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**SECURITY SYSTEM REFORMS AS A PRECONDITION
FOR EURO-ATLANTIC INTEGRATIONS**

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PREFACE

The mission of a community and practical application of subject experience with a scientist coincides with the needs of Macedonia.

The papers treat future establishment and the contemporary security conflicts.

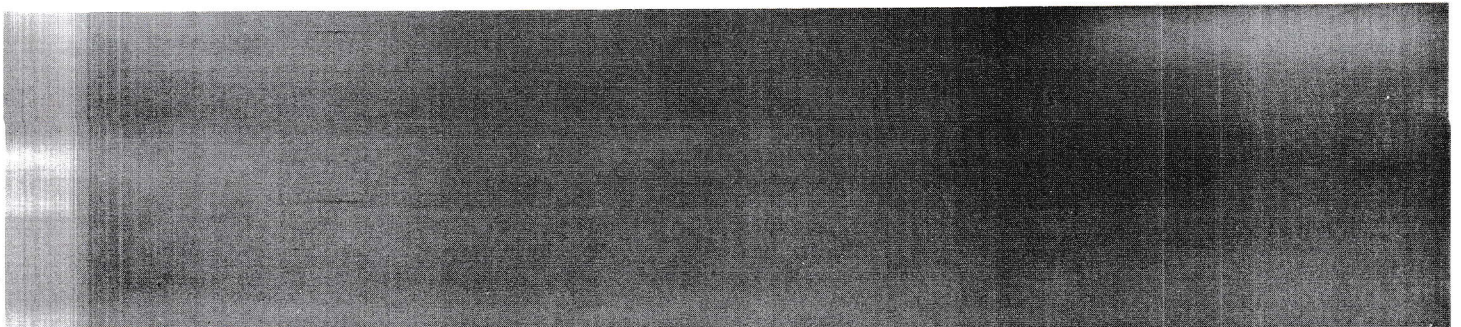
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Hence, the mass views and knowledge the security reforms and for Euro – Atlantic time

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THE REFUGEE CRISES ON THE BALKANS – PARADOXES AND EXPERIENCES OF REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA VS. THE CHALLENGES OF NATIONAL STATES

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Abstract

The contemporary world, globally, is still facing serious issues from the past. These social issues can be seen through the religious, racial and ethnic intolerance, prejudices, humiliation of the people, but also, the same issues can be recognized through the negation of the historical injustices. Migrations are means for achieving ends without military involvement, while putting pressure on Europe and its ability to solve these issues. This paper will focus on the Macedonian experience of dealing with refugees and illegal migration as two distinct matters. Emphasis will be put on the paradox in the case of Macedonia and the incapacity of the mechanisms of the European Union to sort out the issues of the third millennium, which are not merely refugee crises. The paradox in this paper will be further elaborated through Macedonia's role in protecting Europe as a non-member of the EU, from a territory of a member state of the Union. This study can bring us closer to some clear findings about the omissions and the mistakes that were made in the past, through a more lucid picture of the level of preparedness of the Macedonian state for handling this kind of humanitarian catastrophes.

Key words: *Balkan region, Refugee crises, Republic of Macedonia, Middle East, European values.*

Introduction

Southeast Europe is a transit region, which has been used for centuries as a crossroads from the East to the West and from the North to the South. In various historical stages, different ethnic and religious groups passed through this area. Along their way, some of them left their mark and left, others remained and settled permanently in this region, participating in the creation of the specific Balkan amalgam, out of which the Balkan national states were created during the XIX and the early XX century. Over the past few decades, this region, influenced by the destruction of the bipolar world, with a varying intensity, still remained a geographical determinant - a crossroads for different ethnic groups, which moved across it due to the pressure of the wars in the former Yugoslavia.

