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FOLKLORE, DANCE IN THE CONTEXT OF MODELING IDEOLOGICAL MESSAGES

Anotacija

PAGRINDINIAI ŽODŽIAI: Makedonija, socializmas, tradiciniai šokiai, tapatybė.
Abstract

Studying Macedonian culture, we can not help noticing the particular role of folklore ensembles in fostering traditional music and dances, with a view to cherishing the national characteristics. This process is directed by the highest political bodies, which have disseminated the idea in a few spheres. Firstly, by means of actualization of certain matrices in the national folk ensemble Tanec, which was the benchmark followed by amateur ensembles. On the other hand, state television and radio MRTV, started broadcasting performances of folk music ensembles and programs with specific contents, i.e. where folklore prevailed. Analyzing the situation with the folk dance ensemble Tanec, we can notice that its Statute, as well as its first director Mr Manuel Chuchkov (senior political official) emphasized application, promotion and actualization of folklore in the context of socio-ideological engagement. Several papers written by Chuchkov, consider the usage of folk dances by placing them in historical and ideological contents. Such are the examples of folk dances from this period, into which drama elements are imputed, giving the dances specific historical features and being supposed to encourage patriotic feelings. Folklore used to be used as a tool in the socialist period, but it is still being actualized, in Macedonia nowadays.

KEY WORDS: Macedonia, Socialism, traditional dance, identity.

Starting points

Topics opened several decades after the collapse of the socialist block of countries in Europe made it possible to readdress the processes that were part of the political, as well as the cultural policy and agenda. Speaking of cultural policy, worth mentioning are the researches made in the field of sociology of performance, which consider the relationships between the society and the performing practices.

Theatre director and prominent University Professor, Richard Schechner has analyzed the reflections of society in the performing arts, and vice versa. His detailed and extensive elaboration of the problem researched is supplemented by a very interesting scheme-like image defining the relations between the areas researched. In the image, he presents this connection graphically in the form of number eight placed in horizontal position, where the left site of the figure represents the social sphere – “social drama” (Schechner 1988, 188), and the right loop represents the performance sphere or “aesthetic drama” (Schechner 1988, 188). Schechner presents them as an inextricably linked unit with interactive relationships and influences. In this analysis, the section of reflection that moves from
performing sphere to social processes will be omitted, for it is not an issue of interest in the respective research field. This two-way process will be discussed only in terms of social implication in the performance. Schechner writes “Reciprocally, a culture’s visible aesthetic theater is informed – shaped, conditioned, guided – by underlying processes and social interaction... There is flowing back and forth, up and down, characterizing the relationship between social and aesthetic dramas; specific enactments (shows) may ‘travel’ from one hemisphere to the other, following the direction of the arrow” (Schechner 1988, 190).

Table 1.

![Diagram of Social Drama vs Aesthetic Drama]

(Schechner 1988, 190)

This model is intriguing for many scholars and it was interpreted and analyzed diversely by some of them. Commenting on this model, the anthropologist Victor Turner thinks of it as “something being dynamic and effective”. The complex composition of the presented relations incorporates elements from social sphere (political, ideological, propaganda) and it shows how these elements impact the performances. Defining it, Turner says “At the point of intersection between two loops, they descend once more to form the hidden aesthetic model underpinning, so to speak, of the overt social drama” (Turner 1980, 154).

So, artistic production and performance are a powerful medium through which certain current attitudes can be instrumentalized, mes-

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1 This text was first published in 1977 under the name *The essays on Performance Theory*, New York: Routledge.
messages can be sent and public opinion and views can be influenced and shaped. However, it is not our intention to give the wrong impression that art, through mutual relations with the social environment, always supports the centers of power. It is enough to mention the form of socially engaged theater or political theater, a type of theatre where the performance and “the stage” were a place to activate the spectator, they were supposed to ‘wake up’ his consciousness and conscientiousness, and to activate him in direction of correcting the existing deficiencies and imperfections in society. Yet, culture in Socialism was mostly\(^2\) used as part of the propaganda and the ideological machinery current at that time. In this respect, folklore plays important role and is actualized in Socialism. Because of that, we will focus only on this layer of the complex system of elements that make up cultural production. Many authors have analyzed and studied the use of folklore and its instrumentalization, especially during the period of Joseph Stalin’s dictatorship. “Folklore fell out of favor with the newly created Soviet government for a time, but as the government became actively involved in creating a new culture for its new society, it realized the potential of folklore as a means to reshape the culture” (Goff 2003).

