TEDUTRAIN' 21
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HISTORICAL

NORTH
ATLANTIC
TREATY
ORGANIZATION

North Macedonia

Ethnic Rivalry

2001-2003

UNDER-SECRETARIES-GENERAL
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TED UNIVERSITY TRAINING
AND DEVELOPMENT
CONFERENCE 2021

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Highly esteemed participants,

I am Hüseyin Hikmet Fındık, a junior student at TED University, under the Department of Computer Engineering. I proudly would like to welcome you all to the TEDUMUN Training and Development Conference 2021, which we all believe will lead to a lot of new beginnings. While thinking about a training and development conference, it is impossible not to refer to what annoys us in real life. There is no doubt that day by day, the 21st century shows us the value of equality, democracy, justice, and every democratic norm that we deeply needed for peaceful communities. In the Turkey of the 21st century, it is obvious that we are stumbling at every single one of those values. These values create an environment that makes us happy, peaceful. It has been hard, sad, and desperate for us to see every single democratic norm being violated one by one, every day, right in front of our eyes.

When he first stepped into Havza, Samsun, while everything around was worse than ever, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk said "They do not want to kill us, they want to put us into the grave alive. We are now at the edge of the pit. One last tenacity can save us.". When the hope ends, tenacity begins. Today is the day to show that tenacity to build a better society, to build a better Turkey, and to build a better world. On this road, we believe that we need every single piece of an idea to ensure the rights of every single one of us.

Since having a chance to thank to your Deputy Secretary-General in a letter is something so rare in conferences, I am so thankful to Merve Reyhan Fındık, my sister, for being such a talented, wonderful person. While creating this committee, she did a brilliant job by fitting that kind of a complicated timeline of events to 30 pages. In the hearth of Eastern Europe, it will be an important challenge for the sides to decide their future. It is always the same dilemma, war or peace, both brings compromises. Our crisis team is ready for the updates, so be careful while deciding. See you at the end of the war.

Sincerely.

Hüseyin Hikmet Fındık

Secretary-General of TEDUTRAIN'21

LETTER FROM THE CO-UNDER-SECRETARY-GENERAL

Honorable Participants,

It is my utmost pleasure to present you to TEDUTRAIN'21. My name is Merve Reyhan Fındık and I am a senior student at TED University in the Department of Political Science and International Relations. I will be the Co-Under-Secretary-General responsible for the historical North Atlantic Treaty Organization of TEDUTRAIN'21.

Our agenda item is the North Macedonia ethnic rivalry which took place between 2001 and 2003. During the sessions, our delegates will try to solve a historical problem as if it were in an up-to-date way, as well as create solutions with sustainable updates.

As the Co-Under-Secretary-General of historical NATO, it is my duty to thank three people for their support during the process: The first one is Hüseyin Hikmet Fındık who is both Secretary-General of TEDUTRAIN'21 and the person who introduced me to the MUN community.

I also wanted to thank my academic assistant Başak Arslan and Co-Under-Secretary-General Berra Balkan.

If you have any questions related to the committee or study guide, please do not hesitate to contact me, my academic assistant, or my Co-USG via mreyhan.findik@tedu.edu.tr, basak.arslan@tedu.edu.tr, or zberra.balkan@tedu.edu.tr.

Kindest Regards,

Merve Reyhan Fındık

Co-Under-Secretary-General responsible for the historical North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

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I. AGENDA ITEM: North Macedonia Ethnic Rivalry(2001-2003)

A. COMMITTEE INFORMATION

-What does the committee do?

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, hereinafter referred to as NATO or the alliance, is a union that stands between legislative conciliatory and military, comprising 29 countries from Europe and North America. Since its establishment, the Alliance has been seen as the aggregate voice of the Allied powers because of an ordinary danger.

NATO comprises a mutual defense system through which its independent member states agree to collective security in response to an attack by any outside faction.

-What is the aim of it?

The main aim of the alliance comprises the protection and maintenance of the freedom and security of their members. This definition also includes the most recent arms of an offense such as weapons of mass destruction (WMD), cyber intrusion, and terrorism. This kind of security and freedom is achieved by the partnership of two different areas of the alliance:

Political: The organization promotes and encourages the values of democracy and solving conflicts by adhering to these values. The system based on consultation and reasoning resolves problems while at the same time preventing potential future problems by building trust in the long term.

Military: Although NATO basically aims to solve problems through communication and mediation, it is obliged to address military

solutions where efforts do not produce results. Military solutions are usually conducted through crisis-management operations. The mentioned operations are determined and guaranteed by Article 5 of the agreement:

"Article 5:The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defense recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area."[i]

-Which type of problems is the committee generally facing?

