over that 600.000 citizens had lost their jobs, almost 2.5000 industrial enterprises were launched for liquidation, while the wage kept on creating a steadily negative curt and a new era of political and humanitarian crisis had already began. Press, has been negatively influenced by the recession. It is easy to present a clear view towards newspapers and magazines in the territory, only after the collapse of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Press in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia after state's independence

F.Y.R.O.Macedonia gained its independence from Yugoslavia, peacefully in September 8th in 1991. The state started its transition procedure after the breakup with its socialistic past. However the internal political situation did not change dramatically with Kiro Gligorov remaining the political leader of the state. The name disputes with the Hellenic Republic became one of the most important issues that had to be solved; the problem that existed with the name dispute by that period delayed the international recognition of the new born state as well. In addition, the internal political situation and the combination of it with the general unbalanced reality which has already taking place at state's neighbor, created a steadily unproductive social and cultural environment; where the establishment of new press

the first half of the decade of 1990 was not easy enough. Some of the most important newspapers and magazines that existed during the decade of 1990 are the following. "Puls" established in 1991 in Skopje was an informative weekly press which presently stills exists with a strong web page as well (www.puls24.com.mk) . "Скок" was a sport newspaper, it also has got presently a web site as well; it was established in 1991 in Skopje. There is also "Makedonsko Sonce", the weekly magazine which has been established in 1993 in Skopje. Moreover newspapers like "Vardar", "Zaman", "Makedonko Vreme" were established in the country in 1994. "Dvenik" established in 1996 in Skopje, still exists; its web site is extremely popular in the country. (Nineski, 2000, p. 35) It seems that after 1996 there is development towards press existence in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia. Tens of new magazines and newspapers appear in the country. Some of them like "Fakti", "Makedonija Denes", "Utrinski Vesnik", "Makedonki Sport" and others, were established in 1998 and 1999 and were published daily. Moreover, there were also weekly newspapers and magazines, two time per month published press or monthly press as well. A large number of this press that has been established in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia during the decade of 1990, still remain. Presently the situation in press media belongs under the same systemic umbrella with the rest of the mass media. The Europeanization progress that takes place in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia has offered an important and positive influence towards state's development. However in overall, according to the reports of the European Commission towards F.Y.R.O.Macedonia process of accession into the European Union, it seems that media is the factor that still remains extremely connected with the authorities.

Overall we may present a list with the most popular newspapers and magazines which are currently published in print version in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia. There are seven daily newspapers, four weeklies and more or less thirty magazines which currently exist on the country according to "Europe & Eurasia Media Sustainability Index for 2014". Some of the most popular newspapers and magazines are the following ones. Newspapers; Dnevik, Fakti (In Albanian), Koha (In Albanian), Makedonija Denes, Makedonski Sport, Nova Makedonija, Spic, Sport Press, Utrinski Vesnik, Večer, Vest, Vreme. Magazines; Aktuel, Forum, Lobi (In Albanian), National (In Albanian), Start.

Radio Broadcasting in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia

Macedonian Radio is firstly presented in 1944 named by that period as Radio Skopje. Radio Skopje transmitted the live broadcast of the Second Session of Anti-fascist Assembly for the National Liberation of Macedonia, which was the legislative body with the largest influence, and the only body of peoples' representation in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia from 1944 until the end of World War II. (Devlin, Müller, 2013, pp.

107-119) During the socialistic period it was established the Yugoslav Radio Television or JRT (Jugoslavenska radiotelevizija) which was the national public broadcasting system of the state. (Thompson, 1994, p.7)

It has been contributed by eight subnational station, one of those was located in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia territory in 1967, named RTV Skopje. Radio Skopje has firstly appeared in 28 December 1944. In 1950 started the broadcasting of Radio Bitola. We may underline the fact that, the first radio station which was established at the countryside was transmitting from Bitola area. The choice of establishing the first radio station which would transmit outside capital's territory was not random at all. In addition, radio signal and the creation of an antennas' park on Pelister Mountain in order to be able to be transmitted the radio waves of MRTV; were only two of the parameters that led to a whole political strategy towards the general bilateral political situation taking place between the state and Greece. Additionally, Yugoslav authorities' target was to capture with the radio transmit Macedonian lands belonging to Greek territory, as long as they were estimating Macedonia as an overall geographic field where radio waves should be able to approach every single citizen living in Macedonia. We may underline at this point that MRTV was transmitting since 1965, to the most part of Greek Macedonian territories, while the signal of the Athenian radio stations was reached in Florina in 21st of April in 1970. (Vlasides, 2010, p. 196)

In continuation, we may refer to Radio Prilep, Radio Gevgeli, whose transmitting started in 1965. Last but not least it is noted that Radio Ohrid has also started transmitting before the 1960's, actually in 1957. (Nineski, 2000, p. 111-112)

Present-day Radio existence in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia is contributed by 94 radio stations more or less. Thirty four of those stations, belong to MRTV; other 29 transmit as public radio stations, located in the whole territory of the country, however its legal framework is not clear enough, because of the absence of certain explanations towards them, regarding the legal constitution of the media in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia. (EUROPE & EURASIA MEDIA SUSTAINABILITY INDEX 2014)

