

## **The Real Source of the Regression: The Absence of the Developed Methodologies, Foremost the Rational Pragmatism in the Educational and Social System in North Macedonia, 1991-2020**

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Abstract: North Macedonia separated from Yugoslavia but its educational syllabi ever since this time hibernated. The last philosophical tendencies included in the local history of philosophy are the death of communism and anarchism. There are no such terms as pragmatism (the classical 19<sup>th</sup> century one which was born in USA), nor the progressive positivism (which according to some historians of philosophy replaced it after the WWII), nor there is anything about the renewal of the positivism in a form of rational positivism, which happened in the 90's. There are neither no traces of all other philosophical tendencies associated with or provoked by the pragmatism, such as the meliorism or the Neo-Platonism. How did this influence the educational system in North Macedonia? The social system influenced the educational one or vice versa? How did this influence the level of democracy in this country? Can EU be a reliable partner in dealing with these issues?

key words: cold-war; education; ideology; reforms; society

### **1. 1. Introduction**

Unfortunately these days we are witnessing the annihilation of the real democracy all around Europe. We all know EU is not Europe; at least not semantically. But we don't know at all what the European<sup>i</sup> values were, are or will be. Namely the constitution of the EU says that this community is based firstly on values, than on interest. So one can argue whether the values are of our mutual interest, or the interest is in those values. Humanity, social justice, brotherhood, juridical equality are some of the pillars of the contemporary democracies in the Western World. But are those pillars supposed to be used just during the elections? As empty phrases with no content... It seems that yes. Because how can we possibly align the sanctions EU established on Belorussia, if not a premeditated execution of the democracy, civil society and transparency in this part of the world. EU again created those sanctions when it was too late- as it was the case with Ukraine and Bosnia before. NGOs were signaling 20 years already that Belorussia does not live in democracy, but EU estimated there shouldn't be any sanctions for this country. Furthermore there are many European governments that were and are showing hospitality for its dictator. The main point for this is that EU is implying big PR in reasoning the Eastern European countries in their lost highway for democracy, but the self-indulged old members of the EU club are blinded by the situation and cannot see that they themselves are not any better. West was

easternized and Balkanized rather than vice-versa. The unbearable burden of losing the bourgeois lifestyle is the most terrible thing that can happen to the best paid administration in the world- the one of the EU structures. In order to protect itself from wasting it, this structure is collaborating with everyone, in order to keep its workplaces active, such as those of the Russian moguls or the drug bosses. For e.g. the guy that was caught with the biggest shipment of cocaine in the world lives in Skopje, and is already sentenced. But neither he nor his brother (who is also sentenced for the same thing) ever went to jail. Their submarine with drug was captured in Barcelona. Spain is a member state of the EU, why nobody ever reacted about this?

I gave this explanation in order to describe the current situation in Northern Macedonia, its education system and the state of its democracy. NM cannot rely on any kind of help from EU due to the current situation in EU, which is so ever since the time Romano Prodi left its function. In his time the issues of education, democracy, transparency, human rights, were placed highly on the EU agenda. Now administrators from the Euro structure occupy themselves with the post-reality, which shortly means- modifying the public opinion in someone's interest. Nobody is interested how come 2 officials entered the parliament, although there is a corruption case against them; nobody is interested how come the Hungarian dictatorial staff entered; nobody is interested how come Johannes Hahn is still working although Nikola Gruevski was his close friend. So North Macedonia shouldn't rely on the advisory of the EU strictures regarding the issues which should be processed with its education or public politics, because EU isn't what it used to be and a big part of it now functions within the system of post-reality. Nevertheless its activities in the region are somewhat trying to balance the progressive cores allied with the hybrid regimes, which is a historical tradition in the richest western European countries<sup>ii</sup>.

## **1. 2. UKIM once and now**

What was the relation of the western academic world and UKIM before and after the WWII? Before it was, I would say the same as it is now. Those from the West did not care much what was happening in the Balkans. For this reason the best and only possible method for this work would be the hermeneutic one, with combining the historical and social meta-moments that marked the last 3 decades of the educational system in North Macedonia. As the matter of fact, according to their standards some genocides were going on. Macedonian students were denied the chance to be Macedonians; they had to be Serbs that were speaking the South-Serbian language. The same applied for the other citizens that were living in the today's North Macedonian. I say the situation before the WWII was the same as it is now, because again the West doesn't comment everything or doesn't comment enough, regarding what was affirmed by the very high academic standards through the most prestigious universities. Many things that were happening in UKIM were/are not in any way by the standards of the western educational systems; in this I don't refer just to the fact that many scandals happened, but mostly to the fact that a big part of its academic staff was legally prosecuted for various violations. In which all students could/can see that although many of the academics were convicted by the court, nobody went in jail. At least not yet. Or they were not convicted due to the fact that the judges and the

professors of UKIM are very much the same people that work in the Supreme Court, and are closed in a solid group. Responsible for this is of course the state-owned monopoly of the educational<sup>iii</sup> system that existed in the ex-communist governance in Yugoslavia. Such was the case with the ex-rector Radmila Kiprijanova whose PhD was proclaimed as a non-plagiarism case, because, as the court have said: “the ex-rector invented a new way of quoting”<sup>iv</sup>.

### **1. 2. 1. Pragmatism and history of the West**

Before the WWII there was Nazism, now we see the hybrid regimes all around EU, the absence of transparency, the presence of post-reality etc. This is more or less the case with the whole global landscape, comparatively, as we see intellectuals like Slawomir Žižek becoming big stars, though their curricula stopped with the fall of the iron curtain. What do the intellectuals from that West say about this? Why they have no solidarity for those outside their zone, like they had during the Cold War? For this they use the answer from the quantum-mechanic: “Where there is nothing there cannot be something”. Yes but Mother Nature does allow the existence of the things or products that are something within nothing, like the metal in the light bulb. True but - they will add - we are just human, we cannot think about 2 things at the same time; when we think about nothing we don’t think about something and other way round.<sup>v</sup> There are many examples of the western misleading of the reforms in South-Eastern Europe. For e.g. I think this conference should not have been organized, since this is a jubilee of genocide.