While the issues that NATO is working on often vary depending on the world agenda, the strategies of the countries also influence the position. Taking on the role of mediation or taking the necessary responsibility at points where tensions have reached the extent of military intervention defines mandate of the NATO. The matters to be dealt with are determined by the Secretary-General of NATO and the committee timeline includes George Robertson as the authority. The most current issues that NATO is dealing with include the relationships with the Russian Federation or the expansion policy of the alliance.

B. EXPECTATION OF THE ACADEMIC TEAM

-Why is this topic related to the committee?

NATO is the pioneer contributor to universal peace, and it attempts to take steps towards this goal in the international arena. In accordance with this purpose, in response to a request from the Skopje Government to help alleviate increasing ethnic tension, NATO has carried out three consecutive operations in the region, previously known as the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, hereinafter referred to as FYORM.

The operations were carried out Around August 2001 and March 2003, and these three operations represented a solid structure within NATO and the European Union.

-What should be the approach throughout the solution?

The participating countries should look for ways to overcome the tension of the past with minimal causalities, as well as to demonstrate a solution to the problem. The first step towards easing ethnic tension would be to get to the source of the causes and discuss ways of eliminating them.

When shaping the event with updated news, representatives should consider the likely impact of these updates on the event. Representatives may call competent authorities from countries not included in the committee or from relevant organizations to make a statement when forming the resolution.

With the explanations stated, the blind points on the subject are completed and improved. NATO members should consider short-and long-term solutions thoroughly and act according to their capability of impact. In the 2001-2003 North Macedonia crises NATO preferred to conduct three following operations:

1. Operation Essential Harvest,

2. Operation Amber Fox,

3. Operation Allied Harmony, which all will be detailed further.

C. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE NATO

After the Second World War, unified military force and domination of the Soviet Union, especially in Eastern Europe, increased the sense of vulnerability in the United States and Western European countries, which led to a joint decision to take the necessary steps.

Progress continued with the North Atlantic Treaty organization signed in Washington D.C. in 1949. NATO assumed significant missions during the Cold War such as to ensure the sustainability and guarantee of the political and military existence of the U.S., to pacify the states which concerned about the prospect of the strengthening of Germany, or to develop the economies of European countries that were collapsed during the Second World War.

The main purpose of NATO was reflected in three different subtitles:

1. Deterring Soviet expansionism,

2. Forbidding the revival of nationalist militarism in Europe through a strong North American presence on the continent,

3. Encouraging European political integration.[ii]

Figure 1: Signing of the NATO Treaty[iii]

The original membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization consisted of Belgium, Britain, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, and the United States. Turkey and Greece were admitted in 1952, the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) in 1955, and Spain in 1982. France, which is not satisfied with the role and facilities of the organization it is in withdraw from military participation in NATO in 1966 and did not return until 1995.[iv]

D. STRUCTURES OF NATO RELATED TO THE COMMITTEE

1. North Atlantic Council (NAC)

The North Atlantic Council takes part as the main political decision-making mechanism of NATO in order to discuss political and security issues that have the potential of affecting the members of the alliance. The North Atlantic Council is the only body that has the authority from the Treaty itself. Decided matters in North Atlantic Council reflect the consensus of member countries since decision-making is based on common ground. It is the only body that has the authority to set up subsidiary bodies in accordance with the purposes of NATO.[v]

2. Military Committee (MC)

The Military Committee has the responsibility of providing strategic policies and actions and creating long-term evaluations of the capacities of countries. Like the Council, sometimes the Military Committee also meets at a higher level, namely at the level of Chiefs of Defense, the most senior military officer in the armed forces of each nation. The Military Committee is the basic resource of consensus-based recommendations to both the North Atlantic Council and the Nuclear Planning Group in order to build a guideline upon military policies.[vi]

3. Allied Command Operations (ACO)

Allied Command Operations is the responsible unit for both planning and implementing the necessary military operations of the alliance. In the operations of its few permanent headquarters, each headquarters carries out a specific task. ACO is headed by the Supreme Allied Commander Europe and oversees the three alternating stages: strategic, operational, and tactical. The goal of the unit is to maintain the security of NATO by protecting the integrity of the territories of the alliance, considering the freedom of the seas and economic activities.[vii]

4. Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR)

The Supreme Allied Commander Europe is one of the two strategic commands of NATO and is responsible for directing the ACO. Also, the supreme authority of the NATO for military, the Military Committee, is managed under the SACEUR in order to conduct all NATO operations in unity and solidarity. [viii]

Figure 2: General Joseph W. Ralston

Supreme Allied Commander for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Europe

(2000–2003)[ix]

E. BACKGROUND OF THE TENSION

Macedonia, which has not yet been on a stable circle in the economic and structural context, constitutes the main basis of ethnic problems from the past to the present due to its cosmopolitan construction. Although it is considered as a small-scaled country in terms of acreage, the fact that it hosts more than one religion, language, nation, and culture is the reason for the conflict of ideas in the country.