Moreover we may refer to other sixty private radio stations, where only two of them "Kanal 77" and "Antena 5" are able to transmit in the whole state. The rest of them exist as local, individual radio stations all around the territory of F.Y.R.O.Macedonia. Contemporary, the radio landscape of F.Y.R.O.Macedonia, subsists of three national radio channels, a satellite channel and another one, a non-profit regional channel. Almost ninety hours of daily programme are produced by the national channels and the satellite one. All of the public, national channels "Radio Skopje" and "Radio 2" broadcast 24 hours per day, seven days a week. It is worth mentioning again, the importance is given to minorities' information process through media framework. As a matter of fact, the third national channel, broadcasts programmes in all the languages of the minorities existing in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia, containing Albanian, Turkish since 1945, Vlach, Roma language and at last Serbian and Bosnian since 2003, all for thirty minutes per day. The satellite channel established in 2003 and

broadcasts a six hours programme every day. There is also Kanal 103, a public radio station which broadcasts only for the region of Skopje. All of the national radio channels' programmes are broadcasted over the radio.

Moreover, Law's on Broadcasting activities in the country is not able even currently to cover all those legal gaps that still exist towards the status of those local radio stations.

"This means that the existing local radio stations are to continue working as public broadcasters at local level, and to conclude a contract to this end to take over founding rights with the municipalities in whose territory they broadcast."(Sopar, Jovanova, 2000, p.7)

Yet, only five of those local radio channels seemed to be harmonized with the new legal framework. These radio stations are Radio Demir Hisar, Radio Kratovo, Radio Tetovo, Radio Negotivo, and Radio Probistip. The rest of the broadcasting activities taking place in the country at a local sphere, continue to accept founding offered by the Government of F.Y.R.O.Macedonia, under the rule of the unresolved legal status remaining situation. (Sopar, Jovanova, 2000, p.7-8)

Presently in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia, we may note the existing of more or less ninety radio stations. Three of them are clearly public, national broadcasting channels. However, there are private channel such as Antenna 5 Radio Network, which has been established in 1994 and covers 90 percent of state territory, that are extremely popular to F.Y.R.O.Macedonia citizens. The majority of the private radio stations are established on urban areas. In Skopje exist 16 radio stations apart from the national ones, the territory of Tetovo follows with six radio broadcasting programs, also in Kumanovo area are established six channels, in Bitola and Gostivar other five and four radio are transmit in Ohrid and Struga as well. The rest of them are separated around state's territory. Moreover it seems that there are more than thirty six radio stations which stream online, two of them produce programs in Albanian as well.

The current environment in media era in the country, demands changes able to capture the disabilities of legal system approaches towards the broadcasting activities in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia. However, this whole situation existing might be an era extremely difficult to be faced by both sides; this one of legitimacy and the other of those local radio channels. According to Sopar and Jovanova, we may underline that

" There are many unsatisfied media in the broadcasting sphere which may, objectively, influence changes, a whole army of them. But the question is whether they are capable of doing so, if they are dominated by old thought patterns. They must answer the question not of whom they are against, but what and whom they are for" (Sopar, Jovanova, 2000.)

Easily can be understood that the sphere of media in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia, usually lays on a basis controlled by political and social norms, able to control country's cultural communication in general, and its establishment process of a healthy model of mass communication media.

Television Broadcasting

During Socialism

Television broadcasting, in Yugoslavia exists since early '60s and pretty soon became extremely popular in country's audience. In 1978 the percentage of those Yugoslavian citizens who seemed to watch television daily, was about 90 percent. (Vlasidis, 2003, p. 61)

Every single Republic and Autonomous Province in Yugoslavia's territory, owned its own TV station. Television programs' content, included cultural, educational and informative shows able to be integrated to other channel programs, from the rest of the Republics. News, were produced in every single Republic and Autonomous Province, and were consolidated to a general, national program, the so called "Dvenik". The whole process was continued by producing Dvenik in Republics' unique languages, by local journalists. Moreover, it is easily recognized TV's double role in Yugoslavia, from its very early beginning until 1990; when the first private TV channels appeared in the country. In addition to this double character of Yugoslavian TV, we may underline its role as a national media of mass communication on the one hand, and as a tube that promoted many processed of audience's guidance, towards local, political ideological norms; which seemed to control and offer restricted access for the audience. (Komnencic, 2001)

After the independence of F.Y.R.O.Macedonia in 1991

The new legislation system that passed after the independence of the state in 1991 covers by law the freedom of expression and the existence of media in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia. The first TV channel established in the country was the public one, named as MRTV that owns three channels. It is worth mentioning that MRTV still exists as one of the most popular TV channels in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia which covers 96 percent of the Macedonian territory.(Sopar,Jovanova, 2000, p.7)

“ Independence of the Republic of Macedonia as a sovereign state and the adoption of its 1991 Constitution marked the beginning of a process of liberalization and pluralism of information for print media and broadcaster.”(Sopar, Jovanova, 2000, p.6)