At the beginning of the XXI century, this region gained momentum once more, especially after the events in the USA on September 11, 2001, when the world-wide war against international terrorism began.²⁸² Under the influence of these events, at the

²⁸²Нај, С. Цозеф, Помладиот. Разбирање на меѓународните конфликти: Вовед во теоријата и историјата, Академски печат, Скопје, 2008. Pg.344.

beginning of the second decade of the XXI century, the Middle East became a huge hotspot once again, where the East and the West clashed. Therefore, the outbreak of the Arabian Spring and the Western world's attempt to create liberal governments on the predominantly Islamic soil, made a huge impact on the citizens of the Middle-East countries. The result of the military clashes, as well as the influence of the radical extremist groups, roused the refugee masses, mainly from Afghanistan and Syria, to seek a new and safer residence, mainly in the West European countries.²⁸³ For these reasons, in 2014 and with a great intensity in 2015, an enormous mass of refugees, displaced persons and asylum seekers came to the European soil. These people, during the spring and summer of 2015, crossed the Greek territory and arrived at the Macedonian borders.

This situation especially escalated during the summer of 2015, when coming through Greece, Republic of Macedonia was flooded by an enormous number of emigrants, seekers of political asylum and refugees, additionally motivated by the announcement given by the German Chancellor Angela Merkel who stated that they were welcomed in Germany. After this statement, the emigrants headed to Western Europe in increasing numbers.²⁸⁴ Not everyone agreed with this new situation, as was evident with the disagreement within the European Union. The reasons could be found in the explanations of the protection and securing of the borders of the countries, the protection of the national interests of the countries transited by the refugee masses, as well as in the fear that the world's image will change, which along with the other side-effects, will be facing a change of demography and a change of the secular concept of the West, with the new, rapidly-growing Islamic order.²⁸⁵

The European Union and the challenges of the 21st century

The world that we live in has already changed. Shaped by different ideas, concepts and visions, the world represents a conglomerate of contrasting cultures, values and states of mind. Every epoch brought its own challenges and issues that resulted with ideas, theories, and new visions of how to overcome these challenges.

One of the most significant concepts or ideas of our time is the European Union. However, the European Union represents a complex process which is far from complete. The Union itself is faced with a new reality different from one or maybe two years ago. European societies are caught in a condition full with reluctance. Many questions that were brought with this new reality still remain without any answers or solutions for the wellbeing of the continent. The migrant waves as one of the symptoms of this new world that is emerging in front of our eyes, brought with themselves a burden which now becomes an inseparable part of European reality. The old concepts and paradigm of the European Union seem insufficient and not applicable for solving these issues. On the one side, there are the mechanisms of the states, which are outdated and unpopular, and on the

²⁸³(personal note) "They were further motivated by the propaganda about the gains and the benefits, for a better life in the West." See more in: Lewis, Bernard, *The Middle East: A Brief History of the last 2.000 Years*, SCRIBNER, New York, 1995. Pg. 357 – 387.

²⁸⁴<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/germany-opens-its-gates-berlin-says-all-syrian-asylum-seekers-are-welcome-to-remain-as-britain-is-10470062.html> Accessed on 08.04.2017 in 19:42.

²⁸⁵ <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3234524/Europe-slams-migrant-door-Hungary-Austria-Slovakia-Holland-shut-borders-Germany-imposes-controls-saying-t-cope.html> Accessed on 09.04.2017 in 22:50.

other hand, there is a situation inside the state concept of modern

South Eastern of the long epoch of that these empires Empire, or Byzantine Empire lasted for fit on diversity and co-religious, ethnic, and by the empires were Today we find this correlation, as a con

We can conclude imperialistic power establishing some s and especially the century, the Austro-allies from this are causing in some way the European Union entire continent, through of this Union.

Contemporary of multiculturalism has been imposed from below, means progressively through distinction between precisely from that Balkans, and was a European countries product of the ins respecting and accepting the power of the liberal societies.²⁸⁶

The crucial ability to adjust to will be completely

²⁸⁶ "But it was not a conscience. Since establishing this self-governing orthodoxy. Hence the community, and little suppress the Jews, or Kymlicka, Will, *Mult*

other hand, there is the skepticism and fear within the societies of those states. The situation inside the societies is largely the fault of the inability to manage with the diversities, particularities and uniqueness of the groups that disrupt the comfortable nation-state concept of modern European post Westphalian world order.