Due to the fact that it has a different cultural structure in a narrower area than other Balkan countries with which it shares the same geography, sovereignty rivalries often bring domestic politics to the world agenda.

Ethnic rivalries between Macedonians and Albanians, where tensions are rising regularly, are the main basis of political activity in Macedonia. While Macedonians compose one of the

parties who represent the majority of the people and have a majority in the political strata with nationalist rhetoric, Albanians form the opposition who demand the right of representation, the right of official language with lesser nationalist rhetoric.

Moreover, the settlement of Macedonian Albanians near the borders of Albania and Kosovo as a location, allows ethnic tensions to develop into a regional upheaval. [x] Although, Macedonia has made progress in human rights compared to other regions in the Balkans, the fact that the Macedonian Constitution considers Macedonian Albanians as minorities rather than "constitutive nation" and describes the country as "a state of ethnic Macedonians and other citizens." was one of the elements that escalated the tension.[xi]

1. Position of the Macedonians and the Rise of Macedonian Nationalism

The differences in interpretation that arose on the internal and external identification of Macedonian identity played a major role in the development of Macedonian nationalism. Pressure from the neighboring countries to interpret Macedonian identity has generated nationalism to gain strength internally.

During the development phase of Macedonian identity, the first significant event in recent history was the dissolution of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s and the declaration of the independence of Macedonia without the need for any military activity. However, this development has led to the emergence of some issues that were not on the agenda in Cold War-era politics.

The main problem was the differences in interpretation by Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria over Macedonia and Macedonian identity. From the first dissenting point of view, Greeks oppose the idea that Macedonians are as original in terms of language and identity as ancient

Macedonia. Instead, they argue that Macedonia has a Slavic identity that has no connection to the historical concept of Macedonia. From the Bulgarian point of view, Macedonians come from an identity that calls themselves Macedonians but is based on the original Bulgarians. The Serbian perspective, unlike the others, has a religious contrast. The separation of the Macedonian Orthodox Church from the Serbian Orthodox Church, which declared its autonomy, prompted an appeal of Macedonian identity from the Serbian side.

In the face of local and environmental pressures, the Macedonian government has begun to find a solution in the face of nationalist rhetoric. This inclination is also strongly reflected in the ruling party policies in the country, which will be mentioned in detail further. [xii]

2. The Position and Demands of the Albanian Minority

Albanians form the largest minority group in Macedonia from the past to the present. The legal status of such a large and comprehensive minority within the state and their rights remain a matter of debate. According to official declarations, Albanians who constitute 23% of the population of the country claim that the rate is higher than the stated.
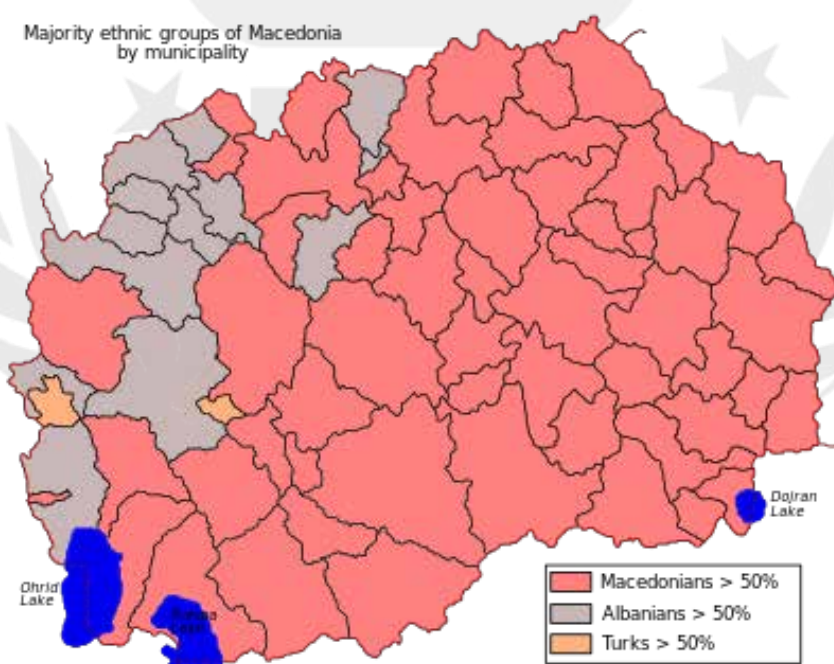
The first demographic detail is that Albanians are concentrated on the north-western borders of Macedonia and especially in Skopje. Historically, the first movement of Albanians is due to the increase of pressure on Kosovo from Yugoslavia, which was led by the nationalist ideas of Serbs at the beginning of the 1980s.