The whole process of mass media establishment in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia, took place under totally liberal conditions, while there was no specific legislative framework, able to constitute the general media framework. So, as long as the government was able to control the most important media of communication in the state, the idea of voting a specific piece of legislation towards media production at a national level, did not seem to exist yet. The first Television channel that transmitted in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia, was “A1” channel. It was the first private TV channel of the country in 1993. However its signal covers only a territory that lays at the percentage of 70 percent at a national era. Another individual TV station established in the country in 1995, it is called “Sitel Television” its signal is sent out from Skopje area. Besides, we may also refer to “Telma TV” and “Kanal 5” two further private TV channels. However, it has already been mentioned the fact “ *Macedonia, in contrast to major turbulence in the region, is a relatively stable, ethnically mixed democracy.*”(Sopar, Jovanova, 2000, p.5)

Media’s landscape should be able to cover the need of Albanians and of the rest of the minority population to have access in information. For that reason we may refer to “TV ART” an Albanian speaking TV channel, located in Tetovo, covers the whole territory of Tetovo and Gostivar. In addition, according to contemporary state’s legislature system, public Television’s program must be able to cover plenty of its hours, with shows produced in minority languages such as Albanian, Turkish, Serbian, Vlach and Rom. So MTV 2, transmits its signal also in other languages as well, apart from Slavmacedonian. Regarding to the private TV channels, there is TV Gurra that transmits its signal only in Albanian language but there are also other eleven channels that transmit in Turkish, four in Roma language, three in Vlachs and only one in Serbian.(Sopar, Jovanova, 2000, p.7)

Despite the overall liberal system that contributes state’s media landscape, struggles between the Albanian and the Slavmacedonian population is not missing, mostly because of the lack of independence on its news reports which is after all under the control the Slavmacedonian mass media, and still remains a news report that has just been translated in their language.

At last, we may be able to characterize TV landscape in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia as a poor one, unable to present a transparent profile, despite the effort took place back in 1997 when state’s parliament voted in favor many laws towards media’s framework. The lack of a proper legislature framework towards media in general, promotes this corrupt image not only for Television but more or less for most of the mass media take place in the country. It would not be an overstatement to say that media in Macedonia still remain corrupt, of course Television exists as the main media of mass communication in the country, able to handle political propagandas of any kind of interest, the internal or international one, that take

place in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia. According to Transparency International, the Corruption Barometer Index show that over than half of the percentage of the responders, felt that media in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia was corrupt in 2013.FYROM rank on Press Corruption Index for 2010-2011 is 94/174; countries with low rank are less corrupt. Moreover Media as an institution is perceived by the public to be most affected by corruption at a level of 2.8/5.(Transparency International,2013)

Regarding the present situation existing with the television channels that currently transmit, is not easily evaluated; while from the summer of 2013 in the country exists the digital switchover condition, under which all of the channels are obligated to transmit. Two more laws passed in 2013 and changed the total view of the television broadcasting in the country. Many of the channels which were transmitting even one year ago, currently are facing bureaucratic difficulties, that leads to a chaotic sphere of those TV channels which still broadcast or not.

Internet

This paper's chapter could not obviously refer to the socialist period of Republic of Macedonia media landscape; since internet is a media that has appeared in the specific territory, only in the middle of 1990's decade. By that period, the independent state of F.Y.R.O.M exists, so the evaluation starts from a post communist reality.

Regarding a theoretical approach towards internet's importance as a media we may refer to the fact that "Internet is one of the most significant advances in human communication."(Vlasidis, 2007) In addition, it is considered as the factor that changes the way people communicate with each other under the umbrella of the new era of socialization that has been created, parallel with internet's birth. Moreover, internet is that mean that has reset the reality towards mass media information and people's choice towards their information through media. The internet since the moment that became well-known as a mean of broadcasting information has been used as a tool able to provide and promote political orientation. In particular, subjects towards state's internal problems or even its process of recognition of their identity were some of the subjects that actually led and created a whole era of web pages, where the estimation of these issues became the main body of those sites.

Undoubtedly F.Y.R.O.Macedonia is one of the Balkan countries that noticed the importance of the internet really early in the beginning of 1990's.In addition, in 1993 and 1994 Macedonian Information and Liaison Service (MILS) and the Macedonian Information Centre (MIC) presented on the internet newscasts. (Vlasidis,2001) This broadcasting process became well known to the international community which estimated it as a tube to information towards the conditions in Balkan peninsula.

In F.Y.R.O.Macedonia we may notice that regarding internet’s sphere and its administration, responsibilities are divided, as usually happening in many countries in Balkan territory. Additionally, MARnet the Macedonian Academic and Research Network, was the first one who brought internet connection in the country back in 1995. (Haralanova, 2001) In 1995 is also referred as the year the Macedonian Open Society Institute set up the first web server in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia. The internet has really quickly faced development, despite the difficulties the state has been through over the past decade.

According to ITU, the International Telecommunication Union which is the United Nations specialized agency for information and communication technologies, it is able to present numbers towards internet users in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia, regarding state’s population. Likewise, in 2000 while the population of the country was 2.016.060 million the number of the people that were using the internet by that year was more or less 30.000. In 2002 while the population remained at a steady level, the variable of internet users was triplicate. The development process of internet establishment in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia, kept its steadily increasing procedure. According to SSO, the State Statistical Office of F.Y.R.O.Macedonia, in 2006 the internet users where almost 400.000 people, while state’s population was 2.5 million. Between 2006 and 2010 internet started becoming extremely popular in the country. In 2010 half of the population appears as internet user.

