
THE PRINCIPLES FROM NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE OHRID FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT

Sasa Tanevski

UNIbit, Sofia, Bulgaria, sasa.tanevski@gmail.com

Abstract: At the time when the Peace Agreement for the Stabilization of Political and Military Confrontations in Northern Ireland was signed in Belfast (1998), the war in Kosovo was taking place between Milosevic's Army (the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia consisting of Serbia and Montenegro) and the ULC rebels (Ushtria Çlirimtare Kombëtare, UÇK) whose ranks included a large number of Albanians from Macedonia at the time. The situation in Northern Ireland was still unstable when in 2001 the forces of the UCK from Macedonia rose up in an armed uprising aimed at improving the general status of the Albanians. Decentralization, use of the Albanian language in institutions, introduction of the Albanian language in higher education, etc. were demanded. In Ireland, the Catholics, who for almost three decades waged a heroic war against the presence of Great Britain, emphasized their national ambitions for unification with the Republic of Ireland. On the other hand, the inhabitants of the Republic of Ireland dominated by Protestants showed greater loyalty to Great Britain and sought for Northern Ireland to remain part of the United Kingdom. The Macedonian Albanians who live in the western and north-western part of Macedonia initially demanded the unification of all Albanians in one state. They supported this with the fact that there is neither territorial nor religious or linguistic discontinuity between Albanians from Macedonia, Kosovo and Albania. With the Belfast Agreement, Northern Ireland got its own political bodies, the Assembly of Northern Ireland consisting of 108 MPs and the Government (the British Irish Council) with its own ministers and prime minister. Armed formations, especially the IRA, surrendered their weapons, while captured and convicted IRA fighters received a general amnesty. However, Northern Ireland remained within Great Britain. As for the turbulent events in North Macedonia, a confrontation between the UCK and the Macedonian security forces, which was also considered a kind of inter-religious conflict between the Muslim Albanians and the Macedonian Orthodox Christians, was overcome by the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA) on August 13, 2001. The Albanian side got decentralization, use of the Albanian language as a second official language, use of symbols, general amnesty but did not get their own government and Parliament. The Macedonian side considered such an act as an introduction to the federalization of the state. However, these ambitions are still present at the top of the political parties of the Albanians.

Keywords: Northern Ireland, OFA, Decentralization, Albanian language, The Charter from Tirana

1. INTRODUCTION

The decentralization was at the center of the political and administrative life of Macedonia from the XXI century. During the first period, following the independence of the country in 1991, the authorities adopted a strategy of centralization of power in order to strengthen their control sur l'ensemble du territoire. This strategy was reversed following the 2001 conflict and the Ohrid Peace Accords. In order to ensure a better distribution of local power among the different communities living in Macedonia, the Ohrid Accords called for a reform of decentralization of power. This reform, supported by the European Union and the main international actors in Macedonia, resulted in major legislative changes in 2004. The Macedonian territory is divided into 84 municipalities (plus the city of Skopje, composed of 10 municipalities). Ces municipalités sont dotées de plus de pouvoir qu'auparavant dans la prise de décisions et dans la gestion des budgets. Les municipalités bénéficient d'un pouvoir de décision accru en ce qui concerne le développement économique locale, la protection de l'environnement et de la nature, la culture, l'urbanisme, le sport, la protection sociale et la protection des enfants, ainsi que l'éducation. L'accomplissement pratique de ce processus de décentralisation était une tâche difficile qui a provoqué la réaction des citoyens macedonien. Le transfert des compétences rencontre plusieurs problèmes dus à la complexité du processus, mais également à la situation de transition politique et économique que connaît la Macédoine. At the head of each municipality, a mayor and councilors are elected by direct vote. Municipalities are financed by their own resources, by tax on revenue, and by grants from the national budget. 'assure une meilleure redistribution du pouvoir entre les communautés ethniques, certaines prises de décisions au niveau municipal passent par le principe dit « de Badinter », du nom de l'ancien ministre français Robert Badinter. This principle implies that the vote in question must carry the majority of the votes of two groups: those of the ensemble of municipal councillors, and among them those of the councilors representing minority ethnic communities in the municipality. ((Ragaru, N., 2004) The provisions of the Ohrid Framework Agreement On 13 August 2001, the Ohrid Framework Agreement imposed major reforms to better represent minorities and provide for a new Constitution. Under the terms of this agreement, the 1991