This resulted in massive and wide-ranging protests from the Albanian fronts, which were accompanied by Albanians living in Macedonia. Following the autonomy in 1991, the demands and views of Albanians in Macedonia have taken on a different dimension.

The fact that Macedonians as a culture and religion are dominant in all aspects of life, and the reflection of Macedonians as a constituent element during the formation of the state has caused reactions in a country whose system is newly established. Despite this view, since the establishment, Albanians have tried to ensure maximum participation in parliament in order to avoid being out of the political sphere.

However, according to general interpretation, towards the end of the 1990s, it was determined that the Albanian parties in parliament failed to adequately reflect the demands and needs of the Albanian people in Macedonia. This belief has led to the demand for Albanian parties, which carry nationalism more stridently and dominantly. The frequent rejection of Albanian aspirations by the Macedonian political elite has been perceived offensive by Albanians and structured their sense of exclusion. The small scale of Albanians in public institutions compared to their share of the population, low tolerance for institutions providing education in the Albanian language, and the lack of permission for the establishment of a university whose official language of education would be Albanian were the main factors that triggered the tension.

The accumulation of all these reasons and demands led to a crisis in 2001, in which Albanians living in Macedonia took the hills and clashed with Macedonian security forces. The Ohrid Framework Agreement, hereinafter referred to as OFA, is the most important development put forward in the name of assessing the demands that cause ethnic conflict.[xiv]

After the conflict in 2001 between ethnic Macedonian and Albanian factions, the country had an incentive to join the European Union and thus succeeded in introducing tough reforms that gave the Albanians more local power. It was awarded EU member status by the European Council at the end of 2005–but a significant backlash began in 2006.

F. **PARTIES IN MACEDONIA DURING THE CRISIS**

1. **VMRO-DPMNE: The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity**

   VMRO-DPMNE is one of the two major parties in North Macedonia, and it constitutes one of the most long-standing background parties in the region. As the name of the party implies, it was taken over by a revolutionary organization and based on its mission which is the national liberation and full independence of the Macedonian people.

   From this perspective, the party represents the first organized and collective state of Macedonian nationalism. After the death of Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito in 1980, former Yugoslavia started to disintegrate and exiled officials begin returning to newly formed Macedonia, which enabled a new generation to create Macedonian nationalism. Ljubco Georgievski together with Dragan Bogdanovski, who described himself as a Macedonian rights activist, met with several activists working on the same object and agreed to establish a party for new and fully independent

Macedonia. For this common purpose, the party was founded on June 17, 1990, in Skopje.

As a nationalist-based party, it addressed Macedonian nationalism and prepared its policies in this context. In the 1998 elections, it took power in the form of a coalition government, giving his candidate Trajkovski the presidency.

However, during the party's stay in power, Macedonia has historically witnessed the most severe ethnic tensions, and after heated clashes, it lost its position in power and became the main opposition party in the 2002 elections.[xv]

Figure 4: Symbol of the VMRO-DPMNE[xvi]

2. **SDSM:** **The Social Democratic Union of Macedonia**

The SDSM has its roots from the only Communist Party in Yugoslavia-era Macedonia. Historically dating back to the 1940s, the party has completed its political transformation after the 1990s and adapted to the new circumstance in terms of politics. From its new perspective, the party emphasized the importance of integrating international organizations such as the European Union and Atlantic institutions.

After 1998, the shift of the political atmosphere in favor of nationalism led to the party losing to the VMRO-DPMNE in the election of the same year and becoming the main opposition party.

During the opposition process, the ethnic crisis that erupted in 2001 led voters to turn to the SDSM again in the elections of the following year. [xvii]

Figure 5: Symbol of SDSM[xviii]

3. **DUI: Democratic Union for Integration**

DUI is the most important political party for Albanians residing in Macedonia, since it constitutes a political party based on the National Liberation Army (NLA or UÇK), which will be explained further, framework formed by Albanians during the ethnic conflict in 2001. The end of the tension with the Ohrid Framework Agreement in 2001 led to the liquidation of UÇK, and this disarmament triggered the desire of the organization's key post to continue their struggle in the political arena with enabling the establishment of the party in 2002. The leader of the party was elected as Ali Ahmeti, who also held a leadership position in the National Liberation Army.

The party received the votes of more than 70% of the Albanian electorate in the elections, which took place shortly after its establishment and obtained the right to have 16 deputies in the Parliament.

While the party remained in power between 2002-2006 throughout a formed coalition government with SDSM, it followed the same path with VMRO-DPMNE after 2006. The coalition government of DUI with the nationalist VMRO-DPMNE, which was formed by leaders who were actively involved in armed interventions in the past, to defend Albanian rights, has also raised several problems.

