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Ali PAJAZITI<sup>1</sup>

## MACEDONIA AND ALBANIAS – PERSPECTIVES FOR A COMMON FUTURE

*“The essence of state sovereignty is not in monopoly of force and domination, but in monopoly of solutions”.*  
Karl Shmidt

Walter Bagehot says that XIX century was the period of creation of nations, but in Balkan area nation-building project, as in every aspect of life, lates, continues till our time, namely till new millenium. The analysts of different social sciencies claim that tendencies for creation of closed national(istic) politic creatures in era of planetarism and integration in global frame are paradoxal. There is no raison and interest from living within “ethnic borders” in era of “global borders” and “global village”. For misfortune in Balkan Peninsula, nationalist movements, xenofoby and mentalities of (re)forming borders and building walls are very spread tendencies. It is a fact that have to be known by every rational person and society that there is no place for Balkans with tribe and clan borders in Europe and world without borders.

In the period of so-called first social transition, Republic of Macedonia or state apparatus wich *de facto* was in the hand of ethnic Macedonians aimed to be a political creature determined by factor of ethnocentrism and Ku Klux Klan mentality: *Macedonian Power*. For ten years the problem

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<sup>1</sup> Ali Pajaziti is a sociologist and works for the Macedonian weekly “LOBI”

wich neglected by formal politics was the position of ethnic Albanians who were treated as minority and second hand citizens, even they formally form 23 % of total population of this country. The questions like “politic and cultural rights”, education, rational/proportional representation of citizens in the formal institutions were excluded from focus of interest and actuality. The consequence of *Pax Macedonica*’s wrong and tendencious political praxis (state considered itself *Caesar dominus est supra grammaticam*<sup>2</sup> – intervanted even in the sphere of Albanian toponimy) and exclusivist lousism collectivized in form “state, it is we, Macedonians” was the conflict of year 2001. This conflict witness that the biggest defect of Homo Balkanicus is the *short memory*, he forgets the historic events and the consequences of irrational deeds in the neighbour countries like Croatia, Bosnia, Kosovo...

The society who was face to face with the civil war between the two biggest ethnicities, now copes with the issue of living together like a complex problem that shoud be faced putting the person at the center of human rights, equity, social inclusion as principles of a preliminary frame of any discussion and decision. A frame independent of national, cultural, racial, religious background of the people.<sup>3</sup> A frame in wich epicentre will be citizen, not national collectivities, where will be respected principles of meritocracy wich means competition free from ethnicism and partisation.

After the “storm” and the “Ohrid Agreement” there is a ground for consolidation, for transfer from dionisian society in apollonian one, from dialogecentric and dialogic society in *society of stability*, where everything functionates in spontane and natural form, without prejudgements and tabus, even though there are some open problems like national march who is ethnocentric symbol *par exellance* (in it we face just elements of Macedonian patriotism), legalisation of University of Tetova etc.

Macedonia’s Albanians percepts RM their *lebensraum* and are ready for contrsuctive cooperation with the local and international structures for the better future of all cictizens of this small country. There is no Albanian institutions or members of intelligentsia (like MAAS) who claim that territory and people changes are only solution for succeding *constant peace*. The inner stability of Macedonia depend on process of *integration of society*, on process of recreating lines of *interethnic communication* and avoiding of opposite extremes and interethnic tensions, on process of susbstitution of etnocracy with *real democratic values*. In this aspect Macedonian corpus

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<sup>2</sup> Ali Pajaziti, “Monizmi si tetivë akiliane”, *Lobi*, Nr. 26, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Marco Martiniello, *Living Together Experiencies from other Countries*, Kaspar Hauser Library, Skopje, 2001, from introduction.

have to eradicate the fear and doubt of “fantasmogoric syntagm”: Great Albania.<sup>4</sup>

Albanians consider Republic of Macedonia their homeland. Let we hear the follow significant lines:

“My motherland is where I born, where I acquainted my mamma and papa, where I’m known by all stones ... and where I will give last breaths”.