### **1. 2. 2. Pragmatism and education**

As Felicity Haynes says in her article: “... the value of the insistence on pragmatic rationality in education reflects a move away from the emphasis on rigid knowledge systems to the more open-textured areas of belief, understanding and judgment...”<sup>vi</sup> All other researches show that after the pragmatism appeared in USA in 1830, the education of this country began to develop much faster than in the rest of the developed world, which lead of faster development of the entire country. This particularly became evident during the time of Belle Epoch. The education that has this philosophical approach develops the individuality of the student together with its empirical knowledge. In other words the student is not just memorizing the knowledge, but is also living it. In the years to come other countries from the developed West began to learn from this system and they began implementing it in their own educational systems as well. As I said this additionally lead to the development of the science and arts. Like Nikola Tesla said- when he firstly arrived in USA it seemed to him this country was 50 years behind Europe in its development. But later when he came back to Nazi Europe, and returned back in USA- than he said that it seemed Europe was 50 years behind USA with its development.

I cannot say anything else about the high education in North Macedonia aside the fact it as authoritarian as it was during the time of the darkest communism in Yugoslavia. This is particularly evident with the state owned educational institutions, mostly with UKIM<sup>vii</sup>. From the official booklet of this institution we can see that still 55% of the budget of this university is received from the budget. Coverage of the academic costs by the state budget, as I already said in

this text, also shelters the big issues of illegality that still exists amongst the academic staff of this educational institution (as it was once the case of the plagiarism of Radmila Kiprijanova, the ex-rector). Using the linkage with every new government this institution manages to prevent its staff from being caught by the anti-corruptive instances, and always protects almost everyone from its staff from going to jail. In the light of the latest events, such as those tackling the fact that many other criminals from North Macedonia are still not in jail, we can perceive the absence of the rational pragmatism in the education, and as a consequence of which in the judiciary and in the entire society. All in general we have a highly advanced criminalization of the society. Because people that are educated within the values of the rational pragmatism (which means those that were educated abroad by the Western standards) are difficultly silenced. They always tend to express their opinion, as they have developed the eloquence to articulate their thoughts with words. Unlike the today's students that are endlessly afraid to say what they think, because they are in a big risk of losing everything, not just their bad in the student dormitories. We can see that the regressive educational system is disseminating the deterioration in all parts of the society, as for e.g. in journalism, which is completely subdued to the post-reality.

### **2. 1. Education- the hybrid gain-propaganda killed the western rationality**

The question of the educational system in Eastern Europe is nevertheless essential since the democratic changes and the social reforms were mainly lead by the people that were employed in the education or in the cultural institutions. However many of these ones were not honest people, yet the voice of the people required something that will make the citizens assured they were on the right way. The critical mass in these countries wasn't so demanding as it should have; the same degrading, destructive structure of the collaborators of the secret services continued to function even after the velvet revolution. Herta Müller is one of the rare intellectuals that ever mentioned this cultural phenomenon. Namely she announced that the same people that were collaborators during the Third Reich in Romania continued to do same activity during the communism<sup>viii</sup>. Furthermore she said that even when she run away in Germany, even there they managed to follow her and transform her life into hell<sup>ix</sup>. I am writing this because if there was a greater presence of the rational pragmatism in Eastern Europe these mistakes would have not had happened. Researches are showing that pragmatism functions as antiseptic activity focusing the academic research in its progressive direction, rather than towards ideology, as it was the case in the ex-communist block. Unfortunately due to the absence of this segment in its culture, Europe experienced again some atrocities unseen on its ground since the time of the WWII - like it was the war in Bosnia. The presence of the ideological fanaticism as an only existing modus vivendi that can guarantee success to everyone in almost every profession continues in nowadays. The rebirths of the atavisms around EU and the corruptive installations in its decision-making bodies and media, which originated in the hybrid systems, are factual consequence of this absence.

How would Europe look like if there was rational pragmatism in Eastern Europe and if there was much more of it in Western? There would be much less corruption and hypocrisy since the institutions would have to function by the general regulations, which are based on the EU

constitution based on values, not on interest. Heading towards the digital reality EU became cradle of the post-reality. The technology opened big space for the reinterpretation of the postulates of the classic Roman law, even of those regarding the private property. We can see this factuality in the very essence of every move the European Union does. The administrators are imitating the truth, using the public funding for private entrepreneurships, having their secret meetings closed for journalists, claiming all this was actually by the law<sup>x</sup>. By the way those regulations that allow these meetings are written and initiated by the same people that are using the public funding for private causes. There are only few journalists that ever said anything about this, because that would be too dangerous, and because almost all media groups, even the state owned media services are bought by the hybrid moguls. This is somewhat the same situation that was happening during the Third Reich; when people were coming to the state owned offices for help due to the fact they experienced lack of human rights, those that were paid by everyone's taxes to protect them were doing them. The USA experience shows that rational pragmatism cannot make the system function faster, but it makes it much more persistent than the one in Europe. In other words- fewer troublemakers get away with their deviance unlike in Europe.

I think the case in North Macedonia is the worst one regarding whole EU. Those emerging democracies from Eastern Europe reached their lowest branches with their humiliating systems, so when they finally got rid of that dark burden (the one of the communism) they were with for so long, they desperately wanted to submerge themselves in the American rationality; which in comparison with the precariousness of the immoral old lady Europe- looked like an angel calling. But unfortunately the ambitious influence of the eastern shadows from the past continued. The newly established democracies in the Eastern European systems didn't know how to oppose the malign influence of KGB and its many affiliations and infiltrations. Each time there was a positive rational initiative in Eastern Europe, the hybrid metastasis were influencing (and in most of the cases succeeded) in changing the public opinion against the rational and pragmatic changes, shaping the nature of the audiences to think that those that were doing those changes were doing them because they were expecting or were promised **to gain something** from the western allies. They were telling everyone the newly established faces were just waiting for the western grants, and were unable to earn anything. On the other hand those with the hybrid ones were always full of cash and were able to work anything. They weren't so choosy in whatsoever, unlike those westerners; their final task in the public eye was to say that they didn't mind a lot about the human rights, transparency, freedom of expression and movement... Those western values were products of the sarcastic illusionists of the westerners; the secret of the real success was to be dehumanized and to speak as less as possible. And of course the easiest way to protect ourselves from speaking is to reduce our thinking. What is the connection between this propaganda and the education? In North Macedonia almost none of these authors (the rational pragmatists) are translated. In rest of the Eastern Europe the situation is slightly different, there are some translations, actually quite a few, but it is as nobody is reading them. The academics usually comment these authors as kitsch utopians; in a sense- let's face it, there is no real democracy or rationality at all, everything is power (or interest). Accordingly the students, I

found out, are discouraged to read these authors, nevertheless to make their thesis upon them. In a social perspective this results in strengthening of the social disbelief in the rational values, as a consequence of which these societies are becoming closed in themselves but connected with the tentacles of the Hybrid Octopuses that are arriving from the East, mostly from Russia. As I said it seems everybody in Eastern Europe believes to these guys because they always have cash (though from drugs or other illegal, but charismatic activities). Let us not forget that Russia is one of the rare countries that spend half of its budget on foreign affairs, 40 years already.