Constitution was amended to remove the reference to Slavo-Macedonians as the sole founding people of the country. Macedonian society was now considered to be composed of citizens from different ethnic groups. The agreement established a “double majority” system in Parliament, which stipulated that, in order to be adopted, a text must receive at least half the votes of one or more groups representing ethnic minorities. The use of Albanian is permitted for official documents and as a working language in plenary sessions and parliamentary committees, as well as in courts. All laws are drafted in two languages, Macedonian and Albanian. On the other hand, only Macedonian can be used by the Macedonian government (except in designated Albanian-speaking areas). Albanian becomes the second official language in regions where Albanian speakers constitute more than 20% of the population. The state undertakes to finance, in addition to primary and secondary education, higher (university) education in Albanian in areas where Albanian speakers constitute at least 20% of the population. Henceforth, the state guarantees proportional representation of minorities in the civil service and the police and in the Constitutional Court. A process of decentralization is planned. Finally, the state grants equal status to the Orthodox, Muslim and Catholic religions. Henceforth, the state has guaranteed proportional representation of minorities in the civil service and the police and in the Constitutional Court. A process of decentralization has been carried out. Finally, the state granted equal status to the Orthodox, Muslim and Catholic religions. But two decades later, there is discontent among the Albanian parties regarding the realization of the Ohrid Framework Agreement. But also there are certain pretensions and demands of the Albanians for more autonomy, to form its own institution (the Academy of Sciences) namely to imitate the rights that received the Catholics of the IRA in Northern Ireland after the end of the civil war and the signing of the Belfast Agreement in 1998. (Melaugh, M., (2024),

2. DECENTRALIZATION

The territorial organization of Macedonia Macedonia is divided into 84 municipalities, divided into 8 regions that have no administrative role. Municipalities The opštini already existed under the Yugoslav regime, their number varied according to the periods. These were abolished after Independence, the Constitution of 1991 providing for a new administrative division. It was in 1996 that the government of Macedonia decided to create 123 municipalities. But it later turned out that this number was too large and a reshuffle took place in 2004. In the end, Macedonia is divided into 84 municipalities or opštini. Ten of these municipalities were united to form Greater Skopje, which has a special status. The municipalities were classified as "rural municipalities" or "urban municipalities". In 2004, the nationalist opposition, which considered that the municipalities were too advantageous to the Albanian community, had requested a referendum to ask the Macedonians about this division. But the low turnout nullified the result and the opštini were maintained. Areas of intervention of Macedonian municipalities The areas of intervention of Macedonian municipalities cover: - Urban and rural planning - Nature and environmental protection - Local economic development - Communal activities - Culture - Sports and leisure - Social protection and child protection - Education - Health - Planning during civil conflicts - Fire services - Supervision of municipal services Regions Following the breakup of Yugoslavia and independence in 1991, Macedonia faced socio-economic problems and concentrated all its political and economic power in its capital. This resulted in a rapid development of the Skopje region. These big gaps in the development of the territories of Macedonia were a reason for the Macedonian State to think about the creation of a regional policy starting with the adoption of "Law on Equitable Regional Development" in 2007. (Ragaru.N., 2004, 3.p.)With the aim of reducing the disparities between its territories, increasing their competitiveness as well as revitalizing villages and places with specific needs, the Macedonian State created 8 administrative regions corresponding to the NUTS level 3 according to European statistics. These regions called "statistical regions" are managed by a Council created by the Mayors of the municipalities that are part of it. The Council is chaired by one of the mayors, elected for a two-year term. The projects of the regions are co-financed by the State and the municipalities. The councils were established in 2008 and the first projects for regional interest were supposed to start in 2009. Each region has opened a Center for Regional Development which is the executive body of the Council of Mayors of a region. It is located in the most populated city in the region and is administered by a Director and a team. The Ministry of Local Self-Management is in charge of the country's regional policy through the Office for Regional Development, an independent body within the Ministry. Regions in Macedonia: - Skopje region (consisting of Greater Skopje and 7 neighbouring municipalities) - Pelagonia - Polog - East - South-East - North-East - South-West - Vardar region In this period of questioning of international action in Kosovo, the return to peace in Macedonia remains the main success story of European policy in the Balkans. Gone are the days when Europeans, paralysed by Greece's veto, hesitated to recognise the independence of the State of Macedonia, born from the break-up of Yugoslavia. Gone are the days when, while contemplating this Balkan “oasis of peace”, the European Union neglected to support the democratisation of the country and to encourage better representation of the Albanian minority within the state apparatus and the police. When, in February 2001, the emergence of an Albanian guerrilla on the border with Kosovo gave rise to fears of the outbreak of a new war in the Balkans, the

