# CONFLICT AS A SOCIO-POLITICAL NOTION

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*The conflict of 2001 in the Republic of Macedonia between Albanian uprisers of the NLA (National Liberation Army) and the Macedonian police and army contains all proportions of theoretical and scientific interpretation with respect to political juridical terminology, verified scientific terms for similar usage in objective circumstances. Confusion in the interpretation of the 2001 conflict also derives from disrespect for political juridical terminology and objective reality of subjective events. This confusion ocurs in scientific surroundings in Macedonia and as such continues to "function" within mass communication as well. This paper aims to provide a more real and objective image in the interpretation of the conflict in 2001, by emphasizing disrespect for political termoinoligy by the actors of the 2001 events.*

*Key words: conflict (violent - non-violent), conflict as a process, political system, war, crisis, violence, ethnic conflict, extremism, uprising*

## INTRODUCTION

The conflict of 2001 in the Republic of Macedonia between Albanian uprisers of the NLA (National Liberation Army) and the Macedonian police and army contains all proportions of theoretical and scientific interpretation with respect to political juridical terminology, verified scientific terms for similar usage in objective circumstances.

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Confusion in the interpretation of the 2001 conflict also derives from disrespect for political juridical terminology and objective reality of subjective events.

This confusion occurs in scientific surroundings in Macedonia and as such continues to "function" within mass communication as well.

This paper aims to provide a more real and objective image in the interpretation of the conflict in 2001, by emphasizing disrespect for political terminology by the actors of the 2001 events.

There are many attempts to define the notion of conflict. Taking into consideration the frequent use of the term in many social sciences such as economics, sociology, social psychology, political science, etc., the existence of different methodological approaches to define the notion of conflict is common. In reality, by trying to define the notion of conflict, we encounter a conflict[1] situation. However, we will indicate some of the notions to define the term.

Some authors define conflict as a form of interaction where the subject attempting to fulfill its personal interests by its actions makes it impossible for the other subject to fulfill its interests or, on the other hand, by its actions wishes to destroy the other subject.[2]

Peaceful Research Centers[3] distinguish two different beliefs on the notion of conflict. The first one begins by perceiving A and B like actors who have **conscious purposes**, and the conflict takes place only - and to the point - when the needs fulfillment of A deprives B of fulfilling its needs.

According to the second belief, instead of conscious purposes, between the actors A and B there are **objective interests**, independent of the individual state of the brain and the conflict derives from interrelations of objective interests that are often built as systems.

Marxist tradition with the working theory of values sees the objective interest as the interest of the class in the control of the added value. Other traditions focus on national interest rather than the interest of classes.[4]

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[1]   Bonacker, Thorsten/Imbusch, Peter (2005), "Zentrale Begriffe der Friedens-und Konfliktforschung: Konflikt, Gewalt, Krieg, Frieden", in Peter Imbusch/Ralf Zoll (eds.), Friedens-und Konfliktforschung. Eine Einfuhrung, Wiesbaden, p. 6.

[2]   Enciklopedija političke kulture (1993), grupa autora, Savremena administracija, str. 513-514.

[3]   IPRA Studies in Peace Research, (1970), Proceedings of the International Peace Research Association Third Conference, Vol. 1: Philosophy of Peace Research, Assen: van Gorcum.

[4]   Frankel, Joseph, (1970), National Interest, London: Macmillan.

This can be perceived in many ways. Some of them deal with the intention of individual decision carriers or they are a result of negotiations between different decision carriers. On the other hand, others perceive national interest as long-term intention which surpasses governments, such as geographic, strategic or economic factors. Other definitions supported by interest focus on natural rights, basic needs and living conditions[5].

Heidelberg's institute for international research on conflicts[6] defines conflict as the war of interests (differences in positions) at the national level with a defined longitude and magnitude between at least two sides (organized groups, states, group states, organizations) who are determined to go through with their interests and win the case.