### **2. 1. 1. If we had it...**

Of course nobody knows what exactly would have had happened, if in the educational system in North Macedonia had been the rational pragmatism. However the quality in the education should be measured like everywhere else in the world; not just by the quantity of the absorbed (or memorized) empirical knowledge, but also in the way the people are shaped. The rational pragmatism denies the evolutionary influence of the ideology, which is why the systems that had its presence are considered to be much more ethical. In North Macedonia there is almost no trace of any merit system. People are employed by the governmental institutions just by the assessment how many votes they may bring to the particular parties. Looking back in the past whole Europe itself also needed much time to absolve the fact that rationality is much needed. Throughout the last 3 centuries Europe was victimized by its own atavistic past based on various kinds of idolatry fanaticisms. Nevertheless even the today's EU is cradling anti-American sentiment, which was/is never openly disclosed. Many of those that began their career in the EU structured, best paid in the world administration, couldn't break the glass ceiling, since in the final faze they didn't wanted to become a part of the internal bureaucratic landscape based on the systems of favoritism, nepotism, partiality and clientelism. Usually Eastern Europe is a collateral damage of this centuries old tradition (accompanied by its propaganda) in which always Eastern Europe is a source of all atavisms. But if you take a wider look you can all see that now whole Europe is a hybrid system<sup>xi</sup>. So EU cannot possibly have any positive influence in the region of SE Europe, or in NM. Hence Johannes Hahn was a close friend of Nikola Gruevski. Therefore Europe provides its bureaucracy with the function so that their people could establish dictatorships, those same people will criticize them, and they will destroy them. No wonder all money for science and technology, subsidized by the EU budget is disappearing in an unknown direction. In fact the current situation is completely devastating the system of values in EU. For e.g. those students that are financed by the EU administration are receiving formal knowledge although usually they pass their exams (even at the most prominent universities) with privileges. Than with their elite diplomas those poorly educated adults become part of the EU administration, furthermore they become parents and in the same manner they raise their own children. No wonder George Soros in his book "The Tragedy of the European Union" commented that "everyone that wants to have any success in Europe must deal with its incompetent bureaucracy" (paraphrase). However the situation in Western Europe (and partly in Eastern) is not as bad as in NM since there is some influence of the transatlantic partner USA. In

Western Europe there are as well some resistances towards this in particular because of the Russian infiltrations, but those are not like those in North Macedonia where these intrusions have almost complete power.

### **2. 1. 2. The Connection between the social issues and the education**

In the years that followed the separation from SFRJ, the country itself had to find its way between the broken economy (that lost its market) and its goal towards the Western integration. But this course was complicated much more than it was expected due to the fact that those Western mergers weren't necessarily western by default. Considering this I am referring only to those integration processes that were a part of the EU laws and regulations package, not the ones regarding NATO. Unfortunately the first proves that this is truth occurred few years ago, when some journalists discovered that throughout decades large amounts of public money were controlled by the hybrid regimes<sup>xii</sup>, mostly of those from Russia, through the system of installations that resided within Europe historically - as their first evidences appeared - in the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>xiii</sup>. That is to say that each time there were some elections going on in Western Europe, the western politicians were going to Eastern Europe where they were asking money from the Russian moguls, which gave it to them requiring the presence of their people in the decision making. Large amounts of money were transferred to Russia via these installments, and the similar safe havens for money laundering. Of course this way of doing things is not Western, and is not rationally pragmatic in any manner. This is the Eastern ideology fanaticism which puts the idea of the perfect individual on the first place, not the common human values. By being a part of this forced Western system with Eastern practices, North Macedonia was unable to acquire the desirable growth, since the generations that were being formed in its educational system were all kept to uphold their academic degrees without any notion of the rational pragmatism. Pragmatism helps acquiring the best performances in combating corruption and inadequacies in establishing regulations vis-à-vis law and constitution. This absence of pragmatism in the education lead to complete social blindness a propos this issue since many of the regulations within the state owned regulatory bodies (in my humble opinion in almost all ministries; however a serious research in this direction was never done, but I know very well of all this through my own experience) were never formed within the existing law frames, which is blatantly evident if we see the level of transparency in these bodies. For e.g. if you give a donation to some institution they will never give you a recede note. This is very common even for the other aspects of the state owned machinery. For e.g. if they rob your apartment and you write a report in the police, after you sign it they will never give you a copy of the signed document. Although the law says that every document signed by a citizen must be owned by him as well. This is so because there is no law that says that those that didn't gave you copy will be punished!

However many of the local humanitarian organizations had find out that this is not so in case you are very close to certain cradles of power (as they are locally called). The local analysts are telling us that the main reason for this is the corruption which is based on the "informal networks"<sup>xiv</sup>, which were formed throughout the centuries on the basis of the connections between the families` and clans` connections. When I read these reports I thought that this negative attitude in the region (and especially in Republic of North Macedonia) can be strengthened by the presence of the new technologies, since the wrongly placed official information can be easily be conveyed as private, and other way round due to lack of time and cultural mechanisms in checking its accuracy. I said especially in North Macedonia, since, as the

researches are underlining, these informal corruptive activities are happening due to the cultural background and the historical circumstances in particular regions of the Balkans. Those regions that were more culturally acquainted with the Western civilization's cultural changes and movements, those will show greater strength in opposing these corruptive tendencies, because everything that is associated with the history of the modernity in Western Europe is also linked with rationality. Those that were exposed more to the eastern power dogma and nepotism, as North Macedonia was, during the Ottoman Empery, those areas will be more predisposed for the informal corruption. Methodologically we don't need some complicated empirics to see how this functions- just common sense. Because in the collective memory the people of North Macedonia (and the people from the culturally similar regions of the Balkans) never had a notion that the criminality was ever really being wiped out from their countries, as much as they never ever saw that all criminals went to jail. Moreover many generations (including the contemporary ones) saw how all criminals are disappearing in unknown directions with large amounts of wealth<sup>xv</sup>, or they saw how they are becoming significant public figures, as everyone was being afraid of them, as nobody ever said a word how nasty and bloody their rising was.