The extent, manner and form of the impacts of the social environment (in our study of the political environment) differs from the political system, social structure, the processes taking place and usage of culture in propaganda-related or ideological purposes, and so on. The ‘second modeling system’ (using Lotman’s vocabulary) in terms of development of the socialist society, activated the folklore as an intermediary medium for renewal, creation and activation of contents that supported and reflected the new relationships, features and ideological matrices.

Additionally, this research will restrict itself to dance as part of the folklore activities and will analyze it as a separate segment connected not with the authentic performance, but only with its stage projections and presentations.

**Macedonian case**

This kind of actualization of folklore and its use for building identity and creating ideological markers important for the Communist party

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\(^2\) An excellent example of reactions to the current reality was “Black Wave” in Yugoslav cinematography, which criticized myths about socialism.
agenda was present in Yugoslavia, too. But it must be noted that Yugoslavia, after the break up with Stalin in 1948, built different so-called soft Socialism, which was distinguished by a range of policies³ that gave some extent of freedom to the individuals and groups.

Although Yugoslavia was building a different kind of socialist society, folklore still played a significant role in highlighting the national identity of the nations that constituted Yugoslavia, it was the very unifying element⁴.

“In the Balkan countries, folklore and ethnography have therefore been intricately linked to national politics – form the period of national liberation and national building through the period of Socialism to the present post-socialist period” (Roth 1998, 75). Macedonia, whose historical background is characterized by dominance of foreign rulers⁵, experienced the period of Socialism (1945–1991) as a period of final national liberation and the possibility of constituting a Macedonian state within Yugoslavia. The lifelong President of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito in his speech made in the Parliament of Macedonia on August 3, 1969, said: “In the national, social and democratic revolution of the Macedonian people in the Ilinden Uprising and proclamation of the Krushevo Republic⁶, the people clearly

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³ Establishing the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961, a group of states which are not formally aligned with or against any major power bloc and united “neutral” countries, was one of major projects in foreign Yugoslav policy; With constitution from 1974 and a series of laws were legally regulated Workers’ self-management where the workers received the right to decide on a multitude of issues related to governance and management of enterprise; Law of a collective presidency regulated with constitution from 1974, established the political body which would have a single chairman of the presidency and chairmanship would rotate among six republics; Yugoslavia had a liberal travel policy permitting foreigners to freely travel through the country and its citizens to travel worldwide etc.

⁴ The leading idea of “Brotherhood and Unity” of all Yugoslav nations and presentation of their language, national characteristics and identity, received significant role through the presentation of folklore.

⁵ The five centuries Ottoman’s occupation and oppression, followed by the annexation of Macedonian territories to other Balkan countries, and ultimately the dismemberment of the Macedonian territory between Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria and Albania with the Bucharest Treaty in 1913.

⁶ The Republic of Krushevo – was established on 2 August 1903 and crushed after only ten days existence, on 13 August 1903. In that 10 days Macedonian freedom fighters had proclaimed the Republican constitution, organized the governing of the free territory and they formed governing bodies.
expressed their determination to fight for national independence, regardless major obstacles, and as free people independently and on an equal basis to cooperate with the other Balkan and non-Balkan peoples” (Tito 1978, 321).

