ELEMENTS OF THE MACEDONIAN SECURITY IDENTITY
(ATTACHMENT TO THE FOUNDATION OF THE MACEDONIAN SECURITY HISTORY)

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Abstract

The paper is an attempt to determine the security identity of the Macedonian state and the Macedonian society, i.e., a synthesis of the essential elements of the structure of the Macedonian security identity from the establishment of the independence of the Macedonian state until today.

We define Macedonian security identity as a coherent organization of recognizable and relatively unchangeable security relevant elements that refer to: national values and the resulting permanent, vital and important interests of the Macedonian society and state; the national security policy, i.e., the goals and areas for its realization (functioning); the holders of the national security policy, i.e., the institutional set-up of the national security system; the legal-normative and conceptual-doctrinal regulation, as well as the regulation of the strategic positions and determinations of the national security system; the national security forces; the subjects of security in the Macedonian society and state; forms of security threats, risks and dangers) to national security; long-term phenomena present in the Macedonian society and state generated by the security-threatening and security-stimulating influence of the global, regional and immediate environment; the constants that participate in achieving, maintaining and promoting the internal political (instability) in the Macedonian society and state; active and equal membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); the strategic commitment and goal of the Macedonian society and state for political, economic and security integration in the European Union (EU); regional cooperation and relations with the neighboring countries; the security opportunities of the Macedonian society and state; the economic power and prosperity of the Macedonian state; the establishment and implementation of the security sector control; and the legal-normative and functional-organizational set-up of security in the private sector in the Macedonian society.

Key words: Macedonian security identity, Macedonian state, Macedonian society.
1. PARADIGMAL, METHODOLOGICAL AND CONCEPTUAL SETTLEMENTS ON THE ELEMENTS OF THE MACEDONIAN SECURITY IDENTITY

The beginning of the 1990s left many with the impression that the Republic of Macedonia was one of the "frightened republics", and along with several others it was categorized in conservative environments, close minded to new ideas for change.1 One of the questions which caused particular attention was the road to the international establishment of the Republic of Macedonia, which began in late 1991 and lasted until mid-1993.2 It was a purgatory kind of period, in which politics and political power dominated at the expense of principles and, contrary to the democratic tradition, new "game rules" were established.3 We will contextually note that the Macedonian state was and still is in a heterogeneous geopolitical environment, which included various historical and new antagonistic political interests that were characterized, among other things, by the identical attitude of all our neighbors who manifested a negative attitude towards the existence, independence and uniqueness of the Macedonian people, the Macedonian nation and the Macedonian state (regardless of the fact that some of them sooner or later formally recognized us as an independent country).4 Particularly, political destabilizing and security-threatening was the geopolitical content expressed through the attempts to create new Balkan political alliances that endangered the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Macedonia, as well as its constitutional order and its security.5 The multiple attempts for general social destabilization of Macedonia were not absent - from the most destabilizing motivated attempts I will list two: the illegal intrusion of military units of the Army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) on the state territory of the Republic of Macedonia and the assassination of the first president of the Macedonian state Kiro Gligorov. On the threshold of the Third Millennium, in fear of the existential sword of Damocles, the exalting years of 1944 and 1991 were quickly forgotten, in order to gradually renew the discussions about the so-called Macedonian question from the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century in 2015 at the world diplomatic "green table".6 The term was used lightly, topically and locally, which in the past did not mean anything else than the issue of division of a territory known as Macedonia, without any essential reference to the ethno-cultural characteristics of the people who inhabited it.7

Parallelly and causally related to the general social processes, conditions and relations in the security, geopolitical, geostrategic and geoeconomic environment of the Macedonian state, as well as in the country, the Macedonian security identity was formed