Year	Users	Population	% of Population referred as users
2000	30.000	2.016.060	1.5%
2002	100.000	2.016.060	5.0%
2006	392.671	2.056.894	19.0%
2010	1.057.400	2.056.894	51.0%

Currently, the internet has been established in the country as a mean of information, with many internet news media taking place in the contemporary mass media information landscape. We may underline that sixteen official web pages offer information and news; most of these internet sites write the news in Slavmacedonian, like 24 Online, Daily, Headlines, Makedonija, Makedonija 24, Makedonia Sport, MK News, Net Press and many others. Moreover there are many

internet news media that use Albanian and English, such as Idi Vidi that presents daily news in Slavmacedonian, Albanian and English as well; furthermore there is Shqip Media, a site that broadcasts news only in Albanian and Skopje Diem an English speaking site that presents daily news from F.Y.R.O.Macedonia. Apart from this independent web pages, there are also those newspapers that are published as press, but also have established their own information internet sites. Dvenik one of the most famous newspapers in the country also has to present its own information site that captures a whole sphere of political, financial, social and sport news. Moreover, there is Nova Makedonija one of the oldest daily press of F.Y.R.O.Macedonia, also there is Utrinski Vesnik, Vecer whose press edition was established in the county in 1963 has got also its own web news site. Additionally we may note Press Online another web newspaper that presents daily news information in Albanian language. Most of the grand TV channels of F.Y.R.O.Macedonia also have web pages with informative character; Sitel TV, Kanal 77 and Antenna 5 are some of them. As it has already been mentioned, we may underline some of the most important sites have been existed on the internet, whose identity had a strong political or even provocative character.

To begin with, www.ok.mk, is a site which kept an anti-Albanian position towards internal national issues; many articles where Albanians have been characterized as terrorists were uploaded on "ok". (Vlasidis, 2001) Presently the site does not exist. Another web portal which had adopted a pro-Slavmacedonian profile against Albanians and NLA, is www.maknews.com. This portal did not upload its very own articles but offered recycled articles from other news sites able to promote the political ideology which has been chosen from "maknews" to be promoted. The portal does not exist currently. Furthermore, there were even more extreme sites whose main subject of analysis was the internal civil discussion towards the Slavmacedonians and the Albanians. Portals like www.freemacedonia.com and www.albanianterrorism.com were articles as memoirs of local Slavmacedonian describe incidents of violence that have faced from Albanians. Both of the sites do not currently exist. Yet, the most hardcore site that promotes a totally anti-Albanian political line is www.komiti.com. The web page uses tough language to present articles and news towards the political era, by emphasizing on subjects around the criminal action of Albanians against Slavmacedonians; a forum is also available where really hard lines are written against NLA and the Albanian minority. The site still exists presently; its profile remains pro-Slavmacedonian, yet more issues such as the name dispute that exists with Hellenic Democracy or other articles towards Foreign affairs.

Web pages like this might not surprise the web community as far as the right to expression is one of the most fundamental human rights that has been provided through internet global establishment as a mean of free exchange of opinions. However, what might be surprising is the fact that www.komiti.com has been mainly financially supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of F.Y.R.O.Macedonia. (Vlasidis, 2001) Finally there is another important news which is organized by the

Diaspora of F.Y.R.O.Macedonia living in Australia named www.emacedonia.com.au. Yet, the site is not strongly informative; it also includes softer articles and columns towards F.Y.R.O.Macedonia traditions etc. From the Albania side there is an important to be mentioned site, this one of www.alb-net.com. It exist presently and its character *"promotes news & information mailing list that distributes pertinent and relevant information covering issues related to human, civil, cultural, academic, economic, and religious rights and freedoms throughout the Albanian lands."* (www.alb-net.com)

It is not easy or even achievable to present every single news sites, blog , online newspaper or forum which is considered to be an information media tube in the internet's ocean; as long as many web site appear and disappear extremely often on the internet. However a present view of the most important and popular online newspapers and information sites that are currently existing in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia are the following;24Online.mk, 24News,Avto Berza , Daily, Dnevnik,Forum, Headlines.mk, Idi Vidi, Kapital,Koha, Kurir, Makedonija, Makednija 24, Makedonski Sport, Makedonsko Sonce, MK News, Nova Makedonnija, ,Net News, O Net, Oglasnik 24, Plus Info, Puls 24, Shenja, Shqip Media (In Albanian), Skopje Diem(In English), Start, Tochka, Utrinski Vesnik, Vest, Vreme Online, Zhurnal.