European Union understood the urgency of intervention. It also agreed to work with the United States to enable the signing of a peace agreement in Ohrid on 13 August 2001. Since then, the implementation of the legislative and institutional changes provided for in the Ohrid Compromise has been the focus of the Office of the European Union Special Representative in Macedonia and the moderate government that emerged from the general elections of September 2002, a coalition between the Social Democratic Alliance (SDSM, centre-left) of Branko Crvenkovski and the Union for Democratic Integration (BDI), led by the former leader of the Albanian rebels, Ali Ahmeti. Present on the political and economic front through the Stabilisation and Association Process (SAP), the European Union has also taken on important responsibilities in the area of security and internal affairs: in March 2003, a first European military mission, Concordia, took over from NATO. Six months later, it was replaced by Proxima, a police operation of some two hundred men. At the beginning of June 2004, the Atlantic Alliance also announced the departure of the last American soldiers present on Macedonian soil. The European Union wanted this: it is now the main international actor in Macedonia, responsible for ensuring the sustainability of peace and achieving the integration prospects reaffirmed at the European Union-Balkans Summit on 21 June 2003 in Thessaloniki. The stakes are high, even if the results of international efforts deployed since 2001 may, at first glance, seem positive. Disarmed, the former Albanian guerrillas formed a political party in June 2002, the Union for Democratic Integration, which supports a return to peaceful intercommunity coexistence. For its part, B. Crvenkovski's Alliance is convinced that the only way to get the country out of the "Balkan rut" is to find an ethnic compromise, a sine qua non condition for entry into the European Union and NATO. The fact that Macedonia submitted its application to join the EU on 22 March 2004, even though some Western observers had suggested a postponement of the timetable, underlines the strategic importance that the authorities attach to this objective. Finally, as the last "proof" of the success of the stabilisation process under the supervision of the international community, Macedonia has calmly managed two events that could have been feared to derail the peace process: the accidental death of President Boris Trajkovski on 26 February 2004, and the intercommunal clashes of 17-18-19 March 2004 in neighbouring Kosovo.