Is there any better definition of motherland than this of well-known Albanian renaissnace poet Andon Zako Çajupi? “Albanians do not have reserve state, they have Macedonia and try to build it like *civil and civilisated society*, where everybody will find own hapiness, today and tomorrow.”<sup>5</sup> Only Albanians do not deny or refuse elements of Macedonian cause, they affirm Macedonian language, Macedonian nation, Macedonian Orthodox Church and Republic of Macedonia. It’s well known fact that Greece contests constitutional name of RM, Bulgaria contests nation and language (clame that macedonians are bulgars), Serbia denies independence of MOCH...

*Raison d’etat* (state behalf) is the full implementation of Ohrid Agreement, understanding that ahead Macedonian society are two potential development orientations:

1. *Multiculturalism* in its socio-cultural spectre,
2. Model of *postethnic society* like a modern formal matrix of *politic nation*.<sup>6</sup>

In the first case it is important the advancing of ethnocultural signs through articulation of categories like language, religion and cultural legacy.

In the second case, in the sample of posethnic society, individual and personal choice will be more important factors within social life, it will be opened the doors of chances and oportunities for all individuals in the social developments.

The Macedonia’s new premier’s words where he points that other nations who live in Macedonia mustn’t comprehend like “ispensable evil”,<sup>7</sup> but like integrative part of this state are meaningful, and a good ground for finding the formula of tolerance, coexistence and interethnic confidence. Macedonia can syrvive as a politic subject only like a *unitas multiplex*, not like a monolithic entity, only without pretence for domination and claims like: “If you do not like Macedonia constructed as we want, you can

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<sup>4</sup> See: [www.mladina.si/dnevnik/12563/](http://www.mladina.si/dnevnik/12563/)

<sup>5</sup> *Idninata na Makedonija* (Makedonsko-albanski dijalog), Trkalezni masi, Skopje, 4-5th Juni, 2001, p. 73-74.

<sup>6</sup> Petar Atanasov, “Multikulturalizmi dhe të drejtat e njeriut”, *Të drejtat e njeriut si vlera demokratike*, seminar organised by IADC and Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Tetovë, 15 October, 2002, p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Dnevnik, 01 November, 2002.

emigrate in Albania!” Denationalisation of society is *conditio sine qua non* for a future preserved from big problems. The alternative of this is come back of social pathology called *guerrism*. The period of postconflictual Macedonia is a *second transition period*, very critical stage, phase of shakespearean *to be or not to be*, phase with fate, if the citizens and leadership want, have to be different from first socio-economic transition (1990-2001) who was evaluated as non-successful. If the political relations go better, than in economy and in all other domains of life should be released positive developments.

There is no unsolvable problem for *homo sapiens* who knows the prize of dementia. Wisdom is necessarily factor of finding the way (re)establishing of human relations between peoples throughout world.

The challenge that we citizen of RM and humanity faces today reminds me of an old Sufi story about a man who died and left to his three sons their inheritance of seventeen camels. To the first son he left half the camels, to the second son he left one-third of the camels, and to the third and youngest son, he left one-ninth of the camels. The three sons fell to negotiating, trying to get along, and soon found it was difficult because seventeen doesn't divide by two, and it doesn't divide by three, and it doesn't divide by nine. Suddenly, it became difficult to coexist, difficult to get along, and their fraternal relationship started to get strained. Finally, in desperation, they went and consulted a wise old woman. And the wise old woman thought about their problem for a long time, and finally she came back to them and said, "well, I don't know if I can solve your problem, but at least, if you want, you can have my camel." So then they had eighteen camels. Then the first son took his half, half of eighteen is nine; and the second son took his third, a third of eighteen is six; and the third son took his ninth, a ninth of eighteen is two. If you add nine and six and two, you get seventeen. They had one camel left over! They gave it back to the wise old woman.

If we think about that story for a moment, I think we'll find that it resembles the challenge that we face here, which is, like those seventeen camels, the issue of **coexistence** and community building seems like a very difficult issue to crack. There are over six billion of us on this planet; there are over six thousand distinct ethnic groups on this planet; there are over a thousand religions, and there are countless ideologies. We are emerging from the deadliest century the human race has ever known. So the question is: how can we learn to live together? How can we learn to coexist, despite our differences? How can we turn our differences into something positive? What we're trying to do in this initiative on **coexistence** and community

building is to see if we can find that eighteenth camel; to see if we can step back, like that wise old woman, and change our assumptions.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> [www.co-net.org](http://www.co-net.org)