The coalition government also witnessed an intra-coalition power struggle with two nationalist parties, where the activities were too open to be perceived as offensive by both sides. This reciprocal attitude constitutes the most remarkable reason why the cold front of ethnic warfare has been persistently maintained. [xix]

Figure 6: Symbol of DUI[xx]

4. PDSH or DPA: Partia Demokratike Shqiptare, Democratic Party of Albanians

The Democratic Party of Albanians is a political party that represents the ethnic Albanians in North Macedonia. The party emerged with the unification of the Party for Democratic Prosperity of Albanians (PDPA) and the People's Democratic Party (NDP) on June 4, 1997. The main reason behind the founding of the party was the desire of some radical group members, such as Menduh Thaci and Arbën Xhaferi, to abandon the Party for Democratic Prosperity and form a new political party.

In the 1998 elections, the party gained 11 deputies in the assembly and formed a coalition government with the VMRO-DPMNE that was the winner of the election. However, the party has faced difficult situations because of the escalating ethnic tensions during its first term in power. In the early stages of this ethnic tension, the PDSH assumed the political representation of Albanians, while the National Liberation Army, which was on the war front, was on its way to becoming a true representative in the eyes of the Albanians. [xxi]

Figure 7: Symbol of PDSH[xxii]

5. **PDP: Party for Democratic Prosperity**

The Party for Democratic Prosperity which is the oldest ethnic Albanian political party in Macedonia was established in April 1990.[xxiii] During the timeline of 1992-1998, PDP was part of the coalition government led by the SDSM.

Figure 8: Symbol of PDP[xxiv]

6. **NLA or UÇK: National Liberation Army**

The National Liberation Army, also known as the Macedonian UÇK, was an organization that operated in North Macedonia during the 2001 crisis, and it was intimately associated with the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). [xxv]

Although the leaders of the organization were composed of Macedonian Albanians, most of them were trained with the KLA in Kosovo and affiliated close military relations.[xxvi] The organization was established in 1999 and led by Ali Ahmeti who was both former KLA Commander and nephew of one of the main founders of KLA.

Until a clear standoff with the Macedonian military and police, the operation opted to remain silent.[xxvii]

While NLA officials argued that their goal was to continue the guerrilla war until equality came to all people within Macedonia, the Macedonian government claimed that the goal of the organization was to separate the regions where Albanians form the majority from Macedonia and unite those regions with Albania. According to the strategies they advance, the objectives they adopt can be listed as follows:

a) Amending the Constitution's adjectives concerning Albanians as a "constitutive nation".

b) Adoption of Albanian as the second official language for FYORM.

c) Greater autonomy in areas where Albanians form a majority.

d) Increasing and improving minority representation in government.[xxviii]

Figure 9: Symbol of NLA[xxix]

G. EMERGENCE AND PROGRESS OF THE CONFLICT

During the end of 2000, a group of armed Albanians began firing at Macedonian military and police forces on the border with Yugoslavia. The first attack, which resonated internationally, was aimed at a small village called Tanuševci in the northern province of Macedonia.

On January 22, 2001, one policeman was killed and three wounded when the armed group of Albanians attacked a police station near the strategically important Tetovo area. The leader of the Democratic Party of Albanians, Arben Xaferi stated that:

> "The Tetovo incident is part of an orchestrated action against the government and a very crude attempt to overthrow it. Regardless of who is behind it, as a political party we deeply condemn this act. This is a deeply anti-Macedonian act, but also an act against the interests of the Albanians in Macedonia".[xxx]

That same month, a group identifying themselves as the National Liberation Army undertook full responsibility for the attack. Initial reports reached about the organization contained conflicting information. Prime Minister Trajkovski argued that the majority of the rebels

were people from the Kosovo Liberation Army, while the organization itself insisted that the majority was made up of people from Macedonia.[xxxi]

Figure 10: NLA Militants in Northern Macedonia[xxxii]

The NLA and its activities not only crossed hotlines of conflict but also reflected realistically in the political arena.

On the 9th of March, a group of Macedonian Ministers and members of a mediator body from Southern Serbia were ambushed and trapped under gunfire from NLA in Locane, which is a small village located in the northern part of the FYORM. The ministers arrived at the site to prove to the public that they were in control of the area.

The incendiary attacks, which remained constant, continued with the assault of Macedonian military and police forces on Tetovo on March 15 to destroy the NLA. By the 19th of March, hundreds of troops, dozens of tanks, and other military pieces of equipment were inserted by the Macedonian Army in order to achieve a sufficient attack on the positions of NLA.