In regard to this I have to add something, which I saw nothing off in all of those researches. Which is that the latest elections in the oldest Western democracies, especially in regard of the informal corruption in many ways look like those in the Balkans. What is the reason for this - perhaps the history of the new technologies or something else - is yet to be researched.

Many will ask- North Macedonia is on the Balkans but still is one of the closest Western allies? The circulation of information and knowledge is very fluent, how come nobody from the local citizens never learned anything about the pragmatism? The reason for this lies in the term of the captured state<sup>xvi</sup>- as the EU parliament called North Macedonia. This enslavement happened due to the fact that on its way towards the Western integration the system of North Macedonia assimilated within itself the above mentioned hybrid installations, in much bigger extend than the rest of the Easter European new EU member states. As those other countries from the ex-communist block were much more exposed to the rationality and the sophisticated social pragma of our civilization, than the majority of the Balkan states.

### **3. 1. What was the interaction between the social and the educational system?**

In the previous section I explained how the regional countries were trying to catch up the demanded changes for the western integration. And as I explained due to the various historical and social circumstances these changes were going in a wrong direction mostly in North Macedonia. The big part of this can also be credited to the loose or even irresponsible behavior of the EU monitoring bodies that were always preferring stability, rather than democracy. So they tolerated some big corruption scandals, lack of human rights and mafia controlled media. And which was also result of the now obvious fact that the hybrid infiltrations were present for a long time in the EU bodies. The state owned control of the educational system begun after the student demonstrations in the than Social Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1968. This country had a somewhat intermingle politics with the West as it was trying to copy much of the western political pattern in its system. For e.g. like USA had the White House, SFRJ had the White court; USA was confederation, SFRJ was federation; the model of the crypto currency of the dollar was almost identical of the dinar etc. But actually the truth was completely opposite. As one might charmingly philosophy- the hypocrisy is the strongest arm in every dictatorship. In fact the only real power that was governing in SFRJ was the communist party not the white court (although by



the law it was not a one party system, due to the strong interference of the secret police and its fear politics there was only this party); SFRJ wasn't a federation but a system with centralized governance in Belgrade; the government was not releasing the crypto currency but money it didn't have, which was landed by the western countries so that SFRJ will not join the Eastern Block etc. So after the '68<sup>th</sup> demonstrations<sup>xvii</sup>, the western allies were reluctant to land any more money to this country, the economy begun to decline, which resulted in economic crisis at the end of the seventies. The secret police kept its rich state owned membership by providing the centralized governance<sup>xviii</sup> with compromising information about anybody that was against those from their lines firstly, and very rarely for those that were really plotting something. Because the second ones were very rare... Usually everyone that wasn't satisfied with the system could leave the country because there were almost no visa requirements for the Yugoslav passport. The only obstacle for the secret police was the education. Unfortunately this pattern of control was preserved after the separation of the republics, as again the cultural and the historical legacy destined some of these new entities to be more or less subdued to the control of the educational system.

Of course this control was not an easy task. North Macedonia is a country within the European continent and the transmission of the knowledge is easy. The secret police alongside its own network provided the students with the bourgeois lifestyle, to many giving cars and habitats that even by the western standards were very high. But they - the chosen ones - had to keep themselves within the internally integrated educational system<sup>xix</sup> that was giving them the illusionist's wisdom that if they allow to the pragmatic rationality to be endorsed in the educational syllabi, than everything would become too hard for them. Even they were agitating that those western books were too long and difficult to be memorized, so if that happened than there would be no more space for their lavish party-like-lifestyles, and everyone would have to be alone, like in the cruel West. So this unfortunate intellectual isolation continued up till nowadays.

### **3. 1. 1. The Death of the Ideology**

About the period after the WWII we can say that the development of the scholarly discourse was in many instances more progressive than it is now. Even the communication with the western universities was flourishing. This was possible due to the fact that Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia did not join the Warszawa pact. Likewise this ex-country had rich resources of archives, artistic and scientific heritage, that were admired by the classy universities in the West. Seminars, conferences, summer schools were happening in dream-like environments that were held in cheap facilities. There were always investments for these events. The period of the sixties is one of the most productive periods of the European modern history in academic sense. Than the structuralism, semiotics and transcendentalism were blooming. Debating was *modus-vivendi*. This lead to the development of the cultural industries<sup>xx</sup>. The highly arty cultural goods were consumed for the first time and perhaps - for the only time in the modern history; this is the solitary period of the western civilization when entertainment was replaced with high art<sup>xxi</sup>. The ex-western Marxist philosophers were visiting the school in Korčula, metamorphosing themselves as rationalists (or rational pragmatists)<sup>xxii</sup>. That is how the ugly, predatory caterpillar of communism, which was teaching the poor to steal from the rich, in fact transformation of the proletariat into gunmanship- into the beautiful, smart and colorful, butterfly of pragmatism. They

all agreed that ideology is a poison for the social system, but still, Yugoslavia was a socialist country that was led by its communist party. In fact Yugoslavia was never, by its constitution, officially a one party system, but nobody ever dared to challenge the communists. They were all afraid of the secret service.

Unfortunately these fears proved to be truthful, when the student uprising in 68<sup>th</sup> was brutally suppressed with the state owned violence. These protests were initially organized, so that the students could express their anger against the bad conditions in the student dormitories. However the anger of the students targeted the communist elite, so the secret police began its activities to neutralize the leaders of these protests. Some of them were brutally killed in the mysterious traffic accidents, but most of them were successfully integrated with the secret service in the various elitist, state owned structures. That is how the ex-avant-garde became the ingratiating, red bourgeoisie. In order to maintain this status, these individuals were required to be traitors of everybody that surrounds them. The subscriber of these lines read many of the internal files of the secret police, and it is amazing how quickly, when some lucrative state owned job/position was offered, they were all becoming denouncers of their friends, colleagues, siblings, parents. It is true that the secret police was playing nasty games; they were having a lot of compromising information about everybody. They tracked, tortured and destroyed many progressive minds.