After World War II, Macedonia as an integral part of six Yugoslav republics started to build national institutions, including cultural ones, such as Macedonian National Theatre\(^7\) (founded 1945), Macedonian Philharmonic Orchestra (1944), Macedonian National Library (1944), Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts (1967), etc. Researching Macedonian culture we notice the special place of folklore in building of national characteristics, identity markers and identification process, especially in the socialistic period. In these processes one of most significant institution was the State Ensemble for Folk Songs and Dances Tanec, established in 1949. Tanec, after almost 70 years of work is still the only professional ensemble in Macedonia which cherishes and presents on stage Macedonian traditional dances and songs. The views of author Jean Francois Ballard expressed in his text \textit{Conflicts of Identity Strategy}, which studies the creation of the national characteristics of European peoples, were taken by Professor Zlatko Kramarich and applied in the material originating from Macedonia. He notes “The intellectual elite have again found and appropriated a selective ethno-history, derived from the existing myths, symbols and traditions in recorded history and ‘living’ memories of people coming mainly from the rural lower strata; because they were aware of the fact that the basis of national identity may be just what is ‘original, initial’ and the creation, in other words, of that total alchemy generated in the society” (Kramarić 2011, 301). This process is guided by cultural policy makers on the highest political level, whose idea is disseminated through several areas. Opetceska-Tatarcevska writes: “In Macedonia in the second half of 20th century, the public narratives especially of political establishment, perceived the Macedonian folk dance scene as one of the constituents of Macedonian statehood” (Opetceska-Tatarcevska 2011, 78). Filip Petrovski takes a similar attitude on folk dance ensembles and there social position “I link the appearance of national folk dance ensembles with the construc-

\(^7\) Drama Theatre on the territory of Macedonia was active from 1913, but it was under the ruling of Serbian and Bulgarian authorities (it depends on the annexation of Macedonia’s territory) and plays were performed on non-Macedonian language.
tion of ‘national’ and ‘folk’ dance heritage, as well as national and ethnic identity that is embodied through dance, choreographed for the stage and later as spectacle for mass consumption“ (Petrovski 2018).

We will analyze two documents related to the establishment and tasks of Ensemble *Tanec*. The first document dated from 29th March 1949, was Regulation signed by the President of the Government of the People's Republic of Macedonia at that time – Lazar Kolishevski. The second document was created later on 1st December 1952 and it was signed by the President of the Government, Kolishevski and by the Minister for Education, Science and Culture, Dare Djambaz.

In the first document, apart from the decision for establishment of the ensemble, where it is clearly stated that this institution will be under the authority of the Ministry of Education, there are additionally some related to its organization, constitutive units and the conditions for admission of new members. Interestingly enough, in Article 2 of this document the legislator lists the tasks of the ensemble, being:

“....

• to cherish, develop and enhance the significance of folklore dances,
• to cherish, cultivate and elaborate folk songs,
• to prepare programs with folk dances and songs and perform them at public art events...”

In the second document dated 1952, there was already a new formulation regarding the ensemble’s tasks. Unlike the original formulation which said – “to cherish, develop, and enhance the significance of folklore dances”, the new formulation was: “The Ensemble has the task to cherish, develop and enhance the folklore dance art”9. This seemingly unimportant change redefines the interpretation of folklore within the ensemble *Tanec*. From a traditional performance, the expression “art” begins to be used, an expression which sets different tasks and expectations. It is enough to mention the Soviet ensemble Moiseyev, which was the benchmark for all other folklore ensembles in the eastern block, and to realize that it meant break with all the traditional models and its merging with ballet. Fortunately, the ensemble *Tanec* avoided the tendency of “balletization” the traditional dances (their dancing content) and some amendments were in-

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8 Sližben vesnik, IV-1949, 8–78
9 Dokument br. 1283/52
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introduced, supplementing the dances with drama content and pantomima elements, which made them easier to understand and interpret, and put the dances in an exact and definite historical matrix (see Figure 1 in Attachment).

Art defined in the latest document was primarily concerned with the position and importance of the folklore presented by the ensemble Tanec being the only professional folklore representative. Thus, Tanec was equalized to the other forms of art (classical music, ballet, opera). Luckily, there were no interventions in the content of the performances, particularly not in the dancing style. Although we can see changes in the way of interpretation of the tasks set for the folklore, the folklore still continued to be used as a way for materialization of certain ideas and messages. It is very clearly manifested throughout the first decades of the ensemble Tanec performing.

From idea to realization

The first Head of Tanec, Manoil Chouchkov, was an exceptional person in the political and social life of Macedonia. He was the first Minister coming from Macedonia in the Yugoslav Government in 1945 and a delegate in the period from 1946 to 1950. He was also Head of the National Library (1946–47) and was founder of the Institute for Domestic Artistic Handcrafts “Macedonian Folklore” (1947). After that, he was a Professor and for some period of time, Dean of The Faculty of Economics in Skopje. In Tanec Chuchkov was Head of the ensemble from 1949–1955.