1 Цане Т. Мојаноски, Летопис на македонската демократија, Скопје, Пакунг, 2000 година, стр. 10
2 ibidem
3 Цане Т. Мојаноски, op. cit., стр. 41
4 Гоце Аризанкоски, Хипотетички ставови за атентатот врз првот претседател на Република Македонија Киро Глигоров (прилог кон научно осветлување на одредени елементи на криминолошката, криминалистичката, виктимолошката, кривично-правната и политолошката димензија на атентатот во услови на официјален информационски дефицит), Научно-стручна дебата „15 години од атентатот врз претседателот Киро Глигоров – мистерија или настан ад акта” (Скопје, септември 2010 год.), Форум за безбедност, Здружение на ветерани од одбраната и безбедноста на Република Македонија, Скопје, септември, 2012 година, стр. 78
5 ibidem
6 Виктор Габер, Од објект до субјект: Македонија во меѓународните односи, Фондација „Фрирдрих Еберт”, Канцеларија во Македонија, 2017 година, стр. 214
7 ibidem
and shaped. Namely, the design of the security profile of the Macedonian society and state started with the independence of the Macedonian state, evolving from a security profile directed towards the outside (towards external threats, challenges and risks), to a security profile directed towards the inside, i.e., towards the "soft" security threats, challenges and risks, such as organized crime, corruption (as a separate form of crime) and other forms of serious crime, as well as internal forms of endangering the constitutional order of the country (terrorism, association due to hostile activity, etc.).

The projection of the security profile and the formation and shaping of the security identity of the Macedonian society and state, among other things, implies perception of the ideological bases on which its integration is based, so the Macedonian state found itself after its independence at a historical milestone, moving from one to another historical process, i.e., from one socio-political system to another, which created conditions and circumstances for the formation of a new security identity based on a new ideological matrix.  

Otherwise, profiling and formulating the security identity of the Macedonian society, among other things, is a key segment of establishing the continuity of the security policy of the Macedonian state, which includes not only specification and standardization of mechanisms that are allowed to be used in combating the forms of endangering national security, but also specification and standardization of the values, political-ideological, legal-normative, economic, concept-doctrinal, strategic, organizational and internal-political assumptions, as well as the assumptions arising from the constellation of the condition, relations and processes in the global, regional and immediate environment of the country, in the context of security.

The brief description above and differentiation of the social security reality in the Macedonian society and state, as well as their narrower and wider (security, geostrategic, geopolitical, and geoeconomic) environment of categories, will enable us to classify and determine two groups of relevant security elements. The first group consists of elements that in aspect of their function, quality and quantity, are characterized by potential variability and discontinuity, while the second group consists of elements that are characterized by relative but noticeable similarity, immutability and continuity. In the context of the Macedonian society and state, the latter develop relationships and relations, both with each other and with the variables of security relevant elements (which are located inside and outside the Macedonian society and state), thus forming and shaping a complex unity, i.e., a separate entity expressed as the security identity of the Macedonian society and state (Macedonian security identity). In theoretical and empirical terms, the notion of the Macedonian security identity (by scope and content) would be defined as a coherent organization of recognizable and relatively unchanging security relevant elements relating to: national values and the resulting permanent, vital and important interests of the Macedonian society and state; the national security policy, i.e., the goals and areas for its realization (functioning); the holders of the national security policy, i.e., the institutional set-up of the national security system; the legal-normative and conceptual-doctrinal regulation, as well as the regulation of the strategic views and determinations of the national security system; national security forces; the subjects of security in the Macedonian society and state;

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8 Гоце Аризовски, Безбедносниот идентитет на македонското општество и држава (синтеза на суштинските елементи на македонскиот безбедносен идентитет), Compilation of works from the Scientific Conference “Security, ecologic security and the challenges of the Republic of Macedonia” (Ohrid, 17-18 September 2010), St. Kliment Ohridski Universite – Bitola, Faculty of Security – Skopje, Skopje, 2010, p. 370
9 Ibidem
forms of security threats, risks and dangers to the national security; long-term phenomena present in the Macedonian society and state generated by the security-threatening and security-stimulating influence of the global, regional and immediate environment; the constants who participate in the achievement, maintenance and advancement of the internal political (in)stability in the Macedonian society and state; active and equal membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; the strategic commitment and goal of Macedonian society and state for political, economic and security integration in the European Union (EU); regional cooperation and relations with the neighboring countries; the security opportunities of the Macedonian society and state; the economic power and prosperity of the Republic of Macedonia; the setup and realization of control over the security sector; and the legal-normative and functional-organizational set-up of security in the private sector in the Macedonian society.

We consider the mentioned coherent organization of recognizable and relatively unchangeable security relevant elements that make up the Macedonian security identity to be an essential part of the recent Macedonian security history, for which there is a scientific and social justification for its establishment as a separate scientific discipline.