However when Yugoslavia felt apart, together with its communist system, these collaborators of the secret service kept their positions<sup>xxiii</sup>. This is so up till now. Specifically the situation in the educational system in Yugoslavia, after the 68<sup>th</sup>, became very dark. The secret police began to control everything and everyone. No longer there was any space for anything against the rudimentary communist system. Subsequently together with these fake intellectuals (that achieved everything through the secret service) as its academic staff, UKIM also inherited the troubled curriculum which was unsubstantially, corruptively modified for the purpose of the red elite Marxism.

### **3. 1. 2. Years of the democratization**

North Macedonia is the country that did least regarding all other newcomers in the NATO alliance, apropos modification of its educational and its entire system, in regard of reaching the standards of the partnership. Normally the only way one country could improve its system is through the reform of its education. In the interest of truth some attempts were acquired in the beginning of the 2000s, when many internationally acclaimed universities and colleges opened their affiliations in North Macedonia. But this was a thorn in the eye of the red elite that was then and still is in power. The way this elite functions is by connecting and infiltrating itself in the state owned bodies. In a form of octopus it sucks all resources of the country. The democracy and civil rights were worsening ever since the date of the independence of this country- no wonder ¼ of its population left it. This is a shame because the first leadership in 1990 acquired the highest standards for this in the whole region (together with Slovenia). So North Macedonia was then the only regional country to pass the Badinter commission. The hybrid elite was aware

that the western partners are being attentive of this, so they (those from the red elite) were trying to compensate the bad reports by investing in the participation of the local units in the NATO missions. Accordingly North Macedonia made a record (with the number of people that went in the NATO missions) of a non-member but aspiring country outnumbering all countries in this category. But now when the country finally became a member it is time the reforms to be made. Of course this will have the negative effect for those whose political rating depends on the protection of this criminal, corruptive elite. As the time was passing by, more and more politicians were involving themselves in this, so honestly, it seems a lot of time will be needed for these changes.

### **3. 1. 3. Age of post reality**

The latest media footages show that the media, like all other sectors in the country of North Macedonia, were heavily influenced by the Panama accounts. All researches show that 70%<sup>xxiv</sup> of the money from this affair was laundered through the firms of the 2 Northern Macedonian citizens- Orce Kamchev and Boris Stojmenov. Subsequently the way out seems complicated, because if the rational pragmatism is implied in the educational system, that will be the dead of the ideology for these 2 monuments from the past, so to speak; or for the icons of the transition, as the call them. Unfortunately the estimated money involved in these 2 items and the percentage of it that is spread in the media and judiciary system is not small. If we add to this the immense money Nikola Gruevski brought to Russia this is really not a small amount<sup>xxv</sup>. The only possible rational solution for this would be the pragmatism, whose philosophic rationality is telling us that everything is better than living in the corruptive country.

### **4. 1. What were the exact changes, if there were any changes, that happened in expansion of rational pragmatism in the education and socially? Transferring ideas on global scale**

In this section I would focus on the subsequent changes that happened after the appearance of the rational-pragmatism, and I would juxtapose them with their philosophical predispositions. What were the changes that happened in these spheres in the areas that didn't ever have this philosophical tendency? I have 2 outlooks regarding this. First, all philosophical tendencies are not just philosophical but are interdisciplinary<sup>xxvi</sup>, as philosophy in its deepest nature is mother of all sciences. So in this case it is not just about a philosophical tendency in the philosophical education and education in general, but also a tendency in social sciences, politics, diplomacy, international relations, economy, arts, cultural industries, sciences, technologies, religion etc. Second, after the industrial revolution we cannot say anything in our world was totally isolated, so even if there was no rational pragmatism in the educational syllabi, again through the communications (media, films, books, later Internet...) this was being transferred. So my expose regarding this will undertake the question- how many of the components from this tendency were implemented in the consistency of the social and educational systems.

**4. 1. 1. Authority** was considered to be very important for the education. You must respect your tutor, you cannot debate with him, he is above you, he is always right... As rationality reduced the idea, it also weakened the notion of the superior authority. So there was no more (or there was much less) sarcastic dominance of the advanced academics, over the students. No wonder

this tendency appeared firstly in USA, as this country was always somewhat in favor of the culture of rebel without a cause. The generation of the Tom Sawyer(s) continued to appear around the world for the first time. In the old continent the establishment was vastly threatened, as everybody wanted to participate and believe in the decision making. Journalism became a serious economy predicament. The forces of the old world, those of the aristocracy and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie sensed their time is ending, so they wanted to control the education, as it was considered to be a cradle for these new ideas. This is indeed one of the darkest periods of the Western Civilization, as in the up brink of the WWII it was trying to prevent itself from itself. Many progressive minds (especially those from the reformist aristocracy) were prosecuted<sup>xxvii</sup>, jailed even starved to death on explanation that they were plotting against their own country with liberal ideas, as it was the case with Bertrand Russell and George Orwell. When this “wave” of influence arrived in the eastern bloc, of course that the authorities there did everything to prevent themselves from it; or on the contrary they did nothing or they even welcomed it, since due to their own bad education they noticed no ideological discrepancy in it, and as I am also explaining in this text, because they considered the pragmatists western Marxists. Luckily in all of the eastern Europe this tendency was never stopped, as it was in Yugoslavia; where it was mostly discontinued in its southern parts (after the '68<sup>th</sup>), as the remains of this oppression are still regressing the educational system, and the economic and democratic development. The secret services were very active; those university professors that showed any presence of the pragmatism had to go “on the dark West, where their place is”, as they sad. Perhaps this is why a velvet revolution in Yugoslavia never happened, just a little bloody war. Other eastern countries could easily catch up with the western standards. The less isolated republics, such as Slovenia and Croatia were also developing much faster. In at last, the situation in North Macedonia resulted in complete isolation from all liberal and rational tendencies in its political culture, media sector and social structure, as the education system was becoming even more authoritarian than it used to be in SFRJ. Many of the remaining progressive intellectuals left the country. Those that remained had to be a part of what was proclaimed to be a passage for the West - but this passage was actually welcoming for the hybrid infiltrations. The school and faculty program in all educational institutions in North Macedonia stops at anarchic liberalism, which was predeceased by Marxism. So the obvious educational effect of this is- *you see students if you all want to have safe future, don't become rational like those dark westerners... if the current situation is changed you'll have instability, anarchy, let us leave things as they used to be in SFRJ. Let us all continue in being Marxists, just don't let those westerners catch us what we all really are...* This also resulted in isolation of the entire cultural sector. If we take a better look we can see that Republic of North Macedonia didn't have any sustainable program for recouping from the communist regime in any sector. Furthermore the communist atrocities, unlike in all other eastern European countries were never prosecuted. Nor there was ever any serious lustration.