Historical notes include that during the 5-day conflict, the Macedonian army destroyed houses without distinguishing NLA members from civilians. Macedonian government issued an ultimatum to NLA members demanding they surrender and withdraw their weapons

within 24 hours. While NLA representatives responded to the ultimatum by announcing a unilateral ceasefire, the Macedonian government did not bring up the threat of an attack again due to their unwillingness to feel pressure from the international community.

After the small scopes of fighting, on March 22, Macedonian military forces captured the Kale Hill, which was connected to Tetovo. After the clashes, the Macedonian government considered the situation a success, noting that all NLA-affiliated rebels were under control. At the same time, the government claimed that no casualties were inflicted during the clashes.[xxxiii]

During a one-month ceasefire, political parties hold talks to meet in common ground. However, pre-negotiations came to an end on April 28, 2001, when 8 police officers were killed in an ambush set up by NLA. On this attack that deeply affected the public, President Trajkovski stated that:

> "We are fighting terrorists, not rebels, and we have exercised the utmost restraint in tackling them"[xxxiv]

In May 2001, a group of NLA rebels from Kosovo began setting up bases in some villages located in the north of Kumanovo. On May 25, 2001, Macedonian security forces launched an offensive against members of the NLA in Kumanovo, which had long been prepared. Each house was raided one by one, along with a police team called "Tigers" that specialized in urban guerrilla warfare.[xxxv]

Figure 11: Tigers Unit (in black) and Lions Unit (in green)[xxxvi]

After months of fighting in the Kumanovo region, Macedonian security forces managed to capture some villages, while claiming the extermination of at least 30 NLA members. According to NLA reports, the number of people they lost was 17. [xxxvii]

With the mediation of NATO and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the Macedonian government agreed to sign an unconditional armistice. The Treaty took place on July 5, 2001, with the participation of a NATO representative. Under the treaty, Macedonian security forces would have the right to attack only if there was a life-threatening situation or if they responded to the same extent as an armed attack from NLA.

Macedonian security forces report that, from July when the treaty was signed to the end of August, the NLA executed 39 direct attacks against Macedonian security forces.[xxxviii]

H. OHRID FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT (OFA)

August 13, 2001

The signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement was a response to the armed conflict in Macedonia, earlier that year, between the Macedonian army and the paramilitary Albanian National Liberation Army. Despite the fact that the agreement was formally signed in Skopje, the understanding was known as the Ohrid Framework Agreement because of the way that the marking was gone before by a progression of arrangements and the situation of the majority of progress occurred in the Ohrid.[xxxix]

The signatories of the OFA were the pioneers of the four biggest political parties in Macedonia: president of Macedonia Boris Trajkovski and Prime Minister Ljubco Georgievski from VMRO, SDSM leader and future president of Macedonia Branko Crvenkovski, DPA leader Arben Xhaferi, PDP leader Imer Imeri in addition to U.S. mediator James W. Pardew and EU mediator Francois Leotard. For the sake of peace, the share of the NATO was enormous, both in terms of its operations and in terms of the implementation of the treaty.[xl]

1. **Goals of the Agreement**

Generally, this agreement represented a peace guaranteed by the international community. According to the general view, the objectives covered by the agreement are as follows:

''The following points include an agreed framework to secure the future of Macedonia's democracy and to allow closer and more integrated relations between the Republic of Macedonia and the Euro-Atlantic community to develop. This Framework will promote civil society's peaceful and harmonious development while respecting the ethnic identity and the interest of all Macedonian citizens.''[xli]

By reason concentrating on the first goal promoted, the ultimate purpose of the document is to secure the future of the democracy of Macedonia, without specifying what form of

democracy is intended. Indeed, the fact that the agreement subtly introduces consensual democracy is not clearly stated.

In terms of the second goal, concentrate on the term 'Euro-Atlantic community' which admitting more extended, is mainly represented by the EU, NATO, and the U.S. Accordingly, this supported goal of the agreement relates to the establishment of closer relations between Macedonia and the EU, NATO, and the U.S. respectively. As far as ties between Macedonia and the EU are concerned, the OFA is not only sponsored by the EU but rather signed and guaranteed by the EU. The implementation of the agreement thus became a top priority to implement the preconditions for the accession of Macedonia to the EU. [xlii] Consequently, the fulfillment of the obligations of OFA became a condition for maintaining closer relations with the Euro-Atlantic region.

As regards the third goal, there was a general tendency to support civil society and the rights of all Macedonian people having regard to the fact that the negotiators, i.e., 12 parties in Ohrid (Albanian and Macedonian political parties, as well as the EU and U.S. facilitators), did not include official representatives of the paramilitary NLA.