South Eastern Europe is based on societies that are multiethnic, which is a product of the long epoch of ruling empires in this part of the world. It is important to emphasize that these empires were present in power for centuries, for example, the Macedonian Empire, or Byzantium. The epoch of Byzantium lasted for a millennium, and the Ottoman Empire lasted for five centuries. It is known that the structure of those empires was based on diversity and coexistence. This very structure was indeed a conglomerate of different religious, ethnic, and language groups. For these reasons, the mechanisms that were built by the empires were first of all complex, and what is more important, non - territorial. Today we find this relationship which represents religious - interethnic - language correlation, as a complex one.

We can conclude that the peace in South Eastern Europe was possible only if some imperialistic power was performing the role of an arbitrator between peoples and religions, establishing some sort of intercultural order. For many centuries those were the empires, and especially the Ottoman Empire with the Millet system. Later in the 19th and 20th century, the Austro - Hungary and other European powers were able together with their allies from this area to decide which definitions for people apply on which territory, causing in some ways the wars in this part of the world. Today we witness the inability of the European Union to be the arbitrator in this new reality that is widespread through the entire continent, through all member states, and through all countries that are still not part of this Union.

Contemporary migrant societies handle the social complexity through the concept of multiculturalism. The concept of multiculturalism in Europe, however, is an idea that has been imposed from above or from the mechanisms of the state, and does not come from below, meaning from the tradition for respecting diversities which is generated progressively through coexistence. On that note, it is important to emphasize the distinction between multiethnic and multicultural societies. The first ones crawl out precisely from that tolerance which was constructed step by step for many centuries in the Balkans, and was eroded to a large extent with the nation-state concept. The inability of European countries to face the new challenges brought by the migrant waves today is the product of the insufficient role of the national states to achieve the philosophy of respecting and accepting the diversities, which was the case in the previous epochs when the power of the open space brought peace and understandings, although they were not liberal societies.²⁸⁶

The crucial turning point regardless of the future of the European Union will be its ability to adjust to the challenges of the new reality. Otherwise, the core idea of the union will be completely eroded. As the famous quote says: "it is not the strongest of the species

²⁸⁶But it was not a liberal society, for it did not recognize any principle of individual freedom of conscience. Since each religious community was self-governing, there was no external obstacle to basing this self-government on religious principles, including the enforcement of religious orthodoxy. Hence there was little or no scope for individual dissent within each religious community, and little or no freedom to change one's faith. While the Muslims did not try to suppress the Jews, or vice versa, they did suppress heretics within their own community". Kymlicka, Will, *Multicultural Citizenship*, Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 157

that survives, nor the most intelligent that survives. It is the one that is most adaptable to change.”²⁸⁷

In order to face the new reality and the challenges that are strongly shaping the new history of Europe, the Union decided to increase security in favor of freedom. But it should be clear that sometimes the ones who decide to chose security over freedom, or freedom over security, might eventually lose both of them. However, the continuing lack of reforms is showing its flaws. According to some scholars, “Europe is committing suicide. Or at least leaders have decided to commit suicide”.²⁸⁸ We must focus as well on the obvious discrepancy between public opinion and reality. Murray argued that “in response to public concern, governments and mainstream parties of all political stripes talked about controlling immigration – sometimes even getting stuck in a competition to sound tougher than each other on the matter. But as the years went on it began to seem as though this might merely be an electoral trick”.²⁸⁹ Europe is under direct and permanent threat of terrorist attacks. The recent attacks were an obvious indicator that the Union needs a crucial change in its security policies. From the case of the migrant crisis we witnessed reactive decisions instead of active ones. Another indicator is the necessity of integration, regional security cooperation and data exchange in order countries like Macedonia, which are among the most affected, to act actively rather than reactively. The migrant crisis is a “desperate call” for the national states and the members of the Union, as well as the leadership of the Union to finally reform its outdated mechanisms in order to survive the challenges of the new era.