In Tanec Chuchkov developed the idea of putting clear ideological content in the abstract dance structure. He made stage adaptation for several traditional chain dances: Komitsko (staged 1954), Aramisko (1950) Rusalii (1952) some of them are on repertoire of Tanec still. He linked these chain dances with some historical events or historical period. For example, the original dance Komitsko is a male dance which presented Komiti – freedom fighters from the Ottoman period. First written sources about this dance can be found in the beginning of the 20th century. The costumes show warriors with guns, but the original dance doesn’t show concrete situation or dramatization. Chuchkov connected this dance with a very famous battle at a site called Mechkin Kamen, when the first Republic on the Bal-
son Peninsula – the Krushevo Republic, collapsed in 1903. The battle at Mechkin Kamen is a symbol of resistance and heroic spirit of Macedonian fighters. They died (whole troop) fighting the much bigger and stronger Ottoman army, and bravely defended Krushevo to the last living fighter. The dance was amended with addition of some pantomime elements and spectators could recognize shooting, battle, and at the end of the dance, dying of all the warriors. This dance became a symbol of Macedonian struggle for freedom and it is very popular even nowadays.

Tanec Ensemble repertoire included dances with clear content supplemented with dramatic elements, and they are authored by Chuchkov and several other choreographers. Apart from these dances, also original (traditional) choreographies without intervention in the dance structure were performed by Tanec, too. But even for these dances Chuchkov gave his interpretation of the meaning. Excellent example for this type of putting clear content in the abstract dance structure is the magnificent male chain dance Teshkoto. The dance title Teshkoto translated into English means – hardship, difficult. In the dance it is related to the way of performing it and the character of its interpretation. The title is interpreted symbolically, and the dance is associated with the image and self-perception of the Macedonians and their own history. Many scholars recognize the significance of Teshkoto on a wider, national level, acknowledging the thesis of a historically determined content, which by means of dancing symbols depicts the historical processes Macedonia had gone through. “With its heavy, complex meaning and strong sentiment it evokes, Teshkoto exemplifies a unique and indisputable Macedonian identity, albeit in a different way than that imagined by extreme nationalists” (Wilson 2014, 247). Chuchkov stressed it was as a “prototype of Macedonian dances” (Чучков 1951, 65), and put it on a list of representative national dances, as a result of interpretation which Teshkoto had as a symbol of struggle for freedom.

Chuchkov explained all these ideas in his text entitled The Idea Behind Our Folk Dance published in Journal Kulturen zivot on April 23rd 1951. Afterwards this text, in supplemented version, was published in the magazine Sovremenost issued in November 1951, No 6, under the name Ideological Content and Rhythmic Processes in Macedonian Folk Dance. This text is the key for instrumentalization of national folk dances and their usage as a tool for setting some historical and ideological parallels. In
this case, the tradition was interpreted in the spirit of the new socialistic order, where folklore was very skillfully linked with some historical background and the Macedonian fight for freedom and independence. In 1952 Chuchkov published the same text in French (“Contenu Idéologique et Procèzes Rythmique de la Dance Popular Macédonienne”) in the Journal of IFMC – International Folk Music Council, thus allowing these ideas to acquire their own international affirmation.

Chuchkov emphasizes that: “The Macedonian dance is far from its original religious basis, it does not express tendency for praying or gratitude. Macedonian dance is manifestation of a strong fighting spirit” (Чучков 1951, 63). Excluding certain religious and ritual contexts of folk dances, he gave the dance a pure social dimension, where it was a reflection of the historical processes. He wrote: “From this point of view, Macedonian folk field is a typical example which clearly indicates that every folk material is socially determined” (Чучков 1951, 63). In the following text Chuchkov added “It’s a silent epic, silent story about the distant past days, it gives dramatic approaches with epic basis (Чучков 1951, 63). His understanding of the folklore dance which reflects history, fight for freedom, victorious spirit, all that is a great presentation of a new society in which Macedonians got free from their oppressors and became independent. As grounds of this point of view Chuchkov mentioned “Geopolitical position of Macedonia had played crucial role in formation of this type of dances” (Чучков 1951, 71). Then in the text Chuchkov makes historical chronology and he elaborates the effects of these circumstances on the folk dance material.