**4. 1. 2. The debate** was also officially considered to be very important. But the generations that lived in this period never experienced the real discussion, or the argumentation that was organized in the fully democratic manner<sup>xxviii</sup>. The debates that were held in the period of time that passed were never fully free, they were directed before they were organized so that the outcome of the decision making will be the planned goal. The public side of these debates was also pre-organized; tickets for the desired audience were given on the other events. This was/is a system of a closed circle. Everyone knew who those in the group for the supporters or clienteles

were. They always supported what was publicly said by the higher officials. The debates apropos the social issues were organized in same manner as those about the education and science. There was no real exchange of opinions. Those that couldn't become a part of this kind of clientele functioning had/have to leave the country. The prevailing researches are presenting the scheme<sup>xxix</sup> of the so-called captured state and how it was functioning, heavily relying on the notion that EU will always choose stability instead of democracy. This lead to a regression in the education system, therefore the local system had its social consequences. Since all of the state owned positions were heavily depending on the staff provided by the educational institutions in the country. At some point various governments in Republic of North Macedonia and their counseling bodies had to publicly admit the fact that their staff was not well educated, so they plunged themselves into organizing education excursions in the universities abroad, under the special programs, so that those that went to study abroad, when they return will have to work at least 8 years in the public administration of Republic of North Macedonia. But neither of both ever happened. Since those that went abroad were elected on political grounds. That is to say- they were bad students. So the state owned administration organized teams that prearranged special educational programs that were eased, so that all of the students from North Macedonia will pass. This is the first time in the history of the western educational institutions that something like this was ever allowed. With this program some of the best and oldest universities and institutes were corrupted in a clientele's manner, and all this under the patronage of the European Union. When they returned in their home country, their education was so bad that it was risk for the security of the whole country, for them to keep the state owned positions. Most of them didn't even know any foreign language. Consequently most of them went to work abroad with those heavy diplomas, although their educational degree was not matching the correct status of their diploma. What did they do when they entered the EU zone? We heard they inscribed themselves into a course for learning languages, or they became a part of the local underground!?

**4. 1. 3. Human rights** were the major issue why the Badinter commission gave a pass when scanning the system of North Macedonia - which was then the only country in the region to obtain it together with Slovenia<sup>xxx</sup>. But due to the lack of the rational pragmatism, the system of the country couldn't keep this splendid degree for a long time. The absence of the rational pragmatism resulted into lack of any critical thinking. Without it the system cannot keep its reforms further going, and is rather focusing on many regressive tendencies in its passed history, such as those of the nationalism, religious fundamentalism, hierarchical decision making rather than the merit system. With all this on its back it was very difficult for the country to keep its western path, and was orienting itself rather towards those systems that could keep their economy going towards the hybrid regimes. Also due to the much prolonged delay of its entrance in the NATO alliance and EU, in their task for acquiring more and more votes, the local political parties were orienting and merging their political options with those of the countries that had dominance of the hybrid installations in their own systems, such as those of Turkey, Hungary, Spain, China, India etc. Human rights were always very high on the political agenda of each political option. Many public debates and conferences on the topic of this were organized. But again they were all keeping their own internal line, which had its chasm with the local underground. You couldn't ask everything you wanted on those meetings. The situation now is nevertheless almost same. The media, together with the deprecating social and educational system was falling apart. The local media attended these events, but only to take a brief

statement from the politicians and participants. Afterwards these “respected” media houses were informing about these events as they attended them entirely. Interesting thing about this is that these events were also attended by some high officials from EU but they never, ever publicly said anything about this. Although the European Commission (and other EU bodies) in their reports always (amongst other things) required from the officials in North Macedonia meticulous reforms in the media<sup>xxx</sup> (aside the administration and judiciary), this entity never required any defined measures in fighting the clientele orientation of the local journalists. In fact this was also case with the administration and the judiciary. Furthermore many of the people that were doing these hybrid maneuvers were rewarded with grants and internships in the Counsel of Human Rights in Strasbourg and other similar EU bodies. I saw with my own eyes how local independent journalists were denied the chance to participate in the Jean Monet prizes for best journalism; on grounds that they didn’t fulfill the technical or administrative requirements. Such as for e. g. was the case when they published their article directly on site, not firstly in some local media; everybody should know this was so, although it was not listed in the regulations. And actually the printed and the visual media are the ones that are always subsidized by those hybrid installations, not the Internet sites. Well this is a clear example of the machinations that were/are present in Europe during the Third Reich, by misusing the public sector and claiming it was so for the good of the state. Actually the only reason for these maneuvers is - as the Nazis said - to do a really big lie so that nobody could see it size and nobody will think there is a lie nearby at all.

**4. 1. 4. Team working and merit system** were never fully implemented, as I explained in the previous sections. The reason for this is because this 2 heavily depend on the public debate and transparency, which never really existed in Republic of North Macedonia, because there was no rational pragmatism in the education system.

**Conclusion:** As it was announced by the media agencies the largest amounts of the Panama accounts were laundered through the firms in NM. Those billons of euro bought every single position in NM, with the aim of protecting that money. The situation in NM is even worse because its bureaucracy is very powerful and dangerous, as it is fully attached with the underground. Of course not just in this country the situation is so low, it is the same all around Europe where we also witnessed the killings of the journalists; all of them were researching the misuse of the EU public funding. I am adding this since I want to explain who and why is so much afraid of the presence of the rational pragmatism in the educational system. The absence of the rational pragmatism in the years after the departure of Republic of North Macedonia from Social Federalist Republic of Yugoslavia, in this country is also much due to the lack of the assistance from the western entities, towards which this country had clear and strong orientation from its very beginning in the nineties. It will be a clear mistake if we say that for this are only to be blamed the local authorities, as those from EU are also obviously disoriented. As from NATO and unilaterally from USA I could say the country received much clearer guidance. I believe entirely the West was completely confused and disoriented in the past 15 years. There are clear evidences for the hybrid infiltrations; there are no strictly defined acts against them. The caviar lustration of few members of the parliament in Strasbourg is ridiculous. The analyses too- for e. g. they usually emphasize the affiliation of the European leftists with the hybrid regimes (especially with the Russian ones). Likewise it is opposite, which is as the matter of fact obvious and historically proven - from its beginnings till now usually the European far right was

associating with the Russian and the other hybrid infiltrations. It was so also during the WWII; the Third Reich was together with SSSR till 1942.