3. IMPLEMENTATION OF OFA

Where are we in the implementation of the Ohrid Agreements? The first part of the European action in Macedonia concerns the implementation of the Ohrid Agreements supervised by the Special Representative of the European Union in Macedonia, a position held since 1 August 2004 by the Swedish diplomat, Michael Sahlin. The objective has been to succeed in completing the legal and institutional transposition of the agreements in the future. At that date, the Office of the Representative should close its doors, leaving in Macedonia only the Agency for European Reconstruction (EAR) and a Delegation of the European Commission with a strengthened role. If we stick to the letter of the agreements, the perspective is undoubtedly realistic. But the main question has been the following: will the Ohrid Agreements be enough to guarantee the stability of Macedonia and what are their effects on the relations between the Slavic majority and the Albanian minority? In order to put an end to six months of clashes between Macedonian security forces and Albanian rebels gathered in the National Liberation Army (Ushtria Çlirimtare Kombëtare, UÇK), the Ohrid compromise had planned to strengthen the mechanisms for protecting the rights of the Albanian community in exchange for the dismantling of the guerrillas and the reaffirmation of the territorial integrity of Macedonia. Concentrated mainly in the west and northwest of the country, the Albanians wanted greater linguistic and cultural recognition, equitable representation in the civil service, access to higher education in Albanian as well as a decentralization of territorial management. On these various points, they were essentially heard. The international community – and particularly Alain Le Roy, then the European Union's special envoy to Macedonia – had to use all their influence with the government to ensure that the amendments to the 1991 Constitution provided for in the agreements were adopted on 16 November 2001. Progress has probably been most noticeable in the area of security. Before August 2001, the Macedonian police force comprised only 3% Albanians. The community's political leaders wanted autonomous police forces to be set up in the regions where Albanians were in the majority. The police were ultimately kept under the control of the Ministry of the Interior, but Albanians must be proportionally represented in it. As of 1 July 2003, approximately 1,065 police officers from minorities (mainly Albanians, but also some Turks, Bosnians, Serbs, Roma and Vlachs) had been trained by the OSCE. Since 2002, mixed police units have been deployed in former conflict zones. (Xaferi, T.(2021, 1.p.) Although the Albanian-majority regions of Macedonia remained stable during the March 2004 riots in Kosovo, tensions were not absent. In Tetovo, Slavic inhabitants continued to head for the capital, driven by the search for employment, but also, often, by the fear of finding themselves in an Albanian world that was becoming more homogenous. As proof of the persistence of feelings of mistrust, an operation to collect illegal weapons, carried out in November-December 2003, yielded disappointing results. Even today, the police are struggling to fulfil their missions in the Albanian zone and tensions remain very high when the police forces try to arrest representatives of illicit circles that have had

links with the KLA. The second project opened by the Ohrid agreements concerned the representation of minorities in the civil service. In 2001, Albanians held around 10% of jobs there. Three years later, the results appear mixed. While appointments have been made at the top of the state – the current government has four Albanian ministers and a deputy prime minister; the deputy speaker of parliament is Albanian – lower down the hierarchy, the allocation of positions to representatives of minorities has been delayed. In some instances, the delays are attributable to the reluctance of Slavo-Macedonian officials; but more often, the difficulty comes from the lack of Albanian executives and the unattractive nature of the salaries offered in the administration. The need to go through political networks to obtain a position is sometimes also a deterrent. Any change in the majority (within the Albanian community) risks resulting in dismissal. In the eyes of those who had found fulfilment in the private sector, the game is not always worth the candle. The third axis of reform set out in Ohrid: higher education. The beginning of a solution to the problem of the use of the Albanian language was found in the autumn of 2001 with the opening in Tetovo of the University for South-Eastern Europe, an establishment financed by the European Union and where courses are given in English, Albanian and Macedonian. But it was around the private University of Tetovo, created in 1994 and not recognised by the Macedonian authorities, that Albanian expectations crystallised. The legalisation of the University of Tetovo was finally obtained in February 2004, at the end of political debates involving not only the interests of the Macedonian-Slavic majority, but also those of local political actors who might wish to maintain a climate of uncertainty. With its four accredited faculties (humanities, natural sciences, law, economics), the University of Tetovo is now the third public higher education institution in Macedonia, after those of Skopje and Bitola, and should therefore benefit from public subsidies. This measure, while highly symbolic, will not be enough to resolve the education crisis. Secondary education suffers from a lack of resources, which is all the more acute since, since 2001, parents of students from the two main communities have been increasingly reluctant to let their children attend the same establishment. In many circumstances, a system of rotating the use of buildings has been introduced; but this adjustment of timetables has not always been enough to ensure a return to calm. Furthermore, the multi-ethnic experiments attempted in Bitola and Skopje at the start of the school year in September 2003 failed. More generally, we are witnessing the establishment of a dual education system which fuels negative mutual representations.

