

## **Lack of Good Governance and the Generation of Political Crises in Developing Countries: Practical Case of Macedonia, Last Three Years' Experience**

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### **Abstract**

Having in mind that the political approach and the way of governing today in developing countries is one of the key problems that face, or exists in Macedonia's practice, especially in a country like this, where today, still in these new, political, economic and global conditions and circumstances, we encounter great difficulties in the state of government and the lack of proper functioning of the transparent and principled form of institutions providing public services or those who have a tendency to public service delivery. The main purpose of this paper is to give some clarification about an experience that is often repeated in the practice of developing countries. This paper will raise these problems and issues: What are the underlying reasons for the lack of governance in developing countries?; What steps should be taken by governments of these countries in sense of being more prepared in the process of integrating countries into European structures and how can they prevent crises in the process of political reform? The paper will raise the research aspect by giving the opportunity to recognize the political reasons for the experiences that this country shares in the process that is ongoing even these days. And the last part of this research will focus on the recommendations that will be given to developing countries.

**Keywords:** Governance, reform, political change, crisis, development, integration!

### **Introduction**

#### **Deficiencies of good governance and generating political crises in developing countries**

The history or the past of the developing countries, especially the Western Balkan countries, have a very similar past. They are distinguished for a very dark past, both from the gaps in economic development and from other aspects, social and political. Moreover, it has already become known to us that in the practice of many states there is a new experience in the creation and function of the state, the organization of society, the form of institutional and role of the state, the level of democracy and a number of other principles that define the position of a state with high standards, are certainly factors that are largely lacking in developing countries, where Macedonia is also part.

From these factors that this experience of this country has been associated since the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia, respectively, the political processes in Macedonia, including the creation of an independent state, the beginning of political pluralism, the definition of the aspect legal-constitutional state, power-sharing and state-organisation, there is this situation.

As we have emphasized in the part of introducing that the framework of this paper, among others, we have said that the aspect of the lack of good governance, respectively, the generation of political crises in a country that is in the practice of developing countries, as case of Macedonia is, the factors of these problems are evidenced not only by domestic and international lawmakers, but these practices are already part of the experience that European policy actors talk about every day and count aspects of the obligations that share the actors of the decision-making scene dedicated to key figures of the country's leadership. So, the problems of many spheres intertwined in one state, within the institutions where more noise and experience are heard that do not resemble much the same with a state whose part, as experience, increasingly draws on the negative connotation, the attention of the factor international.

We emphasized that at the beginning of this scientific paper, respectively the genesis of every problem is not that it cannot be recovered, but one thing that is overcome as problematic in Macedonia is the fact that there is no good political will that will open the way to the functioning of a genuine democratic state of the dimensions of multi-ethnic society.

### **Experiences after 2001 in Macedonia or, first steps democracy in Macedonia till daily experiences**

Looking into more comprehensive dimensions, if we look at the current political situation in Macedonia with the latest technology known as "Political Throne" we will detect some problems that would make us realize that our political situation and experience does not differ greatly from the unrest who today have taken over international politics. It distinguishes itself in its manifestation and the genesis of the problem which may be another plan. If we were to make a study of a deeper nature of this problem, then we see that while political actors around the world try to find solutions to problems;

In Macedonia, the political situation is even more strained by its political actors. The difference is noticeable from the beginning. Although, for the European continent - the Western Balkans occupies a space of nearly 550,000 square miles, the problems of the latter in each part are a separate model. Similarly, it happens with the political experience in Macedonia. Familiar to international opinion a political experience such as ours and even more in internal circumstances, it is unthinkable to understand that the consequences of a monistic system still feel today. Although from political pluralism, Macedonia has from time to time been an actor in the ratification and adoption of many international acts and those of a domestic dimension and other minor dimensions, we are again witnessing a flagrant violation of these rights by the institutions themselves.

The character of the multi-ethnic state, which includes the experience of Macedonia as a state in the Balkans, despite the fact that the impression of the international factor with the 2001 conflict reduced the tensions with the signing of a joint contract of bilateral political parties at that time, the situation the actual testifies to the contrary.

Not only is the problem of inequality between the ethnicities that make up Macedonia unresolved, but in spite of that, the situation is even more strained. Today, there is no citizen or, in other words, few are those who are not insinuated to a particular case where the protagonist of the guilty side is always an Albanian, or another case or a script, the epilogue of which is unknown and never ends in favour of Albanians.

From the point of view of a common citizen, each of us in a situation like this and by the way of the resonance we would show, of course, the charges are directed to power.