F.Y.R.O.Macedonia towards Political and Media framework

Social, Economic and Political framework

Originally, F.Y.R.O.Macedonia, built its new modern and liberate profile as a state, based on principles like the market-driven economy, European integration, institutional adaptation, parliamentary democracy, a free social dominated system and the rule of law. However, despite all these efforts of internal democratization in the country, it is not easy enough for a "new born" state to avoid problems such as the *"economic underdevelopment, lack of democratic tradition and civil initiative, ideologization of the political sphere, inconsistency of the legal system, dysfunctional development of human rights and inter-ethnic relations."*(Sopar, Jovanova, 2000, p .4)

Republic of Macedonia appeared with this current name in 1945; its previous name was Vardar Macedonia. Officially, it has been consolidated in the Yugoslav Federation in 1946, by contributing one of the six constituent republics. The story telling continues with Yugoslavia's disintegration taking place in 1991, presenting F.Y.R.O.Macedonia having chosen to affirm its state independence. Yet, the country had to face the new era of transition while, it was not easy to accomplish a list of targets, able to make F.Y.R.O.Macedonia process of accession into its new present uneasy. Moreover, the conditions under which the Republics of Former Yugoslavia tried to assert their independence, created a negatively productive environment, under which F.Y.R.O.Macedonia must conclude its transition process. Among other subjects F.Y.R.O.Macedonia had to face problems towards its foreign policy, specifically regarding the recognition of the state by the international community, aligned with the name dispute with Greece. Moreover, the transformation of F.Y.R.O.Macedonia, into a contemporary country, continued to be extremely difficult because of the dramatic incidents had taken place in the Balkan Peninsula, after the collapse of Yugoslavia. NATO bombing of Yugoslavia produced many difficulties because of the political and financial punishments UN gave to Serbia, who has always been F.Y.R.O.Macedonia main trade partner. What is more, in 2001 an internal crisis, officially has been announced as an internal armed conflict, took place in the country when the Albanian minority, demanded further institutional rights for the ethnic Albanians living in FYROM. The conflict ended on August 2001 with the assignment of Ohrid Framework Agreement-OFA, with the efforts of the international community. However, the unbalanced society situation, the gaps on rule of law and legitimacy, corruption on access on information, remained unsolved factors in the country.

Media liberalization in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia

Karol Jakubowicz on his book presents three levels by which we may identify the development of media in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia. The first stage covers the period, between the years 1991-1997. This first period is characterized by *"demonopolization, decentralization and internalization on television content."*(Jakubowicz, Karol, 2011, pp. 210–229)

The developing process on media's landscape in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia, continued with the existence of a second period between 1998 and 2005 when, the country faced the birth of new legislature, which has been followed by the introduction into a new era of journalistic professionalization, motivated by the fact that many mass, commercial media have been created in the country by that period. We may refer to 2006 as the beginning of the third period which is still continuous and is characterized by a *"legislative consolidation, continuing professionalization and the*

beginning of media concentration combined with the growing influence of foreign capital.”(Jakubowicz, 2011, p. 210-229)

Still, F.Y.R.O.Macedonia has to deal with the important issue of the ethnical division that defines this state’s existence. Both at a national or a local level, F.Y.R.O.Macedonia present a various collection of print and electronic media, while most of them reflect series of political ideologies. (Misev Vladimir, “Macedonia”, in Jeannette Goehring (ed), Nations in transit, 2008)

Furthermore, it is an undeniable fact that the audience in the country remains divided according to their ethnic group. There are broadcasts for the different ethnic groups that transmit separate programs for each tribe’s language. However, there are channels that transmit part of their programs in Slavmacedonian as well. The sphere of TV and radio stations in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia is more or less also covered by an important number of programs that broadcast not only in Slavmacedonian, but in minority languages as well. Yet, the situation is not clear enough in print media. In addition, despite the fact that the majority of the press in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia, publishes in Slavmacedonian, there are some newspapers and magazines written in Albanian, Turkish or even bilingual print written in Albanian and Slavmacedonian. There are no further print media in other languages. (Sopar, Jovanova, 2000, p 8.)

The situation in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia exists with the majority of Slavmacedonians live next to Albanians. Interaction between the two ethnic groups could not be characterized as an intense one. The whole situation is presented also from people’s choices when they have to show their preferences into the media sphere. The majority of the population of the Albanian minority in the country chooses Albanian speaking media for their information. However, currently, highly educated ethnic Albanians, use to read Slavomacedonian press as well, or prefer to watch Slavomacedonian speaking programs on TV. In contradiction to that, only few ethnic Slavomacedonians know and use the Albanian language, so there are no many of them who choose to follow an Albanian speaking electronic media for their information.

Media and Politics on parallel spheres

Hallin and Mancini in their book “Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics”, they talk about the parallel existence of media and politics by evaluating the following “*Links between political actors and the media and more generally the extent to which the media reflects on political divisions.*”(Hardy, Jonathan, 2008, p.18)

The colorful landscape of media in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia does not only represents ethnical diversities but a series of different national political norms. Despite the fact that officially there is no media in the country that directly supports a political party or a coalition in general, it seems to be well-known the fact that there are relations among media and political parties in FYROM. It is not a theory but mostly a verifiable truth, easily recognizable if we consider the media ownership. (Dimitrijevska-Markoski, Daskalovski, 2013, p. 19)

It does not seem to be difficult to refer a list of those media that appear to be at least influenced by specific political eras; as a matter of fact many of them were owned even by political party leaders. To a degree, in accordance with Freedom House, we may underline another channel which does not exist currently; A1 Television has been occurred and criticized in 2009 for promoting propaganda in favor of the Bulgarian Government. The whole incident took place while a reality show, presented some of its participants' admission towards their beliefs according to which citizens of F.Y.R.O.Macedonia are actually Bulgarians. Continuing to what it was referred previously, A1 Television which was owned by Velia Ramkovski, who was the leader of the "Party for Economic Renewal" and also owned "Vreme" and "Koha", two daily newspapers. (Freedom House, 2010, p. 353). Moreover, there is Sitel TV, is owned by another political figure, the son Ljubisav Ivanov, who was the former president of Socialist Party (SDSM). (Freedom House, 2010, p. 354)