However, the migrant crisis is far from finished. Every day, more than 500 migrants from Afghanistan enter Turkey. Some of them stay in Turkey, and some of them continue towards the other European countries. In Greece there is a capacity for 40.000 migrants financed by the European Union with almost 1.5 million euros. The crisis is a threat that increases the security risks, but also threatens the relations between countries, mostly neighboring ones. Koronakis stated that the migrants that are arriving within the European borders in large numbers in most of the cases are without papers or some other elements of identification, and yet, the European Union accepted all of them. The tragedy of this challenge, he stated, is that the problem of securing the borders of the Union from uncontrolled guests became a problem of the Europeans for internal relocation of those who should not even be in Europe. He gives the answer to this paradox through the accusation addressed to the European leaders, which instead of finding solutions to the problem, are hypocritically trying to transfer it to their neighbors.²⁹⁰ Macedonia felt this paradox first-hand. Namely, Macedonia was the first country in Europe which declared a state of crisis and deployed its army on the border. This crucial decision enabled a blockade to the illegal migration through the Balkan corridor. Even though Macedonia did not have access to the European data bases for sharing data concerning the migrants and foreign terrorists, and even though Macedonia is not a member state of the Union, its institutions accomplished the crucial challenge for securing the region while taking over the role of a “gate keeper” of the European Union. In 2015, some 300.000 migrants passed through Macedonia, and each month the country spent little over one million euros from its

²⁸⁷ Supposedly a quote from Darwin’s “Origins of Species”

²⁸⁸ Murray, Douglas, *The Strange Death of Europe – Immigration, Identity, Islam*, Bloomsbury, 2017

²⁸⁹ Ibid, 25

²⁹⁰ Koronakis, A., Vasilis, *Evropska Unija, Otudena Država*, Laguna, 2016.

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²⁹¹ <https://www.amnes.org/03.05.2017>

²⁹² <http://www.balkan-migrant-crisis>

own budget. The help from the Union is still lacking. What makes this paradox even greater, Greece refused to exchange data and records about the migrants leaving its territory, even though it is a European border. Unfortunately, the lack of data exchange which contains sensitive information is also present within the Union.

Concerning the migration, the European Union made three major omissions. First of all, the Union showed its dysfunctional mechanism for distribution of migrants in the country members with the so called quotas. The second huge omission was the permission of the member states not to register the refugees and the migrants, and the third omission of the European Union was the fact that it allowed one-sided decisions of the member countries. Macedonia was directly affected by these three omissions of the Union and suffered from the powerlessness of its crisis management.

It is more than obvious that the European Union crashes in times of crisis and shows its weakness. During peace and prosperity the Union's engines are functioning with full power and full capacity. In times of crisis, the Union cannot provide decisions and find solutions, mostly because of its outdated mechanisms. The ineffective migrant and security policy escalated into a serious security challenge. The problem lies in the fact that the European Union is lacking common policy regarding the migrant crisis, but also with respect to many other challenges. The future of Europe is full of uncertain alternatives and many challenges that are about to emerge. States must cooperate with each other and understand that we are all part of this world which is first and foremost a world order, rather than international order. The world based on Westphalian values is faced with challenges that are mostly the product of the erosion of the states' sovereignty caused by radical movements, terrorists, and by the international organizations and institutions as well.