Violent or violence that appears ever-unilaterally led by Albanians. It is clear now that whenever powers or governments change, accusations of their failures and failures, the eyes are always oriented towards the Albanians. Whenever the problems generate the crisis and find no solution, an armed conflict is opened, as was the case in Kumanovo, proving that we are a crisis factor that we seek solving through weapons only. Being the leader of such nationalistic policies, Macedonian political entities forget to generate political chaos not only to the political entities of Albanians but also to themselves and as a result the situation comes out of control even in larger proportions, again involving the international political factor. Such experiences of current political processes make it clear that citizens feel disloyal, governed in the form of a chaotic model of violence and tyranny, abused institutions and legitimacy by policymakers, which we also understood from the recent rumours that there is another argument to believe in this regime that causes nothing other than annihilation of the fundamental values of democracy and the collapse of a system that is in the midst of it. Faced with such situations and experiences as evidence of the violation of human dignity, many of the political figures of the time and other actors as members of the 2001 National Liberation Army, power has, at all costs, tended to undermine the image of these structures created in the experience of the Albanian political bloc in order to achieve aspirations that were contrary to every aspect of the concept of good governance. In this regard, they used a set scenario that proved that we are the ones who are pushing the problems, we are those who do not have devoted political representatives and a lot of unsupported charges that are a not very enviable concept for the factor international. The facts show that this non-standardized political format that in Macedonia's experience of a system such as that of democracy but the facts leads to totalitarianism that has political entities of ethnicities in Macedonia that participate in power but do not implicate the political processes that political parties sign Stabilization and Association Agreements but largely generate instability; which guarantee the rights of use of the language, education and use of symbols of Albanians but which are never respected. It remains to emphasize formal representation, just as a number but not an effective growth of the influence on the crucial decision-making role of the Albanians ... seems elusive for a broader opinion, but this scene clearly speaks for an almost elusive as well as paradoxical reality, based on the reality of the time we are living. It will continue, while the image of people who are considered to have an impact on political life is tending to fade, giving more space to those who serve political conjunctures that protect the image of a servile

policy that leads to the root of the whom we tried to create for many years, to give life to a multi-ethnic society that would be duly represented also to the country's relevant institutions, thus giving more space to the peaceful path and the resolution of conflicts that would be in defence of common interests. As citizens, members of this state feel ourselves without influence not only in the state structures, but also by a significant number of people who are loyal to this structure that governs which day by day destroys our families, generates fear in large measure, does not take any decision to improve the economic, political and social status of society in general. Misappropriations and forgeries have become part of the experience of certain state services that it is unfortunate that this is in favour of criminal conjunctions created by the state services of that state and, more so, by using only Albanians from the ranks of Albanians only to be in favour of a destructive policy that damages our image as an important factor in political life and decision-making.

These situations and dissatisfaction will last as long as the structures of the Albanian political bloc will co-govern this type of leader as it was Gruevski (former Macedonian prime minister) policy and while sitting under the power chair.

There, where little space is given to the voices of citizens it should not be said that there is democracy ... Where power is imposed by force, there is no legitimacy ... Where religious principles are used for certain aspects of the mass manipulation ideas, there is no moral ... Where the social aspect, politics has deviated, it is difficult to find a balance ... now there is nothing left to do in this labyrinth, except new steps for reforms and move forward perpetrators with hope for better future.

Based on this reality, the manner or the way that is followed by political actor's years before in the experience of Macedonia, we can identify some of reasons, regarding the generated political crisis in Macedonian society and governance. There are several reasons that push a political process to generate consecutive government crises in Macedonia's practice.

In this case we are re-emphasizing or enumerating some of the important factors that the Government of the Republic of Macedonia needs to make a special turn.

Today, they are also a permanent requirement in the political statements of subjects that are intended to seriously support the political process in Macedonia, especially when those issues are very important to move the process forward towards the integration of Euro- Atlantic structures.

Part of the important obligations that help to a better process are:

Representatives of Albanian political parties in Macedonia through a joint declaration expressed their commitment to the realization of national rights in the forthcoming government mandate through mutual support in accordance with the spirit of the Ohrid Agreement and the Constitution of Macedonia<sup>1</sup>.

"The strict implementation of the principle of multi-ethnicity in the Constitution of Macedonia, where Albanians are recognized as a state-forming population. Support of any legal and constitutional initiatives that reinforce ethnic equality for the Albanian population. Achieving full language equality, using the Albanian language at all levels of government and guaranteeing its use as a fundamental and constitutional right. The Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia should stipulate that the Macedonian language with the Cyrillic alphabet and the Albanian language with its alphabet are the official languages of the Republic of Macedonia ", reads the statement made after the meetings that the leaders of Macedonian political parties conducted with their own leaders as political structures and supported by political parties also commit to "a comprehensive debate on the flag, anthem and state emblem of the Republic of Macedonia, state symbols that reflect multi-ethnicity and ethnic equality"; full support for the work of the Special Prosecution Office, as well as "full disclosure of judicial issues and proceedings such as" Sopot ", " Brodeci ", " Monstra "and" Kumanovo "<sup>2</sup>through an investigative committee or an independent international troupe.

In the document there are also requirements for achieving economic equality and social welfare, especially through equal regional development, while also requiring the formation of one ministry for a political system and relations with communities, as well as the realization of fair representation in the security, intelligence and justice.

"Creation of a new mechanism, in the form of a State Commission for the Financing of Municipalities, for a fairer decision-making on government grants for the benefit of municipalities. Establishment of a Ministry for Political Systems and

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<sup>1</sup> Ohrid, Its is please, city in Macedonia, where there was met, foerighn political intermediary and local political leader to signn one agreement,daily known as Ohrid Framework Agreeemt, after the war or armed conflict in Macedonia in 2001.

<sup>2</sup> Names of the cities and villages in Macedonia, basically with Albanian inhabitants, or with majority ethnic Albanian's inhabitant.

Relations between Communities, as the body responsible for respecting community rights and promoting economic and social development in disfavoured areas"

Regarding Macedonia's integration, Albanian political parties, on the basis of the agreed document, are committed to the country's NATO membership and the European Union as the only option for "Macedonia's long-term prosperity and stability;

Resolution of the name issue in accordance with European values and principles of international law, good relations with neighbours, cooperation with Kosovo and Albania on integrated border management, opening of new border points, and so forth"

The fulfilment of these objectives, as stated in the document, will be overseen through the establishment of the Albanian Parliamentary Party's Table, which would function according to the rotation principle and set deadlines for achieving the objectives of the document.

This is the approach of the problem solving based on the equal treaties and best manage or govern in case of Macedonia.

### How international NGOs look at the case of the governance and political crises

It is also too much important, the international NGO, look at the last political activities and what kind of the general overview they mention it, about this situation.

Based on the reports of Freedom House, or based on some basic democratic indicators, there are some details based on that point of view.

*"Perhaps the most well-known measure is conducted by the Freedom House, an American-based NGO that describes itself as "an independent watchdog organization dedicated to the expansion of freedom and democracy around the world" (Freedom House – About Us). Although Freedom House is an organization independent of the United States government, its views are largely reflective of the American foreign policy establishment. They describe themselves further as "a strong voice for a U.S. foreign policy that places the promotion of democracy as a priority" (Freedom House – Content/Our History)."*<sup>1</sup>

Freedom House measures countries along a number of indicators:

**Freedom Status** (Free 1.0 -2.5 scale; Partly Free 3.0 – 5.0 scale; or not free 5.0 – 7.0 scale). It also develops a rating scale based on the scale for **Political Rights** and **Civil Liberties**. Those numbers are averaged and result in a numerical **Freedom Rating**. Finally, each country receives an **Aggregate Score**, which provides in more detail on a 0 (least free) to 100 scale (most free). The following table (Freedom House) includes numerical scales that evaluate how the countries in the former Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria rank in 2016:

State	Freedom Status	Political Rights	Civil Liberties	Freedom Rating	Aggregate Score
Albania	Partly Free	3.0	3.0	3.0	67
Bosnia Herzegovina	Partly Free	4.0	4.0	4.0	55
Bulgaria	Free	2.0	2.0	2.0	80
Croatia	Free	1.0	2.0	1.5	87
Kosovo	Partly Free	3.0	4.0	3.5	52
<b>Macedonia</b>	<b>Partly Free</b>	<b>4.0</b>	<b>3.0</b>	<b>3.5</b>	<b>57</b>
Montenegro	Partly Free	3.0	3.0	3.0	70
Serbia	Free	2.0	2.0	2.0	78
Slovenia	Free	1.0	1.0	1.0	92

<sup>1</sup> Hubbell, Larry- Fulbright Professor at SEEU-PAPS Faculty, from Seattle University, USA, analysed in details the measurement factors and the results based in the situation of Macedonia.

As noted in the table, among nine formerly Communist countries in the Balkans, Macedonia is one of five countries identified as **Partly Free**, whereas four are classified as **Free**. Furthermore, it's **Aggregate Score** of 57 ranks seventh among these Balkan countries.

(The Aggregate Score for the United States is 89 somewhat lower than Slovenia.) To put this in further context, according to the Freedom House, of the 195 countries analysed by them, 87 (45%) are **Free**, 59 (30%) are **Partly Free** and 49 (25%) are **Not Free**.<sup>1</sup>

### The Gini Index of Income Distribution

The next index measures income distribution – the so-called Gini Index. A score of 0 denotes perfect equality of income, whereas a score of 100 denotes perfect inequality. Democracy is advantaged in a country to the extent that income is more perfectly distributed because relative income equality tends to enhance social and regime stability. The following chart (indexmundi.com) indicates to what extent that income is distributed in eight formerly Communist Balkan countries. (There was no score for Kosovo.)

Country	Gini Index Score	Date Measured
Albania	29.0	2012
Bosnia	33.0	2007
Bulgaria	36.0	2012
Croatia	32.0	2010
<b>Macedonia</b>	<b>44.1</b>	<b>2008</b>
Montenegro	33.1	2013
Serbia	29.7	2010
Slovenia	25.6	2012

On this scale, Macedonia scored last among the eight formerly Communist Balkan countries. In other words, wealth tends to be more concentrated in Macedonia than in the other countries. (The United States Gini Index score stands at 41.1 as of 2012.) Furthermore, the median score among the 154 countries measured is 38.0. Furthermore, Slovenia score of 25.6 is the third lowest Gini Index score in the world.

Corruption Perceptions Index: The Corruptions Perceptions Index is developed annually by Transparency International – an organization with a multi-national board that has more than 100 chapters worldwide. This organization defines corruption as “the abuse of entrusted power for private gain. It can be classified as grand, petty and political depending in the amount of money lost and the sector where it occurs” (Transparency.org/what-is-corruption). Furthermore, Transparency International claims that “Our Global Corruption Barometer is the world’s largest survey asking citizens about their direct personal experience” (Transparency.org). The following table (Ibid.) indicates the **Ranks** of nine formerly Communist Balkan countries as compared to the 176 countries surveyed. It also creates a Score for their country along the following continuum (0 being “highly corrupt” and 100 being “highly clean”).

Country	Rank	Score
Albania	83	39
Bosnia Herzegovina	83	39
Bulgaria	75	41
Croatia	55	49
Kosovo	95	36
<b>Macedonia</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>37</b>
Montenegro	64	37
Serbia	72	42
Slovenia	31	61

<sup>1</sup> Official datas based on the annual report of Freeform Hause, for Balkan coutries, Macedonia, 2017.

Among the nine formerly Communist Balkan countries surveyed, Macedonia ranks eighth. The average score worldwide is 43. (The **Score** of the United States is 74.) The Corruptions Index is an important measure since it is a surrogate measure for the rule of law, perhaps the most crucial element of a democratic society.

#### Human Development Index

The last index we look at is the Human Development Index or HDI, which measures social indicators, specifically life expectancy, education levels and per capita income. The HDI “was developed by the United Nations as a metric to assess the social and economic development levels of countries” (Nations Online). In the survey 188 countries are ranked. A rank of between 1 and 51 indicates Very High Human Development; 52- 105 High Human Development; 106 -147 Medium Human Development; and 148 -188 Low Human Development.

The following table (ibid.) indicates the ranks of eight formerly Communist Balkan countries. (There was no score for Kosovo.)

Country	Human Development Index Rank
Albania	75
Bosnia – Herzegovina	81
Bulgaria	56
Croatia	45
<b>Macedonia</b>	82
Montenegro	48
Serbia	66
Slovenia	25

As with the other measures, Macedonia’s ranking regard to the Human Development Index is low relative to the other formerly Communist Balkan countries. Indeed, it ranks last. Although its ranking does place it among the High Development countries, its rank does fall within the lower part of the range. (The United States ranking on this index is 10.) The Human Development Index tends to be correlated with democratic development. Countries with a high HDI ranking tend also to be highly developed democratic states.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

Being a candidate country for membership in the European Union, as it is currently Macedonia, is not easy, because the obligations that are part of the “home works” for these states must be fulfilled, such are:

##### Rule of law

- Belonging Democracy within Society and State, Independent Public Institutions from daily influence political structures;
- Independent judiciary, in Macedonia’s practice, we have the suggestions that emerge from the so-called “Priebe package”, known as part of the legal declarations for Macedonia’s justice reforms in practice;
- Fulfilment of constitutional detachments and redefinition of the state or giving of a multi-ethnic charter as it corresponds with the reality of the practice of the state and the society of Macedonia;
- Building genuine reports among people in the multi-ethnic society of the state;
- True cross-border reports with countries bordering the country;

Approximation of good international practices that will guide the country towards Euro-Atlantic structures.

These and a number of other obligations are the priority of this time for the structures that will rule the country.

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