4. REACTIONS AGAINST DECENTRALIZATION

The main bone of contention, however, remains the policy of decentralization: the fourth pillar of Ohrid. The agreement of August 13, supplemented by the constitutional amendments of November 16, 2001, established that any language spoken by more than 20% of the population would be considered an official language at the local level and usable in the administration. In addition, a new territorial division was to be adopted and the autonomy of municipalities strengthened. The delimitation of municipalities appears to be a major political issue insofar as it will condition the balance of power between communities. While the Slavic parties seem keen to prevent the formation of compact Albanian regions – which could one day be tempted to secede – the Albanians wish to avoid a “gruyere cheese” division, enclosing small Albanian municipalities in Slavic groups as was the case in 1992. On 15 July 2004, the government adopted a draft law on territorial division, which plans to reduce the total number of municipalities from 123 to 80, then 76 in 2008. In Skopje, the incorporation of the predominantly Albanian municipalities of Saraj and Kondovo should make Albanian the second official language. In Struga, Albanians would find themselves in the majority after the incorporation of rural Albanian municipalities into the new municipality. On the other hand, the delimitation of Kicevo would remain unchanged, contrary to the wishes of the Albanians. The announcement of the project provoked extremely negative reactions in Slavic public opinion, among representatives of minorities (particularly Turks and Roma), as well as in the political opposition (Nikola Gruevski's Internal Revolutionary Organization (VMRO-DPMNE, nationalist) in power between 1998 and 2001 and the "Third Way" alliance). In the second half of July 2004, demonstrations took place in Struga and Skopje, with 17 people injured in Struga on 23 July, while more than forty municipalities submitted the question of municipal division to local referendums (with non-binding results). Opponents of the municipal network proposed by the government finally obtained the organization of a referendum on decentralization on 7 November 2004. The outcome of the popular consultation will undoubtedly represent a decisive test for the continuation of the reforms. In this situation of great political confusion, the local elections, originally scheduled for 17 October, were postponed until spring 2005. Halfway through, what assessment can be made of the efforts to give life to the Ohrid principles? In 2001, the West saw the agreements as a prelude to the restoration of multi-ethnic coexistence. Even if the restructuring of municipal management were to be carried out successfully, it is not impossible that a logic of separate development will instead be established. Decentralisation, on the one hand, and the increasingly marked segregation of education, on the other, mean that future generations will have fewer and fewer opportunities to meet with representatives of a community different from their own. It seems difficult to determine today to what extent the trend towards

distancing will be sustainable. To prevent such a development, the country needs time and social peace. However, the Ohrid agreements were in no way intended to address the socio-economic ills likely to weaken the inter-community fabric. It is here the articulation between the economic and political aspects of European action, between the measures taken within the framework of Ohrid and those concerning the preparation for integration into the European Union, which poses a problem. We find similar provisions and ambitions in the Belfast Agreement from 1998. (Davis, L.R., (2023))

5. THE CHARTER FROM TIRANA (2017) VS ORD

The Tiran platform is a document that appeared in 2017, i.e. a decade and a half after the Ohrid Framework Agreement, as a platform of the ethnic Albanian parties in the Republic of Macedonia. What is the nature and significance of the Tiran Platform in relation to the Ohrid Framework Agreement? Does the content of this document deviate from the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova and to what extent does it exceed the provisions of the Constitution? First of all, a global review of the Tiran Platform makes it clear that the proposed proposals do not appear in the Ohrid Framework Agreement. One gets the impression that the authors of this document sought inspiration from the provisions of the Belfast Peace Agreement (1998), which overcame hostilities in Northern Ireland, between the British, the Irish Protestants and the Catholics of Northern Ireland.