2. Rights Granted to Albanians with the Agreement

The OFA comprises 9 main sections and 3 annexes detailing the terms of the ceasefire, new legislation to be implemented, changes to existing laws, milestones to be achieved for the successful execution of the Agreement, and a timeline for reaching those milestones. Along with the treaty, the fundamental rights promised to Albanians can be examined in 6 main topics:

1. Expression of Identity

According to the treaty, ethnic groups that make up the majority are allowed to use emblems and symbols that reflect their cultural and traditional identities.

In addition, Albanians are allowed to have the flag of Albania, in front of their respective municipal buildings.

2. Education

On the basis of the treaty, provisions were created such as ensuring fair and equal funding for schools and universities, having accessible education for languages spoken by more than 20% of the population, and ensuring positive discrimination in university enrolments.

3. Usage of Language

According to the coverage of OFA, in addition to Macedonian, all languages spoken by at least 20% of the total population will be accepted as official languages under the terms specified by the treaty. In addition, although not spoken by 20% of the total population, any language spoken by more than 20% on a municipal basis will be accepted as an official language within that municipal basis.

4. Parliamentary Procedures

Under the treaty, laws relating to local self-government, culture, language usage, education, personal identification, and the use of symbols are all subjected to a Badinter mechanism of the double majority vote, requiring the majority of parliamentary members of the ethnic minority to vote in favor of a law to be enacted, in addition to the overall majority of parliament.

5. Equality in Representation

In order to eliminate ethnic inequality in public institutions and in government, the treaty decreed that all state institutions should start hiring individuals to reflect the ethnic composition of Macedonia.

6. Decentralization

In order to understand and evaluate the ethnic combination of the population, the first request of the OFA was a national census. In addition, the treaty stated the demand to work within the framework of a law that increases the authority of individual municipalities in order to increase their influence on resources and execution.[xliii]

The Ohrid Framework Agreement, which was conducted on August 13, 2001, put an official end to the outfitted clash. According to the report, the adaption in English is the main authentic form of the Ohrid Framework Agreement.

Figure 12: 8th Anniversary of the Agreement, 2010, Parties of the Agreement[xliv]

As mentioned above, NLA did not attend negotiations directly, and that has been for two reasons: Firstly, the Macedonian negotiation parties refused to sit with according to their perspective "an illegitimate militia group", and secondly as opposed to the violent methods

of NLA, the essence of the OFA itself supported legal solutions to problems. Political solutions to issues could therefore only be found in Macedonia through legitimately elected officials and Albanian political parties.[xlv]

While International Republican Institute surveying shows that 52% of the populace of Macedonia bolster the OFA and accept its usage will make Macedonia increasingly steady; numerous Macedonians likewise accept the OFA speaks to immense concessions to Albanians. On the other hand, according to the claims of the opposites, the Albanian leadership appears to over-invoke the OFA, describing nearly any perceived slight toward Albanians as a violation of the agreement, and Albanian leaders often appear to see the OFA as a way to promote only the interests of their party, excluding certain minority groups in Macedonia.

One officially strong but now struggling Albanian political party, DPA (one of the signatories of OFA), declared the OFA a complete failure, calling for a new agreement that they have already prepared. This movement has almost achieved no attention outside of the inner circle of DPA.

I. NATO OPERATIONS IN THE REGION

1. Operation Essential Harvest (Task Force Harvest)

22 August 2001 - 26 September 2001

Operation ''Essential Harvest'' was officially launched on August 22 and effectively started on August 27. This 30-day mission involved the sending of approximately 3500 NATO troops with logistical support, to disarm ethnic Albanian groups and destroy their weapons.

In the June of 2001, the Secretary-General of NATO got a letter from the President of FYROM mentioning help to guarantee proceeded with solidness, and the operation was approved on June 29 and implemented on the sole condition that the political dialogue between the various parties in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia had a "successful outcome" and a ceasefire was respected. [xlvi]

Figure 13: 2001 Insurgency in Macedonia

Worldwide weight presented as a powerful influence for the two sides to determine the contention prompted exchanges throughout the spring and summer of 2001, and on August 13 the Government of FYROM and delegates of the ethnic Albanian people group consented to a harmonious arrangement called the Ohrid Framework Agreement which was detailed above.

After two days of signing, on August 15, the North Atlantic Council approved the quick foundation of the NATO base camp of what was to be called Task Force Harvest.

On August 27, the Task Force, under the assignment Operation Essential Harvest, conveyed an aggregate of 4500 NATO troops from 14 countries, including Belgium, Canada, the Czech Republic (Czechia), France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, and the United Kingdom.

The Task Force included infantry, covering, base camp, and bolster faculty who were to do exercises focused on the assortment and removal of weapons and ammunition from the ethnic Albanian paramilitary gatherings.