Republic of Macedonia and the refugee crisis in 2015

In 2015, the Republic of Macedonia faced yet another refugee crisis. This country had already faced such challenges several times since the gaining of its independence in the 1990s until the present day; therefore, the new refugee crisis represented a test of endurance and of the abilities of the Macedonian government, as well as of its citizens. In both humanitarian and security sense, this refugee crisis revealed all the advantages and weaknesses of the Macedonian country, through which more than 700.000 refugees transited from the Middle East.²⁹¹

Greece represented the line through which nearly all the emigrants coming through Turkey headed to pass through the Republic of Macedonia towards Western Europe. It is interesting to note the fact that nearly 100% of them crossed the sea to the Greek islands. It is also estimated that over 851.000 emigrants traveled through Greece in 2015.²⁹² Through the islands, the larger part of the refugees immediately continued their way to the Greek-Macedonian border. As a result of this enormous inflow of people which entered Macedonian territory in waves, the Macedonian Government and the Parliament made changes to the Law on Asylum and Temporary Protection in June 2015. Hence, the emigrants could obtain a document which enabled them to legally transit across Macedonia

²⁹¹ <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2015/09/syrias-refugee-crisis-in-numbers> Accessed on 03.05.2017

²⁹² http://www.acaps.org/img/documents/a-160111-acaps_mapaction---an-introduction-to-the-balkan-migrant-crisis.pdf, page. 4.

and to leave the country in 72 hours.²⁹³ However, the growing numbers of refugees and emigrants on the border between Greece and the Republic of Macedonia increased the alarm of security risks which influenced the adoption of the decision of the Macedonian Government to temporarily close the border and to pronounce a crisis situation in August 2015.²⁹⁴

It became evident that the refugee crisis had its own accumulation immediately after entering the railway station in Gevgelija, through the Greek border. The statistics confirm that only in the course of one day in the area surrounding Gevgelija there were over 8000 emigrants, which equals one third of the total population of this town. Regarding this security aspect, an emigration center was formed near border stone 59, and this Center accommodated 1500 emigrants for a few hours each day. In September, due to the increasing inflow of refugees, the Macedonian Parliament extended the duration of the proclaimed state of emergency on the northern and southern border until June 2016. This raised the tension on the border, because, as we already stated, the inflow of refugees and emigrants continued to increase, which necessitated an active collaboration between the Republic of Macedonia and Greece, in order to avoid any further complications or worsen the entire situation.

In the summer of 2015, the number of emigrants crossing the state border and entering Macedonia in the course of only one day reached 14.000 refugees. This condition alarmed the state authorities which proclaimed a state of emergency. President Ivanov sent the army forces to help the border police in dealing with the fast-growing number of unregistered and uncontrolled masses of refugees which entered the territory of the Republic of Macedonia. When the Macedonian security forces closed the southern border, there was nearly no reaction from the Greek side. The reason was very simple. The Greek Government was dissolved. The Greek Vice-Minister of Emigration Policy, Tasia Christodouloupoulou, answering a journalist question by the Athens newspaper *To Vima* regarding the government's plan for resolving the humanitarian crisis on the border with the Republic of Macedonia, pointed out: "The Government resigned and it is not informed about the conditions and activities on the terrain."²⁹⁵

The Greek Prime-Minister Alexis Tsipras won the early parliamentary elections, which were held on 21 September 2015. His victory was an opportunity for a greater inclusion of the Greek Parliament in the refugee-emigrant crisis. On the other side, the European Union could not stay away from the crisis. Therefore, the leaders of the EU member-states held a meeting in Brussels on 25 October 2015. They adopted an action plan composed of 17 points, in which it was demanded of Greece to cooperate with the Republic of Macedonia, Albania and Turkey.²⁹⁶ Greece was satisfied with the results of the Summit, but on the occasion, Prime-Minister Tsipras stated that his Government declines

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²⁹³БИЛТЕН: Подобрување на заштитата на правата и услугите на мигрантите и барателите на азил во Република Македонија, Бр. 02 и 03, Март, 2016, Македонско здружение на млади правници. <http://myla.org.mk/wpcontent/uploads/2016/09B8-03.pdf>

²⁹⁴<http://www.sobranie.mk/content/%D0%9F%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%BC%D0%B5%D0%BD%D1%82%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%B5%D0%BD%20%D0%B8%D0%BD%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B8%D1%82%D1%83%D1%82/Efektite%20na%20migratskata%20kriza%20vo%20zemjite%20na%20JIE%20-%20MK.pdf>

²⁹⁵<http://www.tovima.gr/en/article/?aid=730954>

²⁹⁶Triandafyllidou, Anna, Turning the Refugee Crisis into an Opportunity? Current Challenges for Greece and Suggestions for Action, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced studies, Issue 2015 12, December, 2015, page. 6.