(Luis, J., 2023) The Tiran Charter relies on and affirms a different legal content considering the procedure through which this document was adopted. First: Only the parties from the Albanian province participated in its elaboration and adoption. Thus, this document is uninational. Second, the provisions of the Tiran Charter are not in accordance with the provisions of the Ohrid Framework Agreement and therefore also with the Constitution of the then Republic of Macedonia (North Macedonia). Netpress (2017) Let's work out these two premises. The Ohrid Framework Agreement (FRA) was signed on August 13, 2001. The signing of this agreement was a response to the armed conflict that took place in the Republic of Macedonia that same year, between the Macedonian security forces and the Albanian paramilitary ONA (National Liberation Army). The signatories of the ORD were the leaders of the four largest political parties in the Republic of Macedonia (the two largest parties of the ethnic Macedonians and the two largest parties of the ethnic Albanians), the President of the Republic of Macedonia and one special representative each of the USA and the EU. Therefore, this agreement is also a peace agreement guaranteed by the international community. ORD represented the basis for a new system for the division of power in society and internal restructuring of Macedonia, mainly through constitutional amendments, adoption of new and revision of old laws. The Tiran Charter was initiated by the leaders of the Albanian political parties in All Faithful Macedonia, supported by the Albanians of Kosovo and Albania. The Tirana Platform got this name because it was agreed and signed in Tirana, Republic of Albania. Why is the Tiran Platform significant: What does this document contain? Why is it significant for North Macedonia? Does he have ambitions to overturn the Ohrid Agreement? First of all, the document is also known under other terms: Platform, New Platform, National Platform, Platform of the Albanians, All-Albanian Platform, Platform from Tirana. The Tiran platform was signed by the largest party of the ethnic Albanians in Macedonia, the Democratic Union for Integration (DUI), the second largest party BESA and the coalition of several ethnic Albanian parties called the Alliance for the Albanians, under the mentorship of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Albania Edi Rama. The Platform states the environment, the Albanian social and political factor as a subject in the political systems where the Albanian population is a minority, then determining the conditions and negotiating the participation of the Albanian political parties in future governments. It is interesting to note that the Tiran Platform was published after the decision of the Democratic Union for Integration (DUI) to support the opposition party of the Social Democratic Union of Macedonia (SDSM) for the composition of the government. In the parliamentary elections of that time (2017), SDSM was defeated for one deputy by the Conservative party VMRO-DPMNE, which had been in power for 11 years, headed by Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski. In the Assembly of North Macedonia, the coalition of SDSM and DUI had enough votes to overthrow the populist and authoritarian government of Nikola Gruevski, which grew into a corrupt model of government in the Western Balkans. One of the aspects of the Tiran Charter was the fact that its promotion irritated the Macedonian public opinion since it was announced during the Orthodox holiday of Christmas. 4. The content of the Tirana Charter was a good excuse for President Ivanov, otherwise a member of VMRO-DPMNE, to delay taking over the mandate of the SDSM-DUI coalition for the formation of the government by half a year. (Иванов, Гј., (2017) From the analysis of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, three main goals can be distinguished: first, securing the future of Macedonian democracy; secondly, enabling and developing closer and more integrated relations between the Republic of Macedonia and the Euro-Atlantic community and thirdly, promoting the peaceful and harmonious development of civil society, while respecting the ethnic identity and interests of all Macedonian citizens. The Tirana platform contains several important claims, but also the different procedure and actors in its elaboration and adoption. First, the listed parties of the ethnic Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia are officially behind the

demands of the Tirana platform. Second, they refer to the Ohrid Agreement and consensual democracy, which is another goal borrowed from Northern Ireland. (McNaughton,C.,(2023) Fulfillment of normative obligations resulting from constitutional amendments is also mentioned. The platform is carried out in the name of the programmatic and strategic determinations of the Albanians, which, according to the terminology used in the platform, are also the interests of all other citizens of the Republic of Macedonia, and with the commitment to peace, stability, security, inter-ethnic coexistence, religious harmony, etc. whereas integration into NATO and the European Union are listed as common goals without an alternative. The Tirana Platform rests on the previous foundations, which serves as a common political agenda of the parties of the Albanians whose goal is to realize it in the next or the next mandates of the government. From the introductory part itself, it is noticeable that the platform refers to the ORD with special reference to the consensual bases contained in it. In doing so, constitutional amendments are mentioned, although the ORD is already reflected in the current Constitution of the Republic of Moldova. However, the most striking part is that the goals stated in the platform will be a condition for the coalition of the Albanian parties in the future government, which met with unpleasant emotions among the Macedonian public opinion and was perceived as a kind of blackmail to the Macedonian political parties.