2. Operation Amber Fox (Task Force Fox)

27 September 2001 - 15 December 2002

Operation Amber Fox was decided upon the request of the former president of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Boris Trajkovski.[xlvii] After the confirmation order of the Operational Plan on 26 September 2001, the North Atlantic Council appointed the Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR), that was authorized by the Execution Directive. The general of the SACEUR of the period Joseph W. Ralston released the Activation Order for the Operation Amber Fox.[xlviii] This Activation Order gave extensive authority to NATO forces in order to deploy the mission.[xlix]

The official start date of the operation was September 27, 2001. Although initially the estimated date of the operation was set as three months, in the actual chronology it lasted until December 15, 2002.

The main task of the operation was to ensure the sustainability of international surveillance and control through the European Union, and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, to adhere to the original peace plan planned for FYORM.[l]

The mission was deployed under the leadership of Germany with the participation of the military support of other NATO member countries and consisted of 700 Allied troops merging with 300 troops already based in the country.[li] Operation Amber Fox consisted of the extraction force, military liaison teams, a Danish mobile reconnaissance platoon and a headquarters.[lii]

Although the success of Operation Amber Fox was beyond doubt and acceptable, in order to minimize the risk of instability in the country the North Atlantic Council decided that a continuation of international control in the area would be beneficial,[liii] and in response to another request from President Trajkovski, the NAC has agreed to continue supporting the FYORM with a new mission starting from December 16, 2002.

Figure 14: NATO Forces in FYORM During the Operation Amber Fox[liv]

3. **Operation Allied Harmony**

The Operation Allied Harmony was officially started on December 16, 2002, and the ultimate aim of the operation was to support the government, which was trying to restore security throughout the country while continuing to support an international monitoring system.[lv]

A special task force was decided no longer needed due to its highly attainable stabilization compared to the previous two operations, and the executive command of the third and final operation was transferred to NATO Headquarters in Skopje. While NATO insists on not reducing the number of liaison teams in the region, the number of troops in the force has been reduced from 700 to 450. The continued presence of NATO in the region has worked to accelerate recovery and reconciliation while at the same time serving as an assistant to lead the military and security-based reforms.[lvi]

On March 17, 2003, with a press release, NATO Secretary-General George Robertson stated that:

"Today, the North Atlantic Council has decided to terminate Operation Allied Harmony in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia as of 31 March with a view to the EU commencing a successor operation. The handover has the full agreement of the authorities in Skopje, and demonstrates the considerable progress achieved during Allied Harmony and the previous operation Task Force Fox in restoring stability. NATO will remain fully committed to helping the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to become fully integrated in Euro-Atlantic structures, and will continue to work for peace and stability in the Balkans. NATO-EU cooperation in the Western Balkans goes back to the mid-1990s. The new crisis management arrangements now being put into practice in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia are

founded on both organisations' determination to enhance mutual consultations, dialogue, cooperation and transparency, in due regard for the decision-making autonomy and interests of each."[lvii]

The end of the peacekeeping operations of NATO in the FYORM and its transfer to the European Union was celebrated with a ceremony in Skopje.

4. NATO HEADQUARTERS SKOPJE

NATO Headquarters Skopje was formed in April 2002 by the amalgamation of two Headquarters: KFOR REAR and AMBER FOX. As of April 1, 2012, the name of the agency is NATO LIAISON OFFICE SKOPJE, hereinafter referred to as NLO Skopje, which is more representative of its mission.

The main purpose of the headquarter is based on advising the government authorities of the Host Nation on defense aspects of security sector reforms and NATO membership in order to contribute to the further Euro-Atlantic integration of the country and to support NATO-led operations within the Joint Operations Area of the Balkans.

In order to contribute to the Euro-Atlantic integration of the region, the NLO Skopje advises the Host Nation on all aspects of NATO membership requirements. NLO Skopje also supports the implementation of NATO priorities in the region, including political and military reforms, political dialog, and public diplomacy, as well as support for the NATO team and the government authorities participating in NATO Accession Talks.[lviii]

NATO Headquarters Skopje maintains its communication with government officials and other military-political organizations such as the EU, OSCE, authorities from Europe and the United States of America since they are in the position of guarantor of OFA.[lix]

II. Points Should be Discussed

- What are the main causes of ethnic tension?

- How should the parties approach the issue in this process?

- How should the Macedonian Government approach the NLA, and the solution option be, in order to prevent casualties?

- What are the reasons for the resumption of the close combat, despite the fact that the agreement has been put at the table?

- What the OFA treaty should contain in terms of content to satisfy the demands of the parties and what kind of sanction the parties should face?

- What are the strategies NATO should use during operations?

- What are the reasons why NATO operations (e.g., Amber Fox) are taking longer than expected?

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