2. SYNTHESIS OF THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF THE MACEDONIAN SECURITY IDENTITY

Synthesized, the structure of the Macedonian security identity, among others, consists of the following essential elements:

1. National values and the resulting permanent, vital and important interests of the Macedonian society and state. These are based on the long-term needs of the Macedonian society which are crucial for the life and safety of the citizens, but also for the stability, functioning, and continuity of the state.\textsuperscript{10} The lasting interest of the Macedonian state is the preservation and advancement of its state identity with the free expression of the ethnic identity of all its citizens, as well as the protection of independence and territorial integrity.\textsuperscript{11} Vital interests of the Macedonian state that improve the security situation and create conditions for a better life for the Macedonian citizens and the functioning of the state and society are: the protection and advancement of peace and security, life, health, property and personal safety of Macedonian citizens; development of a multiethnic society based on mutual trust, joint efforts and aspirations of all ethnic communities for stability and comprehensive progress of the country; economic development based on the principles of the market economy, private property, continuous improvement of the living standards and quality of life, as well as protection of the vital infrastructure and resources of the Macedonian state; protection and advancement of the democratic foundations of the rule of law - political pluralism, parliamentary democracy, separation of authority and democratic and fair elections, the rule of law, consistent respect for human rights and freedoms, as well as the freedom and rights of citizens belonging to all communities and continuous maintenance and improvement of the overall internal security of the state and its society; and the already active NATO membership, political, economic and security integration in the European Union, as well as in other systems of collective security.\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{10} Национална концепција за безбедност и одбрана, Службен вестник на РМ, бр. 40/03
\textsuperscript{11} ibidem
\textsuperscript{12} ibidem
**Important interests** of the Macedonian state, which are preconditions for the creation and realization of its lasting and vital interests, are: construction and development of all forms of cooperation with neighbors in the interest of peace, security and development of the Macedonian state and its neighbors; its own contribution to the preservation and advancement of the peace and stability in South East Europe (SEE) in order to strengthen the zone of democracy, security and prosperity of all countries in the region; Participation in the construction of peace and stability in the region, Europe and the world, as well as prevention and construction of instruments for early warning of tensions and crises in order to timely and effectively resolve peacefully; preservation and progress of the international order based on justice, mutual respect for the international order based on the international law, as well as political and economic equality of the states; providing conditions and advancement to the internal political stability and opportunities for equal right to participation, which should include a generally accepted consensus on issues of lasting, vital and important interest to the country; creating conditions for the advancement the security culture; building a just, social state with equal opportunities for all citizens regardless of their gender, race, religion, political, social, cultural and other affiliation; creating conditions for building a society with communications and relations that will develop the common values and living culture, especially among the young generation, in the spirit of tolerance, nurturing the democratic values and respecting personal integrity, rooted in the European democratic tradition, regardless of ethnic, religious or other affiliation; and preservation and protection of the environment in the country in cooperation with the wider environment.13

2. **National security policy** is a complex interdependent set of measures, activities, plans and programs undertaken to protect, maintain and enhance the security of the country and its citizens, in accordance with available resources and active cooperation with the international organisation. It systematically contains the political, economic, defensive, internal security, social, environmental and other areas. The basic and long-term goal of the national security policy is to protect, maintain and improve the security condition of the country, creating an environment for achieving the national interests of the Macedonian state.14

3. **National security policy makers** who represent the foundation - the basis of the organization and functioning of the security system are: The Assembly, the President, the Security Council, the Government, the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA), the Ministry of Defense (MoD) and the General Staff, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), the Agency for National Security (ANS), the Intelligence Agency (IA), The Crisis Management Center (CMC), the Directorate for Protection and Rescue (DPR), as well as other state administration bodies that within their scope of work, among others, perform certain direct or indirect security-relevant activities.

4. From the aspect of the legal-normative and conceptual-doctrinal regulation, as well as the regulation of the strategic positions and determinations of the national security system, the following strategic documents have been developed for the needs of the security and defense planning process15: *(1) The National Security and Defense Concept (NSDC)*16 which is the foundation in the security and defense planning process, as well as the basis for

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13 ibidem
14 ibidem
15 In the paper we will present only part of the strategic documents from the framework of the legal-normative and conceptual-doctrinal regulation, as well as the regulation of the strategic positions and determinations of the national security system.
16 Нацонална концепција за безбедност и одбрана, Службен вестник на РМ, бр. 40/03
the development of strategic documents. The NSDC determines and expresses the views of the Macedonian state on its national interests, its security environment, national security policy, as well as goals, directions, areas and instruments for its realization; (2) The Strategic Defense Review (SDR)\textsuperscript{17} which provides guidance for the future development and continuous transformation of the defense, in order to create a modern and flexible Macedonian army, which can perform the assigned defense missions and tasks as a full member of NATO; (3) The defense strategy which provides strategic directions for the functioning and development of the defense system of the Macedonian state; (4) The long-term plan for development of the defense capabilities 2019-2028\textsuperscript{18} which is a basic document that projects the development of defense and military capability of the Armed Forces and the Ministry of Defense for a period of 10 years and which consolidates the long-term development goals for capacity development of the Macedonian state as a NATO member in order to develop, procure, operate and maintain adequate capabilities to support the key tasks of the Alliance in accordance with the NATO Strategic Concept; (5) The defense plan as part of the defense planning mechanisms, which is a kind of report composed of the following documents: Plan for the use of armed forces, Mobilization Development Plan, and a Plan for Readiness of the System Institutions; (6) The strategic plan of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in which it evaluates its position, quality of work and identifies the challenges and its potentials, in order to improve the effectiveness and efficiency in the implementation of policies, evaluation and transparency in the spending of certain budget funds; (7) The strategic plan of the Crisis Management Center, which presents specific program activities that contribute to the realization of the Government policies from the field of crisis management; and the (8) National Accident and Disaster Risk Reduction Platform, which is a nationally designed and managed form of participation of all the stakeholders in risk reduction, which provides coordination, analysis and recommendations for priority areas and requires concentrated activity through coordination processes and active participation of the bearers of responsibilities. From a normative-legal aspect, the national security system of the Macedonian state is regulated by the Macedonian Constitution, as well as with the multitude of laws and bylaws in the field of security.

5. The National Security Forces of the Macedonian state represent the specially organized, trained, equipped and authorized organizational units of those security entities that directly realize a certain type of security, and those are: The Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Defense - MoD (and the Army of the Republic of Macedonia - ARM), the National Security Agency, the Intelligence Agency - IA, the Financial Police, the Forest Police, the Judicial Police, the Correctional Institutions and the Firefighting Units.

6. Subjects of security in the Macedonian society are those institutions, organs and bodies that, performing their regular activities, directly or indirectly realize the security function or contribute to its realization. We will classify them into:

- conventional security entities which, with the regular performance of their activities directly realize the security function, and those are: MIA, MoD (and ARM), ANS, IA, Crisis Management Center - CMC, Directorate for Protection and Rescue - DPR, Customs Administration, Directorate for Security of Classified Information, Financial Police (at the Ministry of Finance), Forest Police (at the Ministry of Environment and Physical Planning).
Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Economy), Firefighting Units, Inspections (in the areas related to protection of natural resources, health security of Macedonian citizens, as well as maintaining balance in the market of goods, services and labor), the Public Prosecutor's Office, the Courts, the Judicial Police and the institutions responsible for the execution of criminal sanctions (Penitentiary-Correctional and Educational-Correctional Institutions);

- **unconventional security entities** which indirectly perform the security function by regularly performing their activities, which are: the Macedonian Parliament, the Macedonian Government, the President of the Macedonian State and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and

- **supplementary security entities** that with the regular performance of their activities contribute to the realization of the security function, namely: the local community and local self-government bodies, state administration bodies, public services, enterprises and other similar organizations, non-governmental organizations (associations of citizens and foundations), the educational system, the health system, the religious entities (churches, religious communities and religious groups), the mass media and the Macedonian citizens (the individual).

7. From the aspect of the **security environment of the Macedonian state and society**, the prevailing assessment is that the security environment of the Macedonian state has significantly improved in the past few years. We have established good relations with our neighbors, most of which are members of NATO and/or the EU (Albania, Bulgaria and Greece) despite the current problems with Bulgaria. Kosovo has a Euro-Atlantic agenda, while Serbia is negotiating for a EU membership and maintains constructive relations with NATO. The geostrategic location of the Macedonian state and its geopolitical position are of interest and under the influence of key economic and political actors, which has an impact on our national security. Conflicts in the Middle East (Iraq, Syria), South Asia (Afghanistan) and North Africa (Libya) also affect the security condition through the arrival and transit of migrants, radical extremists and returnees. The threat of military aggression by another state against the Macedonian state in the short, medium and long term is unlikely. The most significant risks we face are asymmetric, hybrid, cyber-threats and other non-military threats, including those caused by non-state actors. The Natural and technical-technological disasters, epidemics and the impact of climate change continue to pose an additional risk for the Macedonian state, the region and wider around the world. No country is immune to these risks, as they do not recognize state borders.

8. **Security threats, risks and challenges.** As basic threats, risks and challenges according to the current Strategic Defense Review are recognized the following19:

8.1. Economic and political conditions remain a serious challenge for the Macedonian state and the main generator of instability. These include: slow economic growth, corruption, organized crime, unemployment, underdeveloped institutions, weaknesses in the judiciary and the partisanship of democratic institutions, for which comprehensive and complex reforms are under way. Energy security is an additional problem, given our dependence on external sources, especially oil and gas. Interruptions in energy supply, whether as a result of instability in certain countries or due to bad intentions, would have a serious impact on the national stability.

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19 Стратегически одбранбен преглед – Кон членството во НАТО и „Идни вооружени сили 2028“, Ministry of Defence, June 2018
8.2. *Organized crime* in the Macedonian state and society is manifested primarily through illegal trafficking, including narcotics and people. The safety in the region is further threatened by the presence of illegal weapons and ammunition that may become available to criminal and extremist groups.

8.3. *Foreign intelligence services* and their covert actions are a threat to the security of the state and society. Prior to our NATO membership, their goal was to hamper or halt our efforts to integrate into the Euro-Atlantic community, especially to achieve a full NATO and EU membership. Their actions are aimed at weakening the political, economic and security determinations of the country, eroding the capacities of the defense system and undermining public confidence in government policies.

8.4. *The violent extremism and radicalism* in all its forms (national, political and religious), in some cases originates from historical circumstances and disagreements, and is intensified by the slow social and economic development of the region. Externally funded non-state actors can exploit these weaknesses to provoke internal, inter-ethnic strife and conflict.

8.5. *Terrorism* remains a current threat to the security of the state and society. Contemporary terrorism is closely linked to violent extremism, especially religious extremism. The Macedonian state and society are vulnerable to terrorist attacks, but Macedonian territory is more likely to be used as a corridor for terrorist infiltration in Western Europe.

8.6. *Illegal migration*, which is primarily a result of the conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa, but at the same time the need to improve the economic situation, is not a direct threat to the national security of the Macedonian state, but can seriously burden a number of state institutions, medium and long term. The nature of this risk will depend on the future dynamics of migration and the consolidated international response to it.

8.7. *Cybercrime and the threat to information security* is a current and growing challenge to global security. The most serious potential consequences of cybercrime are the endangerment of the functioning of the elements of the critical infrastructure, including the security and defense system of the Macedonian state.

8.8. *Natural disasters, technical and technological catastrophes, epidemics and climate change* are indirect threats that are difficult to predict and can seriously burden security and other state institutions.

8.9. *Environmental degradation and destruction* are closely linked to climate change and global warming. This can be one of the most significant problems and security risk for the Macedonian state and society in the long run, which can indirectly affect the defense system. Contextually, we will note that the massive threat to individual security from the existence and spread of the COVID-19 pandemic is a real or potential threat to national, regional and global security. The stated, pandemically determined (real or potential) causality between the threats of different types to security, has its argumentation, among other things, in the determination of a state of emergency in many countries in the world as a general social circumstance.

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21 ibidem
9. The operationalization of the strategic benefit from the already started active membership of the Macedonian state in NATO has its expression in the following possible benefits: 1) securing the permanent interest of the Macedonian state, in other words, protecting the independence, sovereignty, the territorial integrity and the unitary character of the country, as an essential frame for keeping and improving the national identity of Macedonian state, and freely keeping and expressing the ethnic and cultural identity of all citizens; 2) improving the national security conditions, that will help in creating better living conditions for the citizens, and a better functioning of the country; 3) discouraging the countries in our neighborhood to ask for (new) concessions that could have fatal consequences for the Macedonian state and will put in danger the national security; and what is extremely important – to guarantee the Macedonians the feeling of national identity, whose recognition is a necessary condition for stopping the big nationalistic projects, that are obviously still present in this part of Europe; 4) achieving, maintaining, obtaining and developing a durable and stable national, and related to the security - political status (position) that will allow the Macedonian state an economic and social growth and development; 5) consequently, achieving optimum conditions for political, economic and security integration of the Macedonian state in the European Union; 6) stimulation of the development of the multi-ethnic society, so it can be more capable for suitable communication with the globalized world, as well as improving the mutual confidence, efforts and endeavor of all ethnic communities in the Macedonian state for achieving stability and progress of the country; 7) the Euro-Atlantic integration will stimulate and strengthen the capability of the Macedonian state for its own contribution, in a process of keeping and improving the peace and stability of Southeastern Europe, and at the same time keeping and improving the democracy, security and prosperity of all countries in the region; 8) equal participation of the Macedonian state in the joint decision making process about the present and future security challenges in the region, Europe and in the world; 9) this participation of the Macedonian state, as an egalitarian member state, also carries responsibilities in the prevention and creation of instruments that will warn in time about tensions and crises, with the main purpose – efficient and timely solution of the problems peacefully; 10) the Euro-Atlantic integration of the Macedonian state will strengthen the international order based on justice, mutual respect of the international order established according to the international law and political equality of the countries and their equal participation on the global market, in other words, the open movement of goods, services and ideas; 11) active involvement of the Macedonian state in scientific, technological, informational and the military and industrial courses of the NATO member states; 12) strengthening the military cooperation of the Macedonian state with the most developed countries in the world; 13) possibility for development of military-industrial facilities in the Macedonian state; 14) providing conditions for further development of the internal and political stability of the country, whereby, its defense costs will reduce.

10. The constants that participate in achieving, maintaining and promoting the internal political (in)stability in the Macedonian society and state. One of the constants of the political (in)stability in the country are the interethnic relations, processes and conditions and their impact on the security profiling of the Macedonian society. In this

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context, and in the future, the political manipulation will continue to be a key security-threatening instrument expressed in organized and deliberate disruption of the interethnic relations in the form of a typified scenario of security threat which is an expression of socially harmful securitization of the interethnic relations. Namely, despite the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement whose main goal was to promote the peaceful and harmonious development of the civil society and respect for the ethnic identity and interests of all citizens of the Republic of Macedonia, and the change of the state normative-institutional framework, some political and quasi-political entities develop political behavior contrary to the constitutional order of the state. There are indications that the constitutional order does not correspond to the model of political culture of some ethnic communities, which among other things has security implications.

11. The permanent strategic commitment of the Macedonian state to realize its future as a member of the European Union (EU). It will continue to fulfill its obligations under the Stabilization and Association Agreement and align with the European legislation by implementing the measures and activities envisaged under the National Program for the Adoption of the Acquis. It will also continue to implement reforms aimed at meeting the standards required for entry in the EU, actively promoting good neighborly relations and regional co-operation. The Macedonian Government is also committed to supporting the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and will continue to contribute to civilian and military operations under the Common Security and Defense Policy. It participated in the EU Battle Groups in the second half of 2012 (EUBG 2012-2) and the last 6 months of 2014 (EUBG 2014-2). Within the EU Battle Groups, the Macedonian contribution consisted of approximately 150 military personnel in each of the groups. The Macedonian government is also considering further co-operation with the European Defense Agency. The Macedonian state has declared ARM units for EU-led operations, and the size of the force will depend on the requirements of specific missions. These declared forces include: one mechanized infantry company, one platoon of the Air Force and a medical team (level 1).

12. Regional co-operation and relations with the neighboring countries are an essential part of the country's EU accession process. They contribute to stability, reconciliation and a climate conducive to resolving outstanding bilateral issues and legacies of the past. The Macedonian government has taken a positive approach to regional co-operation and good neighborly relations. The Macedonian state continued to participate actively in regional initiatives such as the Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA), the Energy Community, the Transport Community, the South East European Cooperation Process (SEECP), the Regional Cooperation Council, RECOM and the Regional Youth Cooperation Office (RYCO). In April 2020, the Macedonian state became a member of the EU Strategy for the Adriatic-Ionian Region (EUSAIR). During the KOVID-19 crisis, inclusive regional cooperation, proved necessary. The establishment of green lanes

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23 Stated by the Secretariat for implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia
24 Гоце Аризански, Безбедносниот идентитет на македонското општество и држава (синтеза на суштинските елементи на македонскиот безбедносен идентитет), Compilation of works from the Scientific Conference “Security, ecologic security and the challenges of the Republic of Macedonia” (Ohrid, 17-18 September 2010), St. Kliment Ohridski Universite – Bitola, Faculty of Security – Skopje, Skopje, 2010, p. 378
25 Стратегиски одбранбен преглед – Кон членството во НАТО и „Идни вооружени сили 2028″, Ministry of Defence, June, 2018
26 North Macedonia 2020 Report, Brussels, 6.10.2020
in the region has proven the capacity of the region to deal quickly and efficiently with common challenges. Inclusive regional organizations - the Regional Cooperation Council, the Transport Association and CEFTA - played the key role in the response to the KOVID-19 crisis. Based on the results of previous summits in the region, the Western Balkans Summit in Poznan focused on strengthening the regional co-operation in the fields of economy and trade, the digital agenda, connectivity, security, the fight against corruption, promoting reconciliation and youth. The summit endorsed a number of achievements in these fields, in particular the Podgorica Declaration on Clean Energy Transition, the Regional Roaming Agreement signed in Belgrade, a substantial connectivity package and the Declaration on Roma Integration. It was also an occasion to start preparing a Green Agenda for the Western Balkans. The Macedonian state demonstrated its efforts to provide renewed impetus for regional cooperation and enhanced regional ownership at the Summits in Novi Sad, Ohrid and Tirana. It is important that regional initiatives involve all partners in the Western Balkans and are based on the EU rules, building on commitments previously made under CEFTA, the Regional Economic Area (REA) or the Transport Community Treaty. Many duties and decisions have already been made within these regional frameworks and they need to be implemented quickly. At the Zagreb Summit on 6th May 2020, EU and Western Balkan leaders agreed that deepening regional economic integration should be a highlight of the efforts to revitalize the Western Balkans. In this direction, the Macedonian state needs to play a constructive role in building a common regional market, which will be crucial to increase the region's attractiveness and competitiveness. It will help the Macedonian state to accelerate its recovery from the effects of the pandemic - especially by attracting investors seeking diversification of supply and shorter value chains. Such a common regional market should be inclusive, based on EU rules and based on the achievements of the multiannual action plan of the regional economic area. The Macedonian state has remained constructively committed to bilateral relations with other enlargement countries and neighboring EU countries.

13. The security capabilities of the Macedonian society and state are a permanent source for their construction and progress, and among the most important are: the active participation in the spread of peace and stability in order to increase general security in the region and Europe, by permanently increasing the opportunities and capacities for crisis prevention and management; involvement in all international, global, political, economic, social and other currents, led by international institutions and organizations; full participation and integration in the Euro-Atlantic security structures for maintaining stability and security, expressed through the processes and activities in the already started active membership in NATO and preparation for EU membership, but constantly and in close cooperation with the OSCE and the UN; permanent advancement and development of good neighborly relations and regional cooperation in order to improve the security and the environment, as well as political and economic stability and progress; completion and promotion of the democratic foundations of the state, based on the respect of the fundamental freedoms and rights citizens; achieving equitable and adequate representation of all ethnic communities in the bodies of the state government and public administration at all levels,

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especially in the security structures; completion of the public administration, as a service to the citizens, with high professionalism, political neutrality, competence and efficiency; creating conditions for functioning of the market economy, socially and ecologically oriented, and improving the living and working conditions of the citizens; advancing the scientific, technical-technological, information and infrastructural basis of the state and creating conditions for the use of economic and other own resources and opportunities for the function of security and defense.\[31\]

14. **The economic power and welfare of the Macedonian state.** From the aspect of social and economic security of the Macedonian society and state, according to the European Commission Report on the Macedonian state for 2020, the country remains moderately prepared in this area with some progress in reducing the unemployment rate and increasing the benefits of social assistance. The Youth Guarantee Scheme has been successfully implemented throughout the country, including underdeveloped regions. The employment and social reform program has been partially implemented. Implementation of the new Law on Social Protection should reduce the poverty rate, which remains a serious problem. As a continuation of the KOVID-19 crisis, the Macedonian government has taken a number of facilitating socio-economic measures. In the upcoming year, according to the above-mentioned European report, the country especially needs: (1) to continue to implement measures for activating the long-term unemployed and unskilled people, including women, people with disabilities and Roma; (2) to improve the capacity of the State Labor Inspectorate and strengthen the bipartisan social dialogue between employers and workers; and (3) to continue providing assistance to all vulnerable groups in the society while tackling poverty and anti-discrimination.

15. **The control of the security sector** in the Macedonian state is executed through: formal control mechanisms (level of vertical control); parliamentary, executive and judicial control; informal control mechanisms (level of horizontal control) that are in the process of crystallization (civil society organizations - associations, unions and foundations) and special forms of control (control by the Ombudsman and the civil inspection).

16. **The normative and functional-organizational set-up of the security in the private sector in the Macedonian society and state.** The legal basis for establishing entities which will deal with private security in the Macedonian state, the Law on Private Security and the Law on Procurement, Possession and Carrying of Weapons. Private security of people and property is performed as physical and technical security and it is performed only by people who have a work license issued by the Chamber of Private Security of the Macedonian State.

3. **CONCLUSION**

The identification, analysis and synthesis of the elements of the Macedonian security identity established the following essential conclusions:

1. The differentiation of the social security reality of the Macedonian society and state, as well as their narrower and wider (security, geostrategic, geopolitical and geoeconomic) environment of categories, enabled the identification, among others, of a multitude of recognizable and relatively unchangeable security elements which form and shape the Macedonian security identity. Thus, it can be concluded that it is multifactorially

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determined by organized, legal-normative and conceptual-doctrinal creation, editing, maintaining and developing a **general-social (societal) concept of security of the Macedonian state and society**.

2. The membership of the Macedonian state in NATO, strategically and long-term ensures the lasting interest of the Macedonian state, i.e., ensures the preservation of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the unitary character of the state as an essential framework for preserving and advancing the state identity and free nurturing and expression of the ethnic and cultural identity of all citizens.

3. The insurance of the lasting interest of the Macedonian state is causally related to the creation and realization of the vital and important interests, i.e., preserving the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the unitary character of the state will enable the maintenance and advancement of individual (humanitarian), social, societal and national security at an optimal level, creating capacities for contribution of the Macedonian state in maintaining and advancing regional and global security.

4. We define Macedonian security identity as a coherent organization of recognizable and relatively unchangeable security relevant elements that refer to: national values and the resulting permanent, vital and important interests of the Macedonian society and state; national security policy, i.e., the goals and areas for its achievement (functioning); the holders of the national security policy, i.e., the institutional set-up of the national security system; the legal-normative and conceptual-doctrinal regulation, as well as the regulation of the strategic positions and determinations of the national security system; national security forces; the subjects of security in the Macedonian state and society; forms of security threats, risks and dangers to the national security; long-term phenomena present in the Macedonian society and state generated by the security-threatening and security-stimulating influence of the global, regional and immediate environment; constants which participate in achieving, maintaining and advancing internal political (in)stability in the Macedonian society and state; equal membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; strategic commitment and goal of the Macedonian society and state for political, economic and security integration in the European Union; the regional cooperation and relations with the neighboring countries; the security opportunities of the Macedonian society and state; the economic power and welfare of the Macedonian state; the establishment and implementation of the security sector control; and the legal-normative and functional-organizational set-up of the security in the private sector in the Macedonian society.

5. We consider the coherent organization of recognizable and relatively unchangeable security relevant elements that make up the Macedonian security identity as an essential part of the recent Macedonian security history, for which there is scientific and social justification for establishing the security history as a separate scientific discipline.

6. Based on the identification, analysis and synthesis of the elements of the Macedonian security identity, we believe that a usable basis is founded for organized, legal-normative and conceptual-doctrinal creating, editing, maintaining, and developing a **general-social (societal) concept of optimal security resistance of the Macedonian society and state**.
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