Furthermore, Channel 5 is owned by Emil Stoimenov, who is the son also of another political leader, this one of the VMRO-Vistinska party, named Boris Stojmenov. In addition, another channel AlsatTV, is owned by an ethnic-Albanian businessman. However the most surprising and characteristic example of media and politics parallel sphere of existence is the case of TV ALFA. At first the channel was owned by a businessman who had close relations with the leader of the biggest opposition party SDSM. Currently after the change of channel's ownership, it is obvious that the whole political program of the channel has been changed, since the new owner undertook the channel. Unofficial sources, underline that the new owner has got a close relationship with the ruling party. (Dimitrijevska-Markoski, Daskalovski, 2013, p. 18)

In addition most of channel's important political analyzers, who used to present those specific programs of political interest, were replaced by a new cadre of journalists and front men, able to support the new political line the channel presently follows. Likewise, many journalists were transferred from the traditionally pro-government media; MRTV, SITESL or Dvevnik are some of these media whose part

of their personnel was transferred to TV ALFA. (Dimitrijevska-Markoski, Daskalovski, 2013, p.19)

Dimitrijevska-Markoski and Zhidas on their paper titled "Assisted Media Democratization after Low-Intensity Conflict, case study Macedonia", refer to Goce Mihailjoski's note towards the fact that in FYROM media news and commentaries are often mixed in order to promote a specific political norm able to match with each media's political profile.

"In addition to having political careers, journalists in both electronic and print media outlets often mix news with commentaries; they do not distinguish between facts and opinions, do not use multiple sources to verify the story, and present information in a sensationalist style." (Dimitrijevska-Markoski, Daskalovski, p.20)

Freedom house, refer to FYROM as a partly free country towards press freedom.

The current situation

The present landscape of media's legal and political framework seems to change. Under the pressure of the European Union, towards F.Y.R.O.Macedonia candidacy process of accession into the Union, the media factor seems to be the one that must present an important and realistic development. In 2013 the European Commission's Progress Report on Macedonia underlined a list of issues which the state must to deal with; issues like the independence of the courts, freedom of expression and relations with the media, corruption etc.(European Commission Progress Report, Macedonia, 2013.)

In addition, two new laws were passed last year in December 25; the *Law on Media* and the *Law on Audio and Audiovisual Media Services*. However, there was a strong opposition from the media and journalism side, who seemed to fear that these laws would become the official tools by which media freedom might be undermined. Furthermore, there are even more worth to be mentioned events that took place in 2013 in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia. One of these, is the fact that it has been decided the digital switchover, that started in June 2013; yet by that exact period many media stopped existing. The weekly newspaper Gragjanski, stopped its publicity citing its inability to pay for the strict input of advertisement, which is boosted from the political arena. Moreover the web site www.komunikacija.mk folded by the same period with Focus magazine.

Concerning the issue of digital switchover it seems that the whole situation became a really hush one for most of the media in the country. It seems that the regulatory body which was responsible for the broadcasting licensing, set aside the two broadcasting licensing, one for the radio stations and one for the TV channels,

extremely hastily right before the digital switchover. This move created a wave of insecurity to the media and journalism world while, there was no time for them to receive any proper information towards the new broadcasting era that seemed to began. The problem was more obvious to those local media, which could not even afford the transition cost to the new digital reality.

This problem came to lay on F.Y.R.O.Macedonia landscape at period where the state faced many tragic events towards media world. The death of two important people of the journalism community. In June 2013, the journalist and activist for media issues Roberto Belicanec, who was the CEO and founder of the Media Development Centre, passed away. On March 26, the owner and editor of Focus magazine, Nicola Mladenov died in a car accident. Mladenov's strong critical voice towards journalism independence and freedom of speech are the reasons for many to believe currently that *"there must have been some foul play surrounding his death, especially in view of the fact that Mladenov was a strong critical voice in Macedonian media, and the investigation was widely seen as hastily and incompetently led."*(EUROPE & EURASIA MEDIA SUSTAINABILITY INDEX 2014, p. 72)

Yet, what might be underlined is the fact that eight of the ten panelists that took part at the MSI survey for 2014 regarding media landscape in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia, and talked about all this happenings taking place in the country, asked for their identity to remain anonymous. They actually reported that those journalists, who voice their ideas and opinions and happen to be in opposition with the governmental norm, are facing a strong, aggressive campaign against them. Their name directly are transformed to "traitors" who act against country's good. Moreover they face the lack of protection from the official institutions. (EUROPE & EURASIA MEDIA SUSTAINABILITY INDEX 2014, p. 72)