The Correlates-of-War-Project initiated by Singer & Small, defines conflict as violent behavior where at least one of the sides involves the state and there are at least 100 victims in the battle[7]. Among quantitative-empirical definitions there is also Stockholm International Peace[8] telling that armed conflict is defined as a need of force between armed forces of two or more governments, or one state and at least one armed organized group, resulting in at least 1000 dead each calendar year and where incompatibility deals with the control of power or territory.

Conflict definition given by the Upsala Conflict Database (USPD)[9] defines armed conflict like: racing incompatibility related to power or territory or both, where the use of armed forces between both sides results in at least 25 war victims. One of these two sides has to be the Government of the state.

[5] Galtung, Johan, (1971), "A Structural Theory of Imperialism", Journal of Peace Research 8:2, pp. 81-117.

[6] HIIK (2005), "Conflict barometer", Heidelberg, http://www.rzuser.uniheidelberg.de/~Ischeith /CoBa05.pdf

[7] Singer, D. Joel/Small, Melvin (1972), "The Wages of War 1816-1965, A statistical handbook", New York, p. 8.

[8] Dwan, Renata/Holmqvist, Caroline (n.d), "Patterns of major armed conflicts", Stockholm, http:/www.sipri.org/contents/conflict/MAC patterns.html

[9] Wallensteen, Peter/Sollenberg, Margareta (2005), "Armed conflict and its international dimensions, 1946-2004", in Journal of Peace Research, 42/5, pp.6 23-635.

## 1. KINDS OF CONFLICTS

There are a great number of divisions of social conflicts. Among others, as criteria for typology are used: the kind of the social group participant in the conflict, circumstances of the conflict seen as alternative means to reach the goal, articulation ways of incompatible interests of the sides, force use, dynamics of conflict escalation etc.

Based on this criterion, conflicts are divided into class conflicts, national conflicts, racial conflicts and religious conflicts. Since social classes are engaged in competitive productive rapports, conflict of the production system is classified as class conflict.

Also, national, racial and religious groups can be represented as conflict subjects. There is a difference between class conflicts and conflicts that have as sides other social groups. The difference derives from radicalization of the purpose for which the conflict is taking place. Class conflicts very often attempt towards radical change of a given political system, through change of the ways of production and consumption.

On the other hand, conflicts of other social groups contest a given political system by wanting to change some parts of it, or by refusing the acceptance of the system's rules, or by presenting demands for forming personal political units (states) that in a socio-economic perspective do not differ from the previous[10]. Many authors assess that different language and cultural tradition of religious and racial groups who live within the same society stress the possibility of a social conflict escalation in the sense of higher intensity of insolence and change of its nature. This would cause it to develop from a real conflict into an unreal one, the purpose of which will later become destruction of the social group itself.[11]

Robert Dahl[12] assesses the ways of reaching tolerance among racial, national and religious conflicts, i.e. obstacles to their escalation:

1. if ethnic, religious and racial subcultures are not denied participation in power;

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[10]   Enciklopedija političke kulture (1993), grupa autora, Savremena administracija, str. 517.

[11]   Ibid.

[12]   Dahl, Robert (1967), Democracy in the United States, Conflict and consent, Rand Mc Nelly, Chicago, p. 239.

2. if there is agreement within society (it does not necessarily have to be coded) which ensures security of different subcultures;

3. if people within the country believe that the system ( polyarchy ) can respond to the country's needs.

Based on this criterion, conflicts are divided into retained and systemic conflicts. In the first case, the subjects of social conflict contest the basis of the socio-political system. On the other hand, systemic conflicts deal with interests which are the essence of the conflict and in concordance with the basic principles of this system. Based on this classification, many authors divide political parties into retained and anti-systemic ones.

The anti-systemic parties include those parties whose political doctrines fight against the representative democratic system and demand its radical transformation, including here communist parties. The second group (retained) includes parties that support representative democracy and demand only small changes within the social system.

The first group is believed to have negative influence, while retained parties are believed to have positive influence on the socio-political sphere. However, even if we accept the strict division of political parties into anti-systemic and retained ones, their black and white significance (one is seen as a negative phenomenon and the other as a positive one) raises skepticism. George Lavol[13] assesses that anti-systemic parties have a **tribune function**, i.e. a protective function of the interest of a certain social group which puts society in a bad angle. Such is the case of communist parties which protect the interest of the working class in capitalist societies. According to Lavol, the existence of these parties is necessary, because although they impede the harmonic function of the system, they serve as a **security ventil,** since they diminish the chances of a revolution. As such they guard representative democracy. From here derives Lavol's view of anti-systemic parties being negative for the socio-political order.