²⁹⁷<http://www.tovima>

²⁹⁸<http://republika.mk>

²⁹⁹<http://www.president>

³⁰⁰Report from the Co
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the idea of the new operation of Frontex on the border crossings in the northern part of Greece. Tsipras claimed that the protection of the borders is an exceptional national interest, pointing out that the involvement of Frontex will be limited to the documentation of the refugees which are still not included in the registration procedure at the islands.²⁹⁷

The President of the Republic of Macedonia, Dr. Gjorge Ivanov, before the mini-summit in Brussels dedicated to the refugee crisis, attended by ten EU member-states and the representatives from Macedonia, Serbia and Albania, stated: “If we do not stick together –we will hang separately”.²⁹⁸ Answering a journalist question, he pointed out to the bad collaboration between Greece and the Republic of Macedonia regarding the emigrant crisis, and confirmed that this is the key demand of the Macedonian side in this meeting at the highest level. – “This is the moment when all of us should prove ourselves as neighbors with mutual solidarity and face the challenges together. We expect that Greece will cooperate in regards to this European crisis and will exchange data, because we have days when up to ten thousand refugees come to our territory in Macedonia. The communication with Greece is at a very low level. There is no cooperation between the Ministries or Governments”, stated president Ivanov before the Summit.²⁹⁹

After the meeting in Brussels, the contacts in the region of Southeast Europe intensified. Slovenia called for a meeting of the Ministries of Internal Affairs, on 16 and 17 November, which was attended by Macedonia, Serbia and Greece. The participants agreed to better the coordination, including the exchange of information about the number of refugees crossing the border.³⁰⁰

On 30 November 2015, the President of Republic of Macedonia, Dr. Gjorge Ivanov, had a meeting with the German Chancellor Angela Merkel. Both sides exchanged views regarding the current emigration crisis, the security challenges and the status of the European integration of the Republic of Macedonia. Of course in this sense, one of the most important meetings held on the margins of the Summit for climate changes in Paris, was the meeting of Macedonian President Ivanov with the Greek Prime Minister Tsipras.

President Ivanov and Prime Minister Tsipras discussed on this meeting the problem with the refugees and the emigrants. – “What I asked of the Greek Prime Minister in Brussels and here, is to encourage the institutions to cooperate and exchange information, because this would be in the interest of our countries and people, but also of the region. A great number of foreign fighters from Syria and Iraq now find their way to Europe, as refugees and emigrants, thus endangering the security of Europe”, stated the Macedonian President, pointing out that he also discussed with Prime Minister Tsipras building measures of confidence between the Republic of Macedonia and Greece, as well as the need for their proper implementation. – “We have to pay more attention to the implementation of these confidence building measures, whose aim is to encourage better cooperation in the areas which cannot suffer the consequences due to the issue of the Constitutional name of the Republic of Macedonia. They include cooperation between the

²⁹⁷<http://www.tovima.gr/en/article/?aid=748810>

²⁹⁸<http://republika.mk/502455> Accessed on 12.05.2017, 12:14.

²⁹⁹<http://www.president.gov.mk/en/media-centre/news/3489.html> Accessed on 18.05.2017, at 11:57.

³⁰⁰Report from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council on the follow-up to the Leaders' Meeting on refugee flows along the Western Balkan route - http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/securing-eu-borders/legal-documents/docs/report_western_balkans_en.pdf

academies and the business communities, as well as the communication between the populations” –President Ivanov stated.³⁰¹

At the Summit in Brussels held on 16 December 2015, President Ivanov stated with respect to the refugees that: “We suffer the consequences of the emigration crisis, without enjoying the benefits from membership in the Union.”³⁰² This concern of the state leadership rose from the fact that the Republic of Macedonia was under the direct impact of the wave of refugees, which was coming from Greece, which continued to send the refugees to the Macedonian border every day without any control.