Minding the report of this situation existing in the country, the outcome that appears with F.Y.R.O.Macedonia score at Freedom of Speech sector does not appear as a surprise. Regarding the Europe & Eurasia report for Media Sustainability, F.Y.R.O.Macedonia score is 1.34/4 higher than Belarus(1.05), Uzbekistan(0.74) and Turkmenistan (0.26) and lower than the rest of region's countries. The score refers to a specific term that reflects the state's profile towards Freedom of Speech F.Y.R.O.Macedonia seems to appear feeding an *Unsustainable Mixed System*. This actually means that each country that scores 1-2 is a *"Country minimally meets objectives, with segments of the legal system and government opposed to a free media system. Evident progress in free-press advocacy, increased professionalism, and new media businesses may be too recent to judge sustainability."*(EUROPE & EURASIA MEDIA SUSTAINABILITY INDEX 2014, p. 70)

Moreover media world in FYROM had to face another tragedy; the death of two really important people of the journalism community. In June 2013, the journalist and activist for media issues Roberto Belicanec, who was the CEO founder of the Media Development Centre, passed away. On March 26, the owner and editor of Focus magazine, Nicola Mladenov died in a car accident. Mladenov's strong critical

voice towards journalism's independence and freedom are the reasons for many to believe currently that *"there must have been some foul play surrounding his death, especially in view of the fact that Mladenov was a strong critical voice in Macedonian media, and the investigation was widely seen as hastily and incompetently led."*(EUROPE & EURASIA MEDIA SUSTAINABILITY INDEX 2014, p. 5)

The rest of the indexes showed that F.Y.R.O.Macedonia kept on scoring low. Additionally in Professional Journalism its score is 1.27/4, in Plurality of News its score is 1.53, in Business Management country's score is 1.06, finally in Supporting Institutions F.Y.R.O.Macedonia score is 1.76. The overall views present a negative profile for the country towards media and journalism liberation. The pessimistic element is the fact that even after the new legislation there are no positive sights of a healthy development. The current political situation reflects a non secured environment for the media landscape, since it appears that more authoritarian strategies take place in the country year after year; despite the fact that the European Union presses for more transparent and liberated system to be established in the country.

Conclusion

The media landscape in F.Y.R.O.Macedonia, might be presented as an exaggerated one, if not quantitative. There are more than 90 broadcasting groups; for most of those trying to survive financially and legally is extremely difficult, especially now where the era of the digital switchover has been established in the country. Apart from the aforementioned issue, the country also hereby faces an unofficial condition of monopoly towards the broadcasting media. The national television and radio remain the most popular means of broadcasting; SITEL, Kanal 5 and the radio station of Kanal 77 follow the scores of MRT. Regarding the internet; from 2010 until today it is obvious that increasingly more and more people in the country use the internet as a means of information gathering. What is also worth mentioning is the fact that most of the press media, choose to establish an individual web site on the internet as well. There are many information sites, blogs and forums, many of those reflect the minorities' viewpoints. Regarding the press media in the country, their publicity still remains in high numbers; Nova Makedonija and Vetser, which are traditionally pro-governmental newspapers, are two of the most popular newspapers along with Dvenik, a more neutral press. Albanian newspapers and magazines seem to have reached a good level of publishing as well. Most of the media, however, prefer to collaborate with the national news agency called MIA.

After the collapse of socialism in the former Yugoslavia, F.Y.R.O.Macedonia was the first of the republics who achieved its independence. Media has always been extremely popular in the country; however a proper legislative project towards media landscape did not come immediately, not even quickly. The contemporary and latest changes into the legislation of media appeared last year in 2013 with two laws passed by the parliament. Both of these were presented in order to increase the quality of the media system. However many incidents in the media microcosm took place over the last few years in the country, with broadcasting media stopping existing, or changing their owners. Two well-known journalists also died, while in the last survey of the European Commission all those journalists that took part in the survey asked for their identity to remain anonymous. The new laws were agreed however, the sense of the political terrorism that exists in the state seems to be increasing year by year. Freedom House presents the scores of the country towards media freedom; for 2014 it was decreased by one unit. Moreover, Transparency International, through Global Corruption Barometer, presents F.Y.R.O.Macedonia as a country where, the 46% of those who took part in the survey feel that in the past three years the level of corruption in the country has been increased while the 52% believes that the media is corrupt. Yet, corruption is really what matters, or does it even reflect the real situation taking place in the state. It could be one of those parameters that lead to another important issue, about which we can speak about with a moderate tone for the moment. The political system that exists in the country reflects many elements of an authoritarian one. That is worth evaluating in any future research and investigating the relations between political links with media. Beginning with the ownership of them following onto the way, and amount of, affection they are able to offer to the media. European Commission thought its report regarding F.Y.R.O.Macedonia progress towards European Union Integration, underlines the fact that the media sector appears as the weakest one. It is obvious that much more efforts are required in order to be clear that the independence does exist and freedom of speech is present within the media. It seems that within this regime, under whose conditions Nicola Gruevski chooses to build the future of F.Y.R.O.Macedonia, truly independent media and freedom of speech have got no place. Democracy is in need transparent organizations able to protect and fight constantly in favor of freedom of press and media in general. A country able to be reflected as one where democratic regimes take place, must be free of political intimidation when it comes to journalism and media; there is no need to analyze it further it is obvious that the independence of the media and journalism supported by access to information reflect a healthy and developed democratic system. What is needed in the case of F.Y.R.O.Macedonia is a more transparent relation within the triangle of politicians, public and media. Apart from the bullet points that contribute to the democratization process which F.Y.R.O.Macedonia tries to achieve, the whole situation in the country regarding Gruevski's strategies seems that the country is led

to a more authoritarian shape of governance. By these neither attitudes establishing in the country even when new laws about broadcasting or media are passing, the outcome reflects remains neither positive nor hopeful. The process of accession as part of the overall E.U integration's process, has got the power and the mechanisms to place inside F.Y.R.O.Macedonia, bases in order to create a democratic system, where unruffled media era will have a strong and clear position. What should be researched and evaluated over the coming years is whether F.Y.R.O.Macedonia, as a state, worries and asks for this transparent and democratic system. The landscape of media can always be the sector that displays the current state democracy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Boduszyński, Mieczysław P. Regime Change in the Yugoslav Successor States: Divergent Paths toward a New Europe. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins UP, 2010.

Dannfort. Kenneth C., "Yugoslavia: A house Much Divided", National Geographic, August 1990.

Devlin, Judith, and Christoph Hendrik Müller. War of Words: Culture and the Mass Media in the Making of the Cold War in Europe. Dublin: U College Dublin, 2013.

Gruevski, Tome. Sovremeniot Pečat Vo Makedonija 1944-1994. Skopje: "Studentski Zbor", 1995.

Hallin, Daniel C., and Paolo Mancini. Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004.

Hardy, Jonathan. Western Media Systems. London: Routledge, 2008.

Johnson, Owen V. "The Roots of Journalism in Central and Eastern Europe." *Eastern European Journalism Before, During and After Communism*, in Eastern European Journalism: Before, during and after Communism. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton, 1999.

Kurspahić, Kemal. *Prime Time Crime: Balkan Media in War and Peace*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2003.

Misev Vladimir, "Macedonia", in Jeannett Goehring (ed), Nations in transit, 2008: Democratization from central Europe to Eurasia, New York and Budapest: Freedom House, 2008 .

Nineski, Blagoja. Pečatenite I Elektronskite Mediumi Vo Makedonija. Skopje: Tribina Makedonska, 2000.

Thompson, Mark. *Forging War: The Media in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Avon: Bath, 1994.

Vlasidis, Vlasis, "Irredentism on the Internet", in *Society for Macedonian Studies, Macedonianism FYROM'S Expansionist Designs against Greece, 1944-2006*, Ephesus - Society for Macedonian Studies, 2007.

Vlasidēs, Vlasēs. *Eksousea Kai MME Sta Valkania. Sheseis Amfedromes I Monomerous Eksarteses? Thessalonikē: Vantias, 2003. (Unpublished)*

Vlasides, Vlases. *Ta Mesa Enemeroses Sta Valkania. Thessalonike: Ekdoseis Vantias, 2001.*

Vlasides, Vlases. *Ste Methorio Helladas - FYROM: Ta Mesa Enemeroses Stous Nomous Phlorinas, Kastorias, Monasteriou Kai Perlepe. Thessalonike: Epikentro, 2010.*

Web

International Press Intitute (IPI), 2000 World Press Freedom Review, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in www.freemedia.at/wpfr/Serbia.htm.

Sopar, Vesna, and Emilija Jovanova. "The Media System in the Republic of Macedonia: Broadcasting between the Normative and the Real." *The Media System in the Republic of Macedonia: Broadcasting between the Normative and the Real*, 2000.

Jakubowicz, Karol. "Post-Communist Media Development in Perspective." , *Internationale Politikanalyse Europäische Politik | Politikinformation Osteuropa*, 2005.

Global Corruption Barometer ,Report, *Macedonia*, Transparency International ,2013 .

Freedom House, Report, *Freedom of Press*, 2010.

Freedom House, Report, *Freedom of Press*, 2013.

Freedom House, Report, *Freedom of Press*, 2014.

Christina Haralanova, The APC European Internet Rights Project, Country Report, FYR-Macedonia, May 2001.

Petar Komnecic, "Editor of "The Day" Sentenced" , AIM Podgogica, 2001, in www.aimpress.ch/dyn/trae/archive/data/20011211225-007-trae-pod.htm

Ivan Radovanovic, "Serbian Broadcasters. The Battle for Channels", AIM, Belgrade, 2001, in in www.aimpress.ch/dyn/trae/archive/data/200112/11219-002-trae-pod.htm

Zoran Tihic, " Keeping an eye on Journalists", AIM, Mostar, 2001, www.aimpress.ch/dyn/trae/archive/data/200112/11225-008-trae-pod.htm

Gertrude Joch Robbinson, "Tito's Maverick Media: The Politics of Mass Communication in Yugoslavia." 12 Dec. 2014, in , <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/31466/john-c-campbell/titos-maverick-media-the-politics-of-mass-communication-in-yugos>

Dimitrijevska-Markoski Tamara, Zhidas Daskalovski , "Assisting Media Democratization after Low-Intensity Conflict : The case of Macedonia", Analitika, Working Paper 2013, in http://www.analitika.ba/sites/default/files/publikacije/tamara_and_zhidas_-_rrpp_macedonia_wp05_3dec2013_final_for_publishing.pdf

EUROPE & EURASIA MEDIA SUSTAINABILITY INDEX 2014, in http://www.irex.org/sites/default/files/u105/MSI_EE_2014

European Commission Progress Report, Macedonia, 2013, in
http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2013/package/mk_rapport_2013.pdf