## 1.1. Is conflict an alternative means in the accomplishment of some purposes?

Researchers often use Koser's[14] classification of conflicts: real and unreal. According to Koser, we talk about real conflict when the purpose is fixed, and functional alternatives exist. What does this mean? In this case the con-

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[13] Enciklopedija političke kulture (1993), grupa autora, Savremena administracija, str. 518.

[14] Ibid.

flict is a result of opposite purposes of both sides (social groups) in relation to the determined good (right, interest, etc). The real conflict, says Koser, does not have to have psychological tensions and reciprocal resentment, although resentment can be functional because it pushes participants to intensively engage in the conflict.

Unreal conflicts, on the other hand, are not based on determined purposes and rivalry of the sides in conflict regarding the determined purposes. They are based, according to Koser, on the need to realize tensions of at least one of them. Reasons for this conflict are enemy impulses and aggressiveness, while the object is of secondary importance and might even change during the conflict.

Regulating unreal conflicts is much harder than regulating real ones. To effectively impede unreal conflicts, there is a need to divest of unreal elements, such as resentment and aggressiveness, until we get to the real reason of the conflict, if there is one. Koser acknowledges that these kinds of conflicts cannot be found as pure.

## 2. CONFLICT AS A PROCESS

Based on the Mesmer (2003) concept of conflict, Diez Seter and Albert[15] view incompatibility between two sides and the ways they regulate it as specific basic standards and, based on this, they have elaborated the 4-degree typology of conflict:

- **conflict episode** - when there is incompatible articulation related to a real problem;
- **thematic conflicts -** when there is explicit disagreement and moves of one side are interpreted as hostile by the other side;
- **forced conflicts -** when communicative disagreement is not only ordered but there are forms of subordination, abidance and possible extermination of the other.

The typology of COSIM [16] on the meaning of conflict as a dynamic process developed by Pfetsch[17] gives the following conflict classification:

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[15]   Diez, Thomas/Setter Stephan/Albert, Mathias (2004), "The European Union and the transformation of border conflicts: theorizing the impact of integration and association (EU Border Conf-Working paper 1)", Liverpool.

[16]   HIIK(2005),"Conflictbarometer", Heidelberg,http://www.rzuser.uniheidelberg.de/~Ischeith/CoBa05.pdf

[17]   Pfetsch, Frank R. (1994), "Internationale Politik", Stuttgart, p. 216.

- **Latent conflict -** the distinguished position compared to the determined value of national importance is estimated as a latent conflict if adequate demands of one side are articulated and seen as such by the other side.
- **Manifested conflict -** this conflict includes the use of certain measures such as verbal pressure, violence threats or imposition of economic sanctions; the **crises-**tensed situation where at least one side uses violence in sporadic incidents.
- **Harsh crises -** when violence is rapid and organized.
- **War -** a kind of violent conflict where forced violence is organized, used continually and systematically. Sides in conflict undertake extensive measures depending on the situation; destruction is extended and massive.

## 2.1. Usage of violence

Based on the last typology, where conflict is viewed as a process and an adequate kind of phenomena, another division that views conflict as **violent** or **non-violent** derives.

Before we elaborate definitions of violent and non-violent conflicts, we will clarify all types of violence and show that violence is the root of the problem. However, this does not mean it has to be manifested as direct physical violence.

According to the famous theory of Johan Galtung[18] there are three basic forms by which violence is manifested. The first one is **direct violence**, easily measurable and visible. This is physical violence of armed groups, threatening people's lives and material goods. The greatest attempts to manage direct violence try to stop, repress and find solutions by responding violently or through political means.

The second type of violence is **structural violence**, which is invisible and deeply rooted in social, juridical and political systems. This is manifested through social injustice or other (ethnic) discrimination, suppressing human rights, etc. Actually, structural violence is essential to conflict presentation; it is a source of conflicting behavior. Managing structural violence is a strenuous work that requires will, understanding, patience and means. Social restructuring

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[18] Galtung, Johan (2000), Conflict Transformation by Peaceful Means (The Transcendent Method), New York UN, p. 104.

is a radical intervention, and according to many theories, peaceful reforms often result only in imposed institutional designs, legal reforms, political agreements and similar solutions that do not get to the essence of structural violence.

The third kind of violence according to Galtung, is **cultural violence,** where society or part of the society finds easy means to legitimize violence, by interpreting it as patriotism, sacrifice, heroism, etc., and finds expressive means in public discussion, media, symbols, education, etc.

The theory of peace and conflicts distinguishes negative and positive peace. Such distinction derives from the elaboration of Galtung's types of violence. When society lives in negative peace conditions, direct violence is missing, while structural and cultural violence although invisible are present, and they are manifested through dissatisfaction or the existing tensions within society. Positive peace, on the other hand, represents the integral strategy of confrontation with all forms of violence, with priority in areas where it is built and turned into norms within society.

## 2.2. Non-violent and violent conflicts

After elaborating types of violence and kinds of peace which depend respectively on the presence or absence of violence, we can refer to conflict division as violent and non-violent. It needs to be emphasized that for the purpose of this paper violence will be referred to as direct and respectively physical. Sandole[19] defines non-violent conflict as a process of manifested conflict. In this conflict sides and their representatives attempt to follow their perception of incompatible purposes by direct or indirect destruction of their skills. In other words, one side tries to impede the other side in order to follow its purposes.

According to the above-mentioned typology[20] of COSIMO there are two kinds of non-violent conflicts: latent and manifested conflicts. Latent conflict, in the use of a force prism, is defined as a stage in conflict development where one or more groups, sides or states question the existing values of national relevance.

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[19]   Sandole, Dennis (1998), "A comprehensive mapping of conflict and conflict resolution: on a three pillar approach", in Peace and Conflict Studies, 5/2.

[20]   HIIK (2005), "Conflict barometer", Heidelberg, http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~Ischeith/CoBa05.pdf

In this connection, latent conflict naturally must have signs to be identified and observed in order to note the existence of such conflict. Position differences in latent conflict are articulated through demands of an unsatisfied side.

Manifested conflict is a stage where tensions are present but expressed through means outside of the violence limits. Such tensed relation between sides can deter to the point where usage of force will be the best option.

When differences and incompatible interests of the sides in conflict cannot be attained through peaceful means and when usage of force and violence has become a means of accomplishing demands, then the conflict becomes violent. For Davies[21] the presence of existentialist frustrations (physical, social, self-actualized) or implementing needs (safety, knowledge and force) is a basic condition under which a non-violent conflict becomes a violent one. Violence is generated as a response to frustrated borne needs or demands.

Political analysis of conflict sees the usage of force, physical hazard, and human victims as characteristics of a violent conflict. Human victims in a battlefield are the first indication to define a violent conflict, especially war. The manifested aggressive process of conflict is the term used by Sandole[22] to define violent conflict as a "situation where sides and their representatives attempt to follow their perception of incompatible purposes by physical hazard or destruction of property and symbols of a high value for one side (e.g. religious objects, national statues, etc.) and /or psychological and physical harm, distraction or attempts to eliminate one side.

Dan Smith,[23] by analyzing trends and reasons of violent conflict, uses the term **armed conflict** when he refers to violent behavior and defines it as "open armed conflict between two or more sides centrally organized, with continuity of conflict related to control of power and territory."

UCDP classifies military conflicts into these three stages:

- **minor armed conflict -** at least 25 victims on the battlefield a year and less than 1000 victims during the whole conflict;

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[21] Davies, Morton (1973), "Aggression, Violence, Revolution and War", in Jeanne N. Knutson (ed.), Handbook of Political Psychology, San Francisco, p. 251.

[22] Sandole, Dennis (1998), "A comprehensive mapping of conflict and conflict resolution: on a three pillar approach", in Peace and Conflict Studies, 5/2.

[23] Smith, Dan (2005), "Trends and causes of armed conflict" in David Bloomfield/Martina Ficher/Beatrix Schmelze (eds), Beghof handbook for conflict transformation, Berlin.

- **intermediate armed conflict -** at least 25 victims on the battlefield a year and less than 1000 victims during the whole conflict, but with the condition to be less than 1000 a year;
- **war -** at least 1000 victims on the battlefield a year.

In relation to the COSIMO classification harsh crisis is the second in the category of violent crisis, after crisis. Harsh crisis has a higher intensity of force use, not sporadic and by accident but better organized. The use of force becomes characteristic of conflict. The highest form of violent conflict is war. In this classification difference between harsh crisis and war is not the number of victims, but the way force is used, whether it is organized or not.

The moment it appears, conflict has its own trajectory, its own phases that need to be mentioned. It is not necessary that these phases follow each other or for all of them to happen. Theories of conflict distinguish many dynamic phases of conflict. Classical model of conflict dynamics includes four phases:

- TENSIONING phase
- ESCALATION phase
- DE-ESCALATION phase
- RECONCILIATION phase

The classical model appears reduced compared to broader models offered by Alker, Gurr and Rupsinge.[24] They distinguish 6 phases:

The first phase, the **contest phase,** is characterized by opposite approaches of sides expressed through institutionalized forms and processes.

In the second phase, the **crisis phase**, the opposition still uses institutional processes, but the use of violence is possible and to be expected.

The phase of **defined violence** follows when legitimacy and usefulness of the institutional process is questioned, i.e. the opposition assesses that the systematic and regulated use of force is rational.

However, when the use of regular, systematic and uncontrolled force is the way by which the opposition seeks to fulfill its purposes and when institutional processes for peaceful solution of the conflict are impossible, then the conflict is entering its fourth stage, the **mass conflict.**

The fifth phase is **conflict diminishment** where the actions of actors are heading towards temporary suspension of violence.

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[24]   Alker, Hayward R., Gurr, Robert Ted and Rupesinghe, Kumar (2001) (eds.), "Journeys through conflict. Narratives and lessons", Lanham.

The sixth phase is **conflict resolution**, with a declaration of demands by the unsatisfied party and the establishment of new institutional processes or reestablishment of the accepted common processes.

To the contrary, Braham[25] has developed a 7-phase trajectory of conflict. According to him, conflict starts when there is a **latent conflict**, followed by the **presentation phase**, and then by the **conflict escalation** that reaches the highest point of **conflict heat,** later followed by **negotiations phases**, **contest solution** and **post-conflicting peace building.**

Briefly, these are the basic stations where the conflict trajectory passes. Once more it needs to be emphasized that it is not necessary that the conflict goes through all these phases and they do not have to follow each other.

## 2.3. Purposes, interests, values

Finally, in our theory elaboration we have encountered many terms related to the motives of conflicting behavior. Purposes, interests, values, rights, etc. are the most common conflict themes, the reason why conflicts happen.

Interests are the most important components of social conflict and social groups, which undertake actions for their achievement. Interests according to Jurgen Habermas are basic orientations, related to determined conditions, fundamental to reproduction and possible constitution of humankind, meaning these orientations are related to work and interaction. For this reason, adds Habermas, orientations are not directed towards direct fulfillment of empirical needs, but the solution of system problems in general. This elaboration does not allow complex social interests to behave in some or one dimension (pure economic reduction) and on the other hand emphasises subjective dimensions of social groups. In other words, different social groups range differently their interests on their priority list.

Regarding interests as a conflict motive, we also need to mention definitions of national interest, which can be conceptualized in many ways, elaborated on the first page of this paper[26]. Some of them deal with purposes of individual decision carriers or they are the result of negotiations between different deci-

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[25]   Brahm, Eric (2003), "Conflict Stages", in Guy Burgess/Heidi Burgess (eds.), Beyond intractability, Boulder.

[26]   Frankel, Joseph (1970), "National Interest", Macmillan, London.

sion carriers. On the other hand, national interