

# **Between Myths and Reality – Macedonia between Turkey and the European Union**

By Marija Đorđeska

## *Abstract*

*The spirit of Alexander the Great still stirs ghosts between Greece and the Republic of Macedonia. Macedonia is on its way to the EU and Greece represents an obstacle for these processes in the aftermath of the name dispute and the Greek veto on the Macedonian membership in NATO and the EU. The major asset Greece has in regards to Macedonia is the veto power over the future accession talks Macedonia could have with international organizations, especially with the EU. Instead of Greece taking Macedonia under its wing, Macedonia continues to be perceived as a threat to Greek national security. The fact that Greece slowed down Macedonian EU integration process is concerning. Turkey, on the other hand, is becoming more important for Macedonian state and its politics. Greece, hampered by the economic crisis, has no significant impact in relation to Turkey. Turkey also threatens to freeze all its relations with the European Union by July 2012, when the Greek part of Cyprus will take over the EU Presidency. Therefore simple logic could be applied here – where there is a strong Greece there is a weak Macedonia – and the other way around – with weakened Greece, Macedonia could connect more with Turkey. Consequently the questions remains: to whom will Macedonia turn to in the future?*

**Key words: Macedonia, EU integration, Turkey, Greece**

## Introduction

Macedonia is strongly committed to the accession in the EU. In this respect, the state, inter alia, resolved the border issue with Kosovo, and was among the first to meet the conditions for visa liberalization and to promote regional cooperation. Macedonia is an EU candidate country since December 2005, but it has not moved forward since. Although the European Commission (EC) recommended opening of the negotiations with Macedonia, the EU member states have not reached a consensus due to the unresolved name issue with Greece.

Macedonia requested from Greece support in de-blocking of the decision to open the accession negotiations between the EU and Macedonia. The start of the accession negotiations would eliminate the intolerable conditions that are detrimental for the credibility of the EU, bring the necessary political impetus and contribute to the establishment of a positive atmosphere and trust in finding of a lasting solution. The resolution of the bilateral issue would contribute to the stability and prosperity of the region and the welfare of Europe.

It is an important period, when the EU is about to decide on giving Serbia the candidate status and announce the start of negotiations with Montenegro.<sup>1</sup> With the EU decision on a new enlargement in December, Macedonia should also be given a positive sign. But the ‘Skopje 2014 mythological project of the future’, the biggest attraction in Macedonia lately, and the stalemate of finding a solution to the name issue do not lead towards the EU integration and could, in a worst case scenario, result in a break-up of the relations between Macedonia and the EU.

Through mythological figures the ruling party VMRO-DPMNE leads a politics of strengthening the Macedonian identity.<sup>2</sup> However, beyond the myths and similar Gordian knots Macedonia and Greece are tangled into, there is a reality of Turkey stepping on the scene as a mediator between the two countries. With its growing power in the region, Turkey represents an entirely credible alternative for Macedonia.

Even though EU and NATO provided substantial assistance in the institution building process, is it possible for Macedonia to turn now to Turkey for a partnership and to strengthen the cooperation between the two countries, although the Copenhagen criteria and the European values have already being achieved? Can EU afford to give up Macedonia, even though it had invested in its progress so much?

---

<sup>1</sup> The European Union's enlargement process has entered a new phase. The completion of negotiations with Croatia, opening the way to membership in mid-2013, vindicates the policy adopted in the aftermath of the devastating Balkan conflicts of the 1990s and aims to bring peace, stability and democracy – and ultimately EU membership – to the whole region. (Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council, 12 October 2011.)

<sup>2</sup> The process is also referred to as the antiquisation of Macedonia. (Vangeli, A.; “*Nation-building ancient Macedonian style: the origins and the effects of the so-called antiquization in Macedonia*”, Nationalities Papers, Vol. 39, No. 1, January 2011.)

## The spinning wheel of Macedonia

Macedonia, as a stabilized multi-ethnic society in a high volatile surrounding, is a model of a multi-ethnic democracy. Multilateralism is encouraged by the EU, as one of the ways to prevent further geopolitical, religious and national issues emerging in the Balkans. Macedonia was also the first country in the Balkans to sign the Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA),<sup>3</sup> and is expected to start accession talks in the near future, even though the Council has not to the present day concluded its deliberations on the EC's 2009, 2010 and 2011 Progress reports. Combination of internal and external factors has occurred that contribute to the stalemate of this process.

Since the proclamation of its independence in 1991, Republic of Macedonia was predetermined by the non-efficient transitional economical process, problems with the acquisition of the principle of the rule of law, organized trans-boundary crime and the security crisis in 2001. The international community, comprised mainly from the EU and NATO, has been playing a significant role in the reform process and raising awareness. Nothing can substitute effective peace-building efforts in a post-conflict environment with sufficient support as the international community.<sup>4</sup> Macedonia's decision to apply for NATO and EU membership encouraged the reform process and has committed Macedonia to the realization of its wish of becoming part of the European family. The 'European future' could unite all the peoples of Macedonia, regardless their ethnicity. The 'European identity' could become a generic term, bringing together the pool of diverse ethnicities in a unique cohesive structure. However the absence of a clear European perspective represents a strong factor of turbulence in Macedonian politics.

The Macedonian government cannot avoid the challenge of bringing Macedonian citizens closer together in a shared vision of a unified multi-national state<sup>5</sup>. Nevertheless the Prime Minister Gruevski – even though he emphasized the value of cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism in his speech at the 66<sup>th</sup> United Nations General Assembly<sup>6</sup> – is leading the politics of national renaissance by building a strong state identity in which the Albanians are not participating. The inter-party and inter-ethnic tensions between ethnic Albanians and Macedonians are also increasing due to the inability to solve the name issue with Greece and the consequent failure to join NATO and the postponement of accession talks with the EU.

---

<sup>3</sup> *Official Journal of the European Union*, L84/13, 20.3.2004. (Signed in 2001 and entered into force 2004.)

<sup>4</sup> Törö, C.; "EU Security Enterprises of Conflict Prevention Through State-Building in the Balkans: Preparation and Recipe for Engagement in the European Neighbourhood?," *Perceptions*, Autumn – Winter (2006), pp.63.

<sup>5</sup> "Macedonia: Ten Years after the Conflict", International Crisis Group, Europe Report No.212, 11 August 2011.

<sup>6</sup> "We are proud of our differences. Side by side, thought the centuries, different cultures, religions and nations lived in a same country; this feature guards cosmopolitanism, an idea that enables a functional multiculturalism."

Identity is one of the key categories of international relations and geopolitics in the post-modern era. Varieties of emerging identities – regional, modern, local, ethnic, religious and others – are substituting the sovereign country, on which international relations are based. The negation of the Macedonian national identity represents the post-colonial phenomena of the European geopolitics<sup>7</sup> since the constitutional name is the basis of building and later strengthening the identity and the international status of the country. The affirmation of the constitutional name of the Republic of Macedonia could open new doors for Macedonia, but even that did not encourage the Macedonian government to design a distinctive plan or strategic framework since its independence.

### **EU reaching out, Greece hindering**

Macedonia has successfully fulfilled EU's political criteria<sup>8</sup> and has received three consequent recommendations from the EC for opening of the accession talks, but Greece has stood on its way and delayed the decision on EU accession talks with Macedonia. The Council has failed to reach a consensus to start the negotiation talks due to the unresolved name dispute, which has been important in Greek politics since 1992 and has inhibited the establishment of full diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Recently, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruled out that Greece, by preventing the entry of the already invited Republic of Macedonia into NATO alliance in 2008 as the “the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” or abbreviated FYROM, had violated the international law and breached its obligation under Article 11, paragraph 1, of the Interim Agreement.<sup>9</sup> According to ICJ, Greece had violated the Interim Agreement of 1995, in which Greece has undertaken not to block Macedonian's membership in international organizations, if Macedonia will use the name “former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”. Macedonia was accepted in United Nations in 1993 under its provisional name (former Yugoslav Republic of), but more than 120 countries recognized its constitutional name Republic of Macedonia.

The judgment itself probably does not end the conflict between Macedonia and Greece. Macedonia has also recently renamed its airport Alexander the Macedonian and placed monuments which publicly, but not formally, represent the leader of the Ancient Macedonia, acts which poured new fuel on the fire on the Greek views that Macedonia has ‘sense of ownership of the Greek history’. The Greek side of the dispute points out that from their perspective ‘Macedonia’ is a Greek term

---

<sup>7</sup> Muskoska, Ana; “Tranzicijata na transatlantskiot konsenzus: predizvici i opcii za nadvorešnata politika na Republika Makedonija”, Forum Analitika, 2006.

<sup>8</sup> Commission Staff Working Paper, The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia 2011 Progress report, Brussels 12.10.2011, SEC(2011) 1203 final.

<sup>9</sup> International Court of Justice, Judgement, 5 December 2011, General list No.142.

and Macedonia was recognized as a Greek State at the time of Alexander the Great in the fourth century BC. After that time, Macedonia had undergone a complete ethnical and cultural transformation and therefore it cannot be named Macedonia, especially because the northern Greek province bears the same name – Macedonia. Greece insists that the former Yugoslav Republic is now inhabited by Slavs who speak a language similar to Bulgarian.

The arguments above show Greece's concern that the usage of the name 'Macedonia' leads to a situation, where Macedonia would, perhaps and with support of Bulgaria and possibly Turkey, claim a part of modern Greece's territory.

Greece is defending its national interest, but this harms not only the political prospects of Macedonia, but also the stability and cooperation in the whole region. Macedonia is not moving towards the EU and the current status is causing an evident regression. In the decade of development Macedonia has made a rapid progress towards the goals set out by the international community, but to no avail.

However, the Greek crisis was a big blow to the EU. As EU faces internal problems, the priority is to address the problems of the weaker countries within the EU and further expansion (apart from Croatia) seems unlikely. Macedonian participation through integration and enlargement would stabilize Macedonia and the wider region, but once isolated, Macedonia will start to move in the opposite direction of the EU and its standards. To have a weak and unstable Macedonia is not a good bargain for the EU. Turkey, on the other hand, is becoming ever more important for Macedonian state and its politics, as the Macedonian leadership is seeking support for Turkey.<sup>10</sup>

### **From Ottoman Empire to Turkey**

Turkey has become a more active and leading regional player in its wider neighborhood. After winning 50 per cent of the vote in the general elections in June 2011, the ruling AK party can take bolder moves in the foreign policy issues and can adopt new strategies to maintain their interest in the Balkans. Turkey is an asset to the European security, and even though those against Turkey's EU membership do not realize yet, Turkey is a country of big opportunities and a good ally. However with the late-found self confidence, Turkey is now challenging the EU and testing its strength. One of the moves which could seriously undermine Turkey's relations towards the EU – is

---

<sup>10</sup> Non-EU factors also play a role in the region. Macedonian President Ivanov expressed his wish for a renewed U.S. focus on the region. "But neither Russia nor U.S. would be as active in the Balkans as they are now." (Türbedar, Erhan in "EU, Only Way Out for the Balkan States", TRT English, 14 June 2011.) United States is representing the external sovereignty, which EU lost during its era of transition to a more of a political structure and which United States gained after 9/11. "With the situation where the EU not looking for a solution, we have now reached the point, where Europe has given its most pro-European country of the Western Balkans into the hands of USA." (Muskoska, Ana; "Tranzicijata na transatlantskiot konsenzus: predizvici i opcii za nadvorenšnata politika na Republika Makedonija", Forum Analitika, 2006.)

its threat to freeze all its relations with the EU on all levels by July 2012 with the Cyprus EU Presidency.<sup>11</sup>

The Aegean and Cyprus problems helped blocking Turkey from entering the EU. Turkey gained the candidate status in 1999 and has started its accession talks in 2005, but this process has been slowing down ever since. So far, only 13 of 33 chapters have been opened, four of which in 2008<sup>12</sup> and nothing since.

The European Parliament notes that in fulfilling the Copenhagen criteria for membership, Turkey has made only limited progress. As main obstacles to Turkish membership in the EU the European Parliament highlights the non-compliance with the Ankara Protocol on navigation and aircraft transition of Cypriot airplanes, the ban of the Kurdish party DTP and the revocation of the legislation limiting the jurisdiction of military courts. Similarly, the European Parliament calls for an urgent change of the Turkish constitution, which would place protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the centre of the country and society.

Turkey's interest in the EU is slowly fading due to the stalled membership prospects. According to George Friedman, U.S. intelligence analyst, "the best thing that happened to Turkey is the fact it was not admitted to the EU",<sup>13</sup> which enables Turkey to be a 'player but not a payer'.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, positive consequences brought to Turkey by the EU accession process should not be forgotten or overlooked.<sup>15</sup>

Turkish development and the economic boom is claimed to depend on the continuation of the EU accession process and Turkey's strong bid to join the Union. This has strengthened Turkey's macroeconomic fundamentals and regulatory infrastructure and thus became attraction for foreign investors.<sup>16</sup> Expressions like 'booming economy', 'sustainable economical growth', 'promising economy with a bright future' are used to describe Turkey's fast growing economy. Turkey is now the seventeenth largest economy in the world and it is predicted to become the 'BRIC of Europe'.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Long-lasting dispute between Turkey and Cyprus began in the early 1970s. There was no progress on normalizing bilateral relations with the republic of Cyprus, according to European Commission's 2011 Progress report on Turkey.

<sup>12</sup> One chapter was provisionally closed (Science and research). Egemen Bağış, Minister for European Union Affairs and Chief Negotiator, expressed satisfaction due to the progress on 31 chapters out of 33, considering the fact that 22 chapters are blocked due to political reasons. (Press statement of the H.E. Egemen Bağış on Turkey's 2011 Progress Report.) Erhan Türbedar observes that both ruling party and the opposition party stressed the importance Turkey attaches to EU membership in the electoral campaigns prior to 12 June 2011.

<sup>13</sup> "No Arab Spring, says US Intelligence Analyst", Hurriyet Daily News, 7 October 2011.

<sup>14</sup> Conclusions at the conference: "Turkey's Accession to EU – Expectations and Realities", 5-7 May 2011, Centre for European Studies at Boğaziçi University, in Istanbul, Turkey.

<sup>15</sup> M.Can Baydarol, EU expert and Ankara representative of European Commission, warns that: "Without EU's support Turkey could not have attained this much of foreign investment." ("Turkish society now unmoved by EU progress reports", Today's Zaman, 16 October 2011)

<sup>16</sup> Turkey is EU's seventh biggest trading partner while EU is Turkey's biggest trading partner. Almost 80% of the foreign direct investment comes from the EU. (European Commissions 2011 Progress Report on Turkey, pp.4.)

<sup>17</sup> BRIC is the international political organisation of leading emerging economies of Brazil, Russia, India and China. Turkey is the sixth largest economy compared to the EU members in 2010 in terms of its GDP with its 11 per cent growth in the first quarter of 2011. "Turkey's economy has displayed unprecedented growth since 2000. It managed to

According to Boston Consulting Group experts, Turkey could be attractive much more in future than it actually is today.<sup>18</sup>

Turkey's position has to be explained from the view point of the new balance of power in the region.<sup>19</sup> Turkey is likely to exercise its political aims in Macedonia, even though it supports the EU membership of the Western Balkan countries.<sup>20</sup> One of the signs Turkey supports Macedonia in all fields is the encouragement of the Macedonian acceptance in NATO. Macedonia and Turkey undertook different road towards EU. Nevertheless, present relations between them are correct and friendly.<sup>21</sup> What both countries have in common are problems with the same neighbour – Greece.<sup>22</sup>

### **The 'Greek crisis effect'**

Greece is in a midst of experiencing the worst economic and social crisis in recent history. The crisis took away the attention from diplomatic issues and Greece cannot handle its foreign policy independently while struggling with its internal problems.<sup>23</sup> Greece cannot deal with these issues by itself<sup>24</sup> and depends on IMF and the support of the European partners.<sup>25</sup> The economic crisis was a massive blow to the international importance of the country and has caused the collapse of the traditional tools of external influence and prestige, particularly in Southeastern Europe.<sup>26</sup> Greece's Minister of Defense Panos Beglitis announced Greece will significantly reduce its participation in

---

recover from its own crisis in 2001 and in 2009 from the global crisis with a positive growth". It is predicted to rank as the fifth largest economy in Europe by the year 2050. Turkey showed itself as the fastest recovering economy in the world. Its economy tumbled from 2002 to 2008 and has been growing 8.9 per cent in 2010. Public debt is one of the lowest among the OECD nations. ("*Global Advantage for Turkey*", Report, Boston Consulting Group (BCG) and the Foreign Economic Relations Board of Turkey (DEİK), September 2011, available at <http://www.deik.org.tr/Shared%20Documents/Global%20Advantage%20of%20Turkey.pdf>)

<sup>18</sup> Turkey, compared to other European countries, is in the very top of the list as regards the "*attitude toward globalization*", "*financial institution transparency*" and "*flexibility and adaptability*." (Benchmark Turkey, Republic of Turkey, Prime Ministry, Investment Support and Promotion Agency, available at <http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-US/Benchmarking/Pages/BenchmarkTurkey.aspx>, accessed 29 October 2011.)

<sup>19</sup> According to Alvaro de Vasconcelos, Director of the EU institute for Security Studies, middle power such as Turkey and Brazil will play a more active role not only in the Balkans but in the other places of the world as well.

<sup>20</sup> While visiting Macedonia in September 2011, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan expressed his wish EU membership would be beneficial for Macedonia. ("*Turkish PM Taunts EU in Skopje*", Hurriyet Daily News, 29 September 2011)

<sup>21</sup> Erdoğan defined the Turkish-Macedonian relations as perfect, with "Turkish kinsmen living in Macedonia and Macedonians living in Turkey are establishing a bridge between the two countries." ("*Turkey's PM in Macedonia for talks*", World Bulletin, 29 September 2011)

<sup>22</sup> Cyprus issue has significant impact on Greek-Turkish relations, even though it is not a direct Turkish-Greek dispute.

<sup>23</sup> Gerald Knaus, President of the European Stability Initiative, says: "Nobody will dare to put more pressure on Greece, because it is facing an economical breakdown. Greek economic crisis has put tremendous pressure on Papandreu's government – he might not risk more unpopularity amid tensions over sharp spending cuts." ("*Macedonia-Greece Name Dispute Eclipsed by Euro Crisis*", Balkan Insight, 23 September 2011)

<sup>24</sup> See Sandoval, L.; Beltran E., Ulziikhutag, S., Zorigit, T.; "*The European sovereign crisis: responses to the financial crisis*", New Voices in Public Policy, Vol. V, spring 2011.

<sup>25</sup> According to Kassimatis EU-IMF deals relinquish Greek sovereign rights. ("*It's not only the economy: the Greek Crisis and its geopolitical consequences*", Motta's Blog, 16 January 2011)

<sup>26</sup> Conclusion at the conference "*Whose crisis? Greece's politics, economics and society in an era of uncertainty*", SEESOX International conference, 27 – 28 May 2011.

NATO and EU military missions due to the economic crisis.<sup>27</sup> Greece's financial fragility made the Greek government unable to institute moves to protect the country's interest in the region.<sup>28</sup> Therefore simple logic could be applied here – where there is a strong Greece there is a weak Macedonia – and the other way around – with weakened Greece, Macedonia could connect more with Turkey. Consequently the questions remains: to whom will Macedonia turn to in the future?

As Greece, hampered by the economic crisis, has no significant impact on its relations with Turkey, this can be seen as an opportunity for the two countries to readjust their position towards each other. Harry Tzimitras, International Relations Professor at Istanbul Bilgi University in Istanbul, assessed that the economic crisis in Greece could have even positive consequences for Greece's relationship with Turkey as Greece no longer looks at Turkey as an enemy state<sup>29</sup> and could help end the traditional Turkish-Greek dispute.<sup>30</sup>

The crisis Greece is experiencing has encouraged some reforms, which might lead to an era of transition and a new era of transformation of Greek and Balkan politics.<sup>31</sup> It is an opportunity to establish a more transparent framework in the decision making process.<sup>32</sup>

## Conclusion

The steps Greece and Macedonia are going to take in the future cannot be realistically predicted. If Greece will insist on the blockade policy towards Macedonia, one of the last-resort options is the termination of the Interim Agreement between the two countries, adopted on 13 September 1995, due to the failure of Greece to comply with the agreement. If Greece will not withdraw the veto, Macedonia will possibly turn to Turkey for support. Turkey is strengthening its international status and the influence in the region, which might adversely affect the development of the relations between Turkey and the EU. Macedonia could be a victim of the growing pressure from Serbia and Bulgaria, while Turkey will probably offer international support by means of secret diplomacy while gaining an important political base in the South Eastern Balkans.

---

<sup>27</sup> "Greece to cut down participation in NATO, EU military missions", Atlantic Council, NATO Source Alliance Blog, 23 September 2011.

<sup>28</sup> "Whose crisis? Greece's politics, economics and society in an era of uncertainty", SEESOX International conference, 27 – 28 May 2011.

<sup>29</sup> "Rapprochement should continue in Turkish-Greek ties despite crises", Sunday's Zaman, 9 October 2011.

<sup>30</sup> The so-called 'disaster diplomacy' led to the stabilization of the relations between Greece and Turkey. When an earthquake occurred in the Marmara region in Turkey in 1999, Greece quickly intervened. The investment of the mutual powers contributed to solving the consequences of the devastating earthquake.

<sup>31</sup> The (former) Greece's Prime Minister Papandreou has announced a referendum on constitutional and other reforms. This might lead to further engagement in the peace processes with its neighbours. (Loizides, Neophytos G.; "Transforming Balkan Conflicts at the times of Crisis", IDCR Institute for Democracy and Conflict Resolution Blog, 29 June 2011 and "Greek Referendum on Reforms? Another Complication in the Crisis", Forex News, 19 June 2011.)

<sup>32</sup> "Whose crisis? Greece's politics, economics and society in an era of uncertainty", SEESOX International conference 27 – 28 May 2011.

The 'right to identity', the questions of security and the future overall success of Macedonia greatly depend on the vision Macedonia has for its future and the relations with its neighbors. What will therefore happen, it remains to be seen.

*Marija Đordeska has studied at the Faculty of Law at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia. She has also been part of the Erasmus exchange program, at the Law Department of the Yeditepe University, Istanbul, Turkey, in the spring semester 2010. Marija is currently doing her internship at the Embassy of the Republic of Slovenia in Washington, D.C. She has also done internships in ARI Movement, NGO from Turkey and the Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia among others.*

## References

Abusara, Adel; Comparative Analysis of the Strategic Documents of the Western Balkans, *Security Policies in the Western Balkans Centre for Civil-Military Relations*, Publication, 7 June 2010, pp.165–184.

Address by H.E. Nikola Gruevski, President of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia at the General debate of the 66<sup>th</sup> Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, New York, 24 September 2011.

“Ahmeti: Macedonia Needs International Support”, *Balkan Insight*, 16 August 2011.

Background Note: Greece, U.S. Department of State, Diplomacy in Action, at <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3395.htm>, accessed 15 October 2011.

Balfuro, Rosa; Basic, Dijana; “A bridge over troubled borders: Europeanising the Balkans”, *European Policy Centre*, Policy Brief, November 2010.

“Balkan delusion of grandeur”, *The Balkan Chronicle*, 4 October 2011.

Commission Staff Working Paper, The Former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia 2011 progress Report, Brussels, 12 October 2011, SEC(2011) 1203 final.

Commission Staff Working Paper, Turkey 2011 Progress report, Brussels, 12.10.2011, SEC(2011) 1201.

Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council, Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2011-2012, Brussels, 12 October 2011, COM(2011) 666 final.

Conclusion on the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, extract from the Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament “Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2010-2011”, COM(2010)660 final.

“EU, Only Way Out for the Balkan States”, *TRT English*, 14 June 2011.

“EU Tells Macedonia: reform of Forget Accession”, *Balkan Insight*, 24 June 2011.

“FYROM ready to start accession negotiation”, *Europa EU News*, 12 October 2011.

“Ghosts at the Borders”, *Osservatorio Balcani e Caucaso*, 20 April 2010.

Gligorov, Vladimir; “Macedonia: Stability preserved”, *The Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies*, Country Report. July 2011.

“Global Advantage for Turkey”, Report, *Boston Consulting Group (BCG) and the Foreign Economic Relations Board of Turkey (DEİK)*, September 2011, available at <http://www.deik.org.tr/Shared%20Documents/Global%20Advantage%20of%20Turkey.pdf>, accessed 29 September 2011.

Grahovac, Blagoje; “Conflict and the Balkans”, *IFIMES International Institute for Middle-east and Balkan Studies*. 22 July 2011.

“Greece to cut down participation in NATO, EU military missions”, Atlantic Council, *NATO Source Alliance Blog*, 23 September 2011.

*Greece-Turkey-Yugoslavia Mutual Assistance Pact*, signed at Bled 9 August 1954, *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 49, No. 2, pp.47-55.

“Greek Debt Crisis Tipping Point”, *Council on Foreign Relations*, 12 June 2011.

“Greek Referendum on Reforms? Another Complication in the Crisis”, *Forex News*, 19 June 2011.

“Grumpy Macedonia Blasts ‘EU hypocrites’ over EC Progress Report”, *The Journal of Turkish Weekly*, 14 October 2011.

“I nodi della politica estera turca”, *Osservatorio Balcani e Caucaso*, 27 September 2011.

International Court of Justice, Judgement, 5 December 2011, General list No.142.

“It’s not only the economy: the Greek Crisis and its geopolitical consequences”, *Phantis, Motta’s Blog*, 16 January 2011, at <http://www.phantis.com/blogs/mottas/it%E2%80%99s-not-only-economy-greek-crisis-and-its-geopolitical-consequences-0>, accessed 16 October 2011.

Ker-Lindsay, James; “Greek-Turkish Rapprochement: The Impact of ‘Disaster Diplomacy’?”, Royal United Service Institute, London, Autumn-Winter 2000, Vol. XIV, No.1, pp. 215–232.

Key findings of the 2011 progress report on the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, MEMO/11/689, Brussels, 12 October 2011.

Kunič, Jožef; “Peaceful and Stable Balkans – Do we Expect too much?”, *IFIMES International Institute for Middle-east and Balkan Studies*, 12 October 2005.

Loizides, Neophytos G.; “Transforming Balkan Conflicts at the times of Crisis”, *IDCR Institute for Democracy and Conflict Resolution Blog*, 29 June 2011.

“Macedonia: The Turkish Enlargement”, *Osservatorio Balcani e Caucaso*, 24 January 2005.

“Macedonia statute: Alexander the Great of a warrior on a horse”, *The Guardian*, 23 August 2011.

“Macedonia and Greece – Trolls’ nest”, *The Economist*, 9 September 2011.

“Macedonian Minister Tightens EU Timetable”, *Balkan Insight*, 19 August 2011.

“Macedonia-Greece Name Dispute Eclipsed by Euro Crisis”, *Balkan Insight*, 23 September 2011.

“Macedonia-Turkey: The ties That Bind”, *Balkan Insight*, 10 February 2011.

“Macedonia Protests over EU’s Omission of its Name”, *Balkan Insight*, 25 October 2011.

“Macedonian Leader Renews Attacks on EU Critics”, *Balkan Insight*, 18 October 2011.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey , South East European Countries Cooperation Process (SEECP), at <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/south-east-european-countries-cooperation-process- seecp .en.mfa>, accessed 14 October 2011.

Muskoska, Ana; “Tranzicijata na transatlantskiot konsenzus: predizvici i opcii za nadvorešnata politika na Republika Makedonija”, *Forum Analitika*, 2006.

“Macedonia e Greca: un giorno in tribunale”, *Osservatorio Balcani e Caucaso*, 12 April 2011.

Mnenje Komisije o prošnji Nekdanje jugoslovanske republike Makedonije za članstvo v Evropski Uniji, Bruselj 9.november 2005, Komisija evropskih skupnosti.

“Macedonia: Ten Years after the Conflict”, *International Crisis Group*, Europe Report No.212, 11 August 2011.

Nelson, Rebeka M.; Belkin, Paul, mix, Derek E.; “Greece’s Debt Crisis: Overview, Policy Responses, and Implications”, *Congressional Research Service*, 18 August 2011.

“New US Ambassador Pledges to Help Macedonia”, *Balkan Insight*, 15 July 2011.

“No Arab Spring, says US Intelligence Analyst”, *Hurriyet Daily News*, 7 October 2011.

“No Secret Name Talks, Greek MEP Says”, *Balkan Insight*, 15 July 2011.

“Per una Macedonia in Europa”, *Osservatorio Balcani e Caucaso*, 2 August 2011.

Press statement of the H.E. Egemen Bağış, Minister for European Union Affairs and Chief Negotiator, Turkey’s 2011 Progress Report, 12 October 2011.

“Rapprochement should continue in Turkish-Greek ties despite crises”, *Sunday’s Zaman*, 9 October 2011.

“Rapporteur Hopeful on Macedonia Name Compromise”, *Balkan insight*, 21 September 2011.

Statement by H.E. Mr. Stavros Lambrinidis, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Hellenic Republic, Sixty-sixth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, New York, 23 September 2011.

Sandoval, Lazaro; eltran Erika, Ulziikhutag, Sodgerel, Zorgit, Temmun; “The European sovereign crisis: responses to the financial crisis”, *New Voices in Public Policy*, Vol. V, Spring 2011.

”Strategy Session with Macedonian President Gjore Ivanov: Macedonia’s Euro-Atlantic Integration”, Atlantic Council, *NATO Source Alliance Blog*, 1 February 2011.

“Time to Revisit Turkey, *Boston Consulting Group*, 4 August 2011.

“Turkish PM taunts EU in Skopje”, *Hurriyet Daily News*, 29 September 2011.

“Turkey and Greece: Time to Settle the Aegean Dispute”, *International Crisis group*, Europe Briefing No.64, 19 July 2011.

“Turkey’s PM in Macedonia for Talks”, *World Bulletin*, 29 September 2011.

“Turkish society now unmoved by EU progress reports”, *Today’s Zaman*, 16 October 2011.

“The Enlargement of the EU to the Balkans”, *Analytica*, Collection of Policy Reports, September 2008, pp.185–305.

Taşhan, Seyfi, “European Security and Turkey: Is a Dialogue and Necessary?”, *IFIMES International Institute for Middle-east and Balkan Studies*.

Törö, Csaba; “EU Security Enterprises of Conflict Prevention Through State-Building in the Balkans: Preparation and recipe for Engagement in the European Neighbourhood?”, *Perceptions, Center for Strategic research*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, Autumn – Winter 2006, pp.59–78.

Türbedar, Erhan; “Effects of global economic downturn on South east Europe”, *Regional Cooperation Council*, Newsletter 1/2010.

“Turkey’s Balkan policy, its perception and interpretation”, *The Balkan Chronicle*, 12 December 2012.

Vangeli, Anastas; “Nation-building ancient Macedonian style: the origins and the effects of the so-called antiquization in Macedonia”, *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 39, No. 1, January 2011, pp.13–32.

“Verso la macroregione adriatico-ionica,” *Osservatorio Balcani e Caucaso*, 23 February 2011.

Yusufi, Islam; Macedonia, *Security Policies in the Western Balkans Centre for Civil-Military Relations*, Publication, 7 June 2010, pp. 97–121,

“UN Mediator ‘Wont Visit Greece or Macedonia Soon’”, *Balkan Insight*, 20 September 2011.

“Whose crisis? Greece’s politics, economics and society in an era of uncertainty”, *South East European Studies at Oxford*, Abstract of the SEESOX International Conference, 27 and 28 May 2011, St Anthony’s College, University of Oxford.

“Why Turkey is a Bacon in a Globalising World”, *Boston Consulting Group*, 23 June 2011.