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- 6) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cwH-9CQWshE>
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<sup>i</sup> See the paper Jürgen Habermas and Andrew Moravcsik: a dialogue on european integration, the nation-state, democracy and identity, by Quincy R. Cloet, in which he explains the connection between the history and social mimesis - "...education could shape the creation of a European culture, according to Coudenhove Kalergi.", p.63

<sup>ii</sup> About the traditional European banking system, its secretive financing and power read in "A Concise Financial History of Europe" by Jan Sytze Masselaar

<sup>iii</sup> To explain that not much has been changed ever since the time of Yugoslavia, in regards of the student standard – but also considering the fact that this helps the social foundations for the hybrid system - I would quote the article from Prof. Vancho Uzunov Социјална/општествена/материјална (не)еднаквост и (не)рамноправност, поими, концепции и парадигми: „Нееднаквоста во образованието е најсилен создавач на идни нееднакви доходи, а истото се однесува на здравјето на граѓаните“.

<sup>iv</sup> [https://sdk.mk/index.php/sakam\\_da\\_kazam/nov-metod/](https://sdk.mk/index.php/sakam_da_kazam/nov-metod/)

<sup>v</sup> For this I am indebted by the latest discoveries by which nothing can create something when nothing is energized by fast movement; when that movement stops, than again the something becomes nothing. So there is non-matter that can create matter which was denied by Albert Einstein

<sup>vi</sup> From "Pragmatic Rationality in Education" by Haynes Felicity

<sup>vii</sup> The researches of UNDP, USAID for e.g. show that students (in high-schools and universities in NM) are required to memorize the lecture and not ask too many questions. This authoritarian approach is one of the main reasons why they all want to live the country. However the media is doing serious brainwashing and these facts were never published. On the contrary the local media always claims the reason for this were the low salaries. The local media also refused to publish the UNDP research which says that every second child in North Macedonia is victim of the violence in its family and that this is also one of the main reasons why young people want to go away

<sup>viii</sup> Herta Müller, The Devil is Sitting in the Mirror, essays - Ѓаволот седи во огледало, Библиотека 1000 книги, 2015, p.30-50

<sup>ix</sup> See about this at this link, which is an event organized against the dictatorship in Skopje, 2015 with this writer and Tom Stoppard together. <https://a1on.mk/culture/video-nobelovkata-herta-miler-vo-skopje-da-se-molchi-za-diktaturata-e-najlosho/>

<sup>x</sup> According to the researches of some brave journalists - each time there are elections in some EU country, the politicians go for a grant to the Russian moguls, which require positions in the EU decision making. For e.g. half of the staff in the city council of Madrid are Russian installations. These reports were presented in much closed meetings, because in the last few years many journalists that were researching the malign-usage of the public money in EU were killed. The author of this text went on those presentations

<sup>xi</sup> About the phenomenon of the stating the society and socializing the state see in the article of Zoran Kostov Хабермас, Енцесбергер, културата на лажни вести и политиката на пост-вистина

<sup>xii</sup> In more particular I am referring to the psychology of the economy or the social aspect of the economy as David Ellerman in his article *Pragmatism versus economics ideology in the postsocialist transition: China versus Russia* - "What are the primary characteristics of the social engineering view of the social world? Just as a mathematics problem has one correct solution, so a social problem has a best or "optimal" solution. For instance, Frederick Taylor applied this mentality to the workplace as "scientific management" [1911], now known as "Taylorism." He was so obsessed with finding the "One Best Way" that this phrase was used as the title for a recent biography of Taylor [Kanigel 1997]... Regardless of other differences, both neoclassical economics and socialist economics (e.g., in the former Soviet Union) agreed on modeling problems mathematically as the maximization of some objective function subject to various constraints so that problems would have an "optimal solution" (not necessarily unique). Both the Soviet and the orthodox neoclassical literature of economics is replete with "optimal solutions" in terms of certain assumed models."

<sup>xiii</sup> Through the bank accounts from the Rothschild family the European infiltrations, mainly financed by the Russian boyars managed to control the American democracy and provoke social disobedience. The people financed from this line were also threatening and killing everybody that opposed this. The same happened before in Europe. Later the same was repeated during the communist madness when the infiltrations planned to kill 40 American senators and provoke a communist revolution in USA. This was stopped by Hoover (only 2 of them were murdered) and by the social awareness established by the rational pragmatism. "Pragmatists such as John Dewey and Richard Rorty defended the idea that public democracies are pragmatic theories in action, in two major senses. First, public

democracy is a proposed method of social inquiry... Second, public democracy is itself an experimental test of the political proposition that citizens become more powerful over the conditions of life if their society becomes more and more democratic.” from John R. Shook, “Pragmatism, Pluralism, and Public Democracy”

<sup>xiv</sup> See The Role of Informal Connections in Macedonian Society: Social Capital or Corruption? by Borjan Gjuzelov, from the book *A life for Tomorrow, Social Transformations in South-East Europe*, p. 239

<sup>xv</sup> See about this the interview with the director of GIZ Macedonia David Oberhuber on TV 24 on

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cwH-9CQWshE>

<sup>xvi</sup> See State Capture: How to Save the Macedonian Democratic Consolidation and EU Enlargement by Zhidas Daskalovski, in *Perspectives, Southeastern Europe*, Issue 3, p.20

<sup>xvii</sup> “Although Proudhon’s ideas are founded on the liberal economic conception that individual and collective interests can be reconciled by the spontaneous play of market economic laws, and that this spontaneity is the precondition of civic freedom, he does not arrive at the functionalist position that these laws, and that this spontaneity is the precondition of civic freedom, he does not arrive at the functionalist position that these laws insure a certain harmony of social development. Society remains basically contradictory...” says Rudi Supek in his article *Organization as an Intermediary Between the Individual and Society: The Democratic and Humanitarian Form of Organization*, in the book *Self-governing Socialism: A Reader. Volume 2: Sociology and Politics; Economics*, p.49

<sup>xviii</sup> About the controversies in the self governance system see in the article of Najdan Pašić *The Idea of Direct Self-managing Democracy and Socialization of Policy-making* in the book *Self-governing Socialism: A Reader. Volume 2: Sociology and Politics; Economics*, p. 38, where the author mulls whether the control was more targeting the economy or the democracy in ex-Yugoslavia

<sup>xix</sup> “...the pragmatic temperament is skeptical of the positivist claim that values are *simply* individual preferences and instead it understands differences about values as an invitation to a conversation. This invitation holds out the possibility that values can be rationally considered and objectively appraised.” says Walter Feinberg, in his article *Critical Pragmatist and the Reconnection of Science and Values in Educational Research*

<sup>xx</sup> Terminology for this is very Western, which was relevant for Yugoslavia (as a member of the Non-Aligned Movement), a country that was developing the distribution of cultural goods and services with its heavy industries and with the commercialization of the public spaces

<sup>xxi</sup> I am referring here to the *miracolo grosso* (term that symbolizes the economic growth in Europe in this period) generation of the European philosophers from the sixties which were the fathers of the public debate, structuralism, semiotics, post-structuralism and modernity

<sup>xxii</sup> The history of rational pragmatism in ex-Yugoslavia has its foundation in the Praxis movement which originated from the same-named magazine (founded by Predrag Vranicki, Ivan Kuvačić, Danilo Pejović, Branko Bošnjak, Danko Grlić, Milan Kangrga, Rudi Supek, Gajo Petrović), and from the Yugoslav communists that wanted to be influenced by the progressive western leftists: Herbert Marcuse, Erich Fromm, Lucien Goldmann, Antonio Gramsci, Karl Korsch, Georg Lukács, Ernst Bloch... The foundation of this movement was originated in Dubrovnik (1963), soon after to become a prominent world-wide famous school in Korčula. Its participants were Herbert Marcuse, Jürgen Habermas, Henri Lefebvre, Richard J. Bernstein, Ernst Bloch, Shlomo Avineri, Eugen Fink, Lucien Goldmann, Erich Fromm, A. J. Ayer, Norman Birnbaum. The Yugoslavs that were part of this movement weren’t allowed to speak openly about everything, as it was the case with their western colleagues, so they developed a code talking which became their specialty, for e.g. on their meetings they would speak about some movie star and his interpretation in the film, but actually they were speaking about the Yugoslav politicians. Of course the local authorities didn’t like this. The oppression after the ‘68th- changed in the education system and the enhanced its kafkian aspects. The western Marxists all became rational pragmatists. Most of the Yugoslav attendees of these summer schools began to work in the West

<sup>xxiii</sup> Prof. Gjorgji Tonovski diversifies clientelism on 3 components in regard of the political culture that can be: parochial, subject and participant indebted himself with Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba (*The Civic Culture*), in his article *Нови видови политичка култура – хибридна и клиентелистичка*

<sup>xxiv</sup> <https://novatv.mk/koi-se-makedontsite-so-smetki-i-firmi-vo-panama/>,

<http://www.dudinka.org/%D0%BA%D1%80%D0%B8%D0%BC%D0%B8%D0%BD%D0%B0%D0%BB%D0%B8%D1%82%D0%B5-%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D0%B5%D0%BC%D0%B8%D0%BB-%D0%BC%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%98%D0%B0%D0%BD-%D0%B8-%D0%B1%D0%B8%D1%80%D0%B8%D1%81-%D1%81%D1%82%D0%BE/>, [http://www.transparentnost.mk.org.mk/Upload/dokumenti/Finalen%20PDF%20Zarobena%20demokratija%20\(web\).pdf](http://www.transparentnost.mk.org.mk/Upload/dokumenti/Finalen%20PDF%20Zarobena%20demokratija%20(web).pdf), p.196, p.226-230 and many more in this text, [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2017/595371/IPOL\\_STU\(2017\)595371\\_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2017/595371/IPOL_STU(2017)595371_EN.pdf), p.22, 42, <https://balkaneu.com/fyrom-panama-papers/>

<sup>xxv</sup> For the data about this (the transfers of the money through the local and the firms on the Canary Islands) I am mostly indebted with the data presented in the local media, as well as concerning the connection of this money with the EU elections, such as for e.g. the investment in the election of David Cameron, or in the building of the building of the EU mission in Skopje which is without permit

<sup>xxvi</sup> "...pragmatism is a sophisticated way of thinking about knowledge, existence and social-political affairs initiated by several American philosophers (classic o paleo pragmatists) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: Charles Sanders Peirce, William James, John Dewey, Jane Addams and George Herbert Mead." from the article Pragmatism in International Relations Theory and Research by Shane J. Ralston

<sup>xxvii</sup> "The ideal doesn't cause any action but prompts the revision of past actions and the judgment of future actions. The judgment that compares the action with the ideal gives rise to an influence on habits that, together with the consequences of past actions, modifies the future action." says Juan Pablo Serra in his article What Is and What Should Pragmatic Ethics Be?

<sup>xxviii</sup> On how certain issues of political question of individualism were solved see in the article of Piergiorgio Donatelli, Roberto Frega and Sandra Laugier- Pragmatism, Transcendentalism, and Perfectionism

<sup>xxix</sup> In his article State capture in the Western Balkans, Leon Runje gives historical explanation of the hybrid infiltrations in the region of South-East Europe. "From King Alexander, Marshall Tito to president Milošević, the West has been historically happy to trade in democracy for stability. What differentiates this new form of "stabilocracy" from its previous incarnations is the fact that in the 2000's, the EU actually did invest a considerable amount of effort and political capital in providing the region with a path to full EU membership."

<sup>xxx</sup> This is how Francis Fukuyama defines human rights: "Liberal democracies are built on a premise of universal human equality, and that equality does not begin or end at national borders. The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights became the basis for a growing body of international law that asserted that rights are inherent in all human beings and need to be respected by all nations." – referring to the refugees; in his book The Demand for Dignity and the Politics of Resentment

<sup>xxxi</sup> That practically all media in North Macedonia was bought and corrupted, with the exception of the Albanian, for which there was no business interest to be bought, that is why it remained professional - we can see in the report Развојот на сопственичката структура на медиумите во Македонија: Заробена демократија, p. 140. footnote