Through actualization of certain matrices in the national folk ensemble Tanec, which was the benchmark model taken by a number of amateur ensembles, these choreographies and more important ideas behind them became standard. Nowadays we can see in many amateur ensembles Chuchkov’s choreographies of Komitsko, Aramisko, Zaecko, Rusalii folk dances. Chuchkov choreography of Komitsko is still on repertoire of Tanec ensemble. These dances are preserved. American ethnochoreologist Elsie Ivancich-Dunin, an expert excellent of Macedonian traditional dances wrote: “The choreography (of Komitsko – autor remark) has become standard piece in Macedonia, and is performed by at least 35 groups in 1988” (Ivancich-Dunin, etc. 1995, 179). Komitsko, Aramisko, Teshkoto as other
Tanec choreographies became part of many diaspora dance ensembles, too. Through Tanec and then through the smallest non-professional ensembles, this dance with a very clear ideological content, where the author shows fight, ideas of freedom and history fraught with hardships, became universal symbol for Macedonian people which still exists in the new political circumstances.

On the other hand, the second area of actualization of dances as an instrument for construction of ideological messages, were programs of the state television and radio RTV (Ratio and Television) Skopje, the only electronic media in the socialist period. Organized by RTV Skopje there were several ensembles which played folk music such as the “Orchestra for traditional instruments”, “the Chalgia orchestra” and others. They produced programs with folklore content. On national television we watched folklore on a daily basis. In its TV programs Tanec or other ensembles with previously mentioned choreographies were very often invited as guest performers. In that way the strongest and the some of them are on repertoire of Tanec still medium (television, when it comes to dance) became one more important link in the process of spreading the idea that the content of folklore is designed by the political authorities, thus reaching millions of audiences.

Tours of the ensemble Tanec and other Macedonian amateur ensembles were another factor for spreading the idea of historical and social determination of folk dances within Yugoslavia, but even more important for tours abroad (Europe, USA, Australia etc). Thus, the task of Folklore was increasingly spread, accepted and affirmed.

Conclusions

We will conclude with a brief summary. Let’s go back to Shechners figure. The first idea for folklore to be used as a tool was given by the highest political authorities and they made a decision to establish the State Ensemble Tanec. In those documents as a starting point they define the tasks of this ensemble. Then folklore and its significance, as well as some additional explanations for it can be found in Chuchkov’s texts. Tanec created repertoire, and through “theatrical techniques” (using the Schechner term) implement and realized ideas which was part of propaganda
and cultural policy coming from political authorities. These ideas spread through the activities of smaller ensembles and through the programs on the national state television. In this way the dances were supplemented with specific meanings that recognized historical contexts and the idea of liberation struggle; recognized the image of a difficult history full of sacrifices, which resulted in a new free socialist society. That resultet with acceptance of certain ideas from population, audience and recipients.

Folklore, as a tool for strengthening national awareness, encouraging patriotism, but in some cases also fueling nationalism, was used in several historical periods (Nazi Deutschland, Socialistic states). “The National Socialist state – the party, and their institutions, put folklore to various political uses, and by doing so proved that knowledge of the folk culture of a given people can be highly relevant” (Roth 1998, 69). Folklore was used in the socialist period, but its usage is still very common in Macedonia nowadays. The dangers of adjusting folklore to the current political, and nowadays much more commonly, economic and tourist requirements still exist and they are active not only in Macedonia, but are apparent as a trend in other countries as well.

References


Petkovski 2018 – Filip Petkovski. Staging Macedonia: The Interplay of Politics and Representation through the Work of the National Ensemble of Folk Dances and Songs


**Sonja Zdravkova-Dzeparoska**

**FOLKLORAS IR ŠOKIS IDEOLOGINIŲ NUOSTATŲ MODELIAVIMO KONTEKSTE**

**Santrauka**


Tyrinėdami Makedonijos kultūrą negalime nepaminėti ypatingo folkloro ansamblų vaidmens puoselėjant tradicinę muziką ir šokius, taip siekiant puoselėti nacionalines vertybes. Šiam procesui esminė įtaką daro ir aukščiausia šalies politiniai organai, skleidžiantys tautinio tapatumo idėjas keletu aspektų. Visų pirma buvo aktualizuota tautiškumo samprata bei jo raškos formos nacionaliniame liaudies ansambluje *Tanec*, tapusiam sektinu etalonu visiems šalies mėgėjų folkloro ansambliams. Kita vertus, valstybinė Makedonijos televizija ir MRTV radijas pradėjo transliuoti liaudies
muzikos ansamblių programas, turinčias konkretų nacionalinio tapatumo turinį, t. y. tas liaudies dainas bei instrumentinę muziką, kurios tiksliausiai atskleidė krašto etninių regionų kultūros paveldo apraiškas.

Folkloras buvo naudojamas socialistinio laikotarpiu, jis vis dar yra labai įprastas Makedonijoje ir šiandien. Folkloro koregavimo pavojus, atsižvelgiant į dabartininius politinius ir šiandien daug labiau paplitusius ekonominius ir turizmo reikalavimus, vis dar egzistuoja, ir jie veikia ne tik Makedonijoje, bet ir kitose šalyse.

Analizuodami minėto liaudies šokių ansamblio Tanec istoriją pastebime, kad šio kolektyvo meninėje veikloje (ypač vadovaujant pirmajam režisieriui, vyresniajam politiniam pareigūnui Manueliui Čučkovui) buvo nuolat pabrėžiama folklorinės medžiagos propagavimo svarba, tai skatinant ir aktualizuojant visame Makedonijos socialinių ir ideologinių raiškų kontekste. Keletas tuo metu ypač aktualių M. Čučkovo metodinių ir mokslinių straipsnių buvo skirti apibrėžti bei praktiškai realizuoti tradicinių liaudies šokių apraiškas, į jas įtraukiant ir istorinį bei ideologinį turinį. Šio laikotarpio sceniniuose liaudies choreografijos pavyzdžiuose randame ir dramos elementų, suteikiančių šokiams specifines istorines savybes ir skatinančių patriotinius jausmus. Folkloras buvo naudojamas kaip tautinės tapatybės aktualizavimo įrankis socialistinio laikotarpio šalies kultūriniame gyvenime, jis lieka aktualus ir šių laikų Makedonijoje.
Na osnova чл.5 stav 2 od Основната уредба за устано
ва со самостојно финансирање, по предлог на Министерот-Претседател на
Советот за просвета, наука и култура, Владата на Народна Республика
Македонија донесува

РЕШЕНИЕ
за прогласување на Државниот ансамбл за народни игри
и песни на Народна Республика Македонија за устано
ва со самостојно финансирање

1. Државниот ансамбл за народни игри и песни на Народна
Република Македонија (во наредниот текст: Државниот ансамбл) се
прогласува за устано за самостојно финансирање.

2. Државниот ансамбл ги има следниве задачи:
   а) да актуализира и подига народната игорна
      уметност;
   б) да го негува, обработува и изработува народното
      вокале и инструментален мелос;
   в) да ги обработува уметнишки и сцени народните
      опстествени игри;
   г) да ги собира и разработува народни уметнишки
      и сцени народните
   д) да ги програмира и организира народните уметники
      и сцени народните

3. Државниот ансамбл има привилеги за употреба на
   сцена и
   вина на Државниот ансамбл.

4. Државниот ансамбл нema фондови.

5. Државниот ансамбл e приватен лик.

6. Стратешките споразуми со Државниот ансамбл одговараат
   со слушбените на Државниот ансамбл за државните органи,
   а штетите на Државниот ансамбл споразуми со државните
   органи.

7. Со Државниот ансамбл обидува и на прописи на
   директорот. Директорот е наредува за иницирање на
   прописи на прописи на државните органи.

8. Организација на Илинден и концерт на Државниот
   ансамбл е организирана на Сојуз за просвета, наука и култура
   на НР Македонија.

BR. 123/52
1. XII.1952 г.

СКОПЈЕ

ПРЕДСЕДАТЕЛ ИЗ ВЛАДАТА ПО НАРОДНА РЕПУБЛИКА МАКЕДОНИЈА
L. Калешевски, с.р.

МУНИТЕР-ПРЕДСЕДАТЕЛ
НА СОВЕТ ЗА ПРОСВЕТА, НАУКА И КУЛТУРА,
Зарен Димов, с.р.

Да e преписован на оригиналот ТВРДИ

ЗАСЕСТ

Веселика Иванова

Figure 1