6. CONTENT OF TIRANA CHARTER

The Tirana charter or platform is composed of seven main points that refer to demands for full linguistic equality, opening a debate on changing the flag, anthem and coat of arms of the Republic of Macedonia and adopting a resolution on genocide against the Albanian people (the first point is made up of four sub-points), requests for balanced regional development, creation of a state commission for financing municipalities, opening of a new ministry for political system and relations between communities and fair representation, requests for reinforcement of the rule of law through the implementation of reforms, support for the work of the Special Prosecutor and the clearing of certain court proceedings (point three is composed of three sub-points), creating a spirit of trust in function of good inter-ethnic relations by providing finances for Albanian cultural institutions and creating of a central institution for the promotion of languages (point four is made up of two sub-points), solving the name dispute by passing a Resolution in the Macedonian Assembly and including Albanians in the working group for direct negotiations (point five is made up of two sub-points), good relations with the neighbors through the inclusion of the Albanians in the working group for direct negotiations with Bulgaria and cooperation with Kosovo and Albania through border management and opening of new border crossings (point six is composed of three sub-points) and finally based on the previous, rapid integration into NATO and in the European Union (point seven). 6 The achievement of the stated goals will be monitored by a new body, called the cross-bench of the Albanian parliamentary parties, which will be in charge of communication and determining deadlines for the realization of these goals. Introductory parts of the Ohrid Framework Agreement begins with, "The points in the following text provide a harmonized framework for securing the future of democracy in Macedonia and enabling the development of closer and more integrated relations between the Republic of Macedonia and the Euro-Atlantic Community. This Framework Agreement will promote the peaceful and harmonious development of civil society, while respecting the ethnic identity and interests of all Macedonian citizens". Ohrid Framework Agreement, Secretariat(2001) Similar to the 1998 Belfast Agreement, the Tiran platform does not contain a single word about the sovereignty, territorial integrity and unitary character of the Republic of North Macedonia. It seems as in the Irish case, especially due to the long-standing civil war and the sensitive issues of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Northern Ireland and in the Tyrannian Platform, such constitutional parameters that appear in the Constitution of North Macedonia are not mentioned. (Ahmeti, A.,2024,1.,p)

7.CONCLUSION

A quarter of a century will have passed since the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement in two years. The fact is that with the ORD North Macedonia, with the help of the mediators of the international community (USA, EU, NATO, OSCE, UN) and several facilitators from the USA and the EU, managed to put the country on the tracks of peace and restore security and stability in the country and the entire region. It is evident that due to the closeness of time with the peace process in Northern Ireland, the experiences of the processes that led to the conclusion of the Belfast Agreement, also known as the Good Friday Agreement of 1998, were respected and implemented. The international community used the principle (no winner-no loser) although many nationalists on both sides played on the win-win principle. North Macedonia expanded its multi-ethnic democracy, declared the Albanian language as the second official language, enabled decentralization, and higher education in the Albanian language. Two decades later, in search of a greater political rating, the Albanian parties once again called for help from the Belfast Agreement, trying to implement some provisions in North Macedonia and to negotiate a "New Ohrid Agreement" with the document named as the Charter of Tirana (2017). However, such a practice would put the Ohrid

Framework Agreement and the validity of the Constitution of North Macedonia under scrutiny, and by the way, it could lead to inter-ethnic tensions. Therefore, at this moment, at least according to the reaction of Macedonian politicians and intellectuals, this proposal is unacceptable.

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