Despite all the efforts and activities taken by all relevant state authorities, the Republic of Macedonia was left to deal with the refugees on its own, with its own funds and resources. Halting the flow of refugees, at the behest of the EU member-states, was the reason why Macedonia had to channel the refugee wave and build a fence at the border. “Recently we have a new reality. We have a great inflow of falsified documents; we have people with false identities, trying to gain the status of a refugee and these emigrants will use it and exchange it for a refugee status. It is hard to check where these people come from because all they have is a statement and we cannot take biometric data from them” – stated President Ivanov after his meeting with Donald Tusk.³⁰³

In his international activities, President Ivanov appealed that: “In only one year around 700.000 refugees passed through the Republic of Macedonia, and the country spent over 12 million Euros to deal with the refugees.” In his annual address to Macedonian Parliament, he also underlined the need for allocating a higher budget to the Army and the subjects are dealing with the migration crisis, concluding that: “we have to change ourselves and start behaving as if we are in a constant crisis.”³⁰⁴

By the end of 2015, the cooperation between Greece and the Republic of Macedonia was significantly improved. Communication was established between the Macedonian and the Greek border authorities. Furthermore, contacts were established between the respective Ministries of the two countries.³⁰⁵ After the adoption of the decision and the signing of the Treaty between the EU and the Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, which officially came into force on 20 March 2016, the enormous migration wave was temporarily stopped. This Treaty halted the inflow of refugees from the Middle East for a certain period, but the Treaty also became a serious argument for Turkey regarding the great number of strategic issues, and on the other side, indicated the European disunity regarding the key decisions, along with the future development plans. All of that did not come any closer to ending the Near-East clashes, nor to ending this migration process – in other words, the crisis continues.

³⁰¹ <http://www.president.gov.mk/en/media-centre/news/3552.html> Accessed on 25.05.2017 at 12:48

³⁰² http://kanal5.com.mk/vesti_detail.asp?ID=85982 Accessed on 25.05.2017 at 09:48.

³⁰³ <http://www.mkd.mk/makedonija/politika/migrantite-stanuvaat-begalci-ivanov-vo-brisel-pokazha-falsifikuvani-dokumenti-na> Accessed on 15.09.2016 at 10:00.

³⁰⁴ <http://www.alfa.mk/News.aspx?ID=103536#.V9peQYp97IU> Accessed on 25.05.2017 in 10:40.

³⁰⁵ <http://blogs.wsj.com/brussels/2016/01/29/sealing-off-greece-a-second-worst-scenario-says-macedonian-minister/> Accessed on 30.05.2017 at 13:43.

Conclusion

On a geopolitically complex world, along with the wave of terrorist attacks in fear of new terrorist attacks, the enhancement of the actual sense of the migration waves is a new challenge of the 21st century. The values drawn from the internationally ratified human being.

In that sense, the Republic of Macedonia represented the model included within the concept of limited liberty and the concept of liberty are considering, we are universal and central idea of citizenship in the Arabic language that the bigger part of equality of all citizens as the spiritual authority provide an everyday already have.

The Republic of Macedonia dealing with the migration crisis, the country represented the way through, the state's interests and conditions which

³⁰⁶ <http://www.president.gov.mk/en/media-centre/news/3552.html>

efforts-to-end-syrian-crisis

³⁰⁷ Al Sayyad, Neza

Citizenship in the Arab World

³⁰⁸ Кризите на македонија и демократија наспроти

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³⁰⁹ Ручнов, Драго

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Conclusion

On a geopolitical plan, the events in Ukraine, then the clashes in the Middle East, along with the war in Syria, as well as the re-actualization of the Kurdish question, the terrorist attacks in Paris, Ankara, Munich, Istanbul and Nice, significantly reinforced the fear of new terrorist attacks all over the world, and at the same time influenced the enhancement of the Russian foreign policy.³⁰⁶ This condition of constant tension, in the actual sense of the word, became a real threat by the unknown, especially after the great migration waves during the previous two years, because they were experienced as a kind of an army which slowly conquers the heart of Europe. Faced with the reality of huge global changes, increasing violence, wars and mutual intolerance, placed civilization in front of a new challenge of its self-sustainability and the need for finding new solutions to preserve the values drawn by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the series of internationally ratified documents which guarantee the indivisibility of the rights of every human being.³⁰⁷

In that sense, it is also obvious that the universality of the democratic values represented the main effort of the Western concept. The West expects that everyone will be included within this frame. However, in this totality, there is still no way to include certain countries, as is the case with Saudi Arabia, Syria and the other Arabian countries, in which the concept of limited sovereignty is predominant. It is evident that, unlike the democratic concept of liberty and equality of citizens, regardless of which Islamic school or belief we are considering, we cannot predict whether every one of them exceptionally points to the universal and central place of the Islam in the life of the Muslims, because the sources of the Islamic law regulate all religious and worldly questions. Even more importantly, the idea of citizenship as an active subject in the political process is unknown in the Islam and in the Arabic language. Therefore, the difference is complete if we take into consideration that the bigger part of the Islamic world has no practice which would imply the idea of equality of all citizens before the laws, nor their individual political rights, let alone citizenship as the foundation of national sovereignty. From the totality of the differences which are evident, there is also the firm connection in the Islam between the secular and the spiritual authority.³⁰⁸ Therefore, the Islamic world along with many other worlds, provide an everyday proof that they do not wish for democracy more than what they already have.³⁰⁹

The Republic of Macedonia has had its active role in these processes in regards to dealing with the humanitarian disaster it faced, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the country represented a dam which protected the European Union from its own self. All the way through, the country was faced with serious issues regarding the protection of the state's interests and the security of the Macedonian citizens. It became evident that the new conditions which influenced the change of priorities of the state policies in the region of

³⁰⁶ http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/12/world/middleeast/new-diplomacy-seen-on-us-russian-efforts-to-end-syrian-civil-war.html?_r=0 Accessed on 30.05.2017 in 21:34.

³⁰⁷ Al Sayyad, Nezar, Castells, Manuel, *Muslim Europe or Euro-Islam, Politics, Culture, and Citizenship in the Age of Globalization*, Lexington Books, Boston, 2002. Pg. 91.

³⁰⁸ Кризите на модерниот свет, регионални и глобални предизвици за либералната демократија наспроти религиозниот фундаментализам, Конрад Аденауер Фондација и Институт РесПублика, Скопје. 2014. p. 19.

³⁰⁹ Ручнов, Драго, *Актуелно стање и перспектива демократије*, Архив за правне и друштвенонауке, 4, Београд, 2003. pg. 404.

Southeast Europe and beyond, on European soil, encouraged the necessity of urgent handling with the humanitarian and security risks. Looking backwards, all of this not only influenced and tested the elasticity and capability of the Macedonian state authorities, but also confirmed the fact that the Republic of Macedonia proved to be able to deal with such risks, much better than the European Union member-states.

As for the Republic of Macedonia, it is evident that it remains a transit country with a daily capacity of 2000 emigrants. Apart from the pressure from Brussels for opening of refugee camps, Macedonia does not step back from the position that it has the capacity to offer only two transit centers, which at the same time also serve as a checkpoint for registration of the emigrants.

As we already concluded, it is clear that the refugee crisis is not going to stop, nor the problems for dealing with it will disappear overnight. What can be done is, to influence the subjects of the national security system which have to be in constant awareness in order to be able to protect the territorial integrity, the unitary character and the sovereignty of the country, and to secure the coexistence and the property of the citizens, without endangering the integrity of the refugees, seeking opportunities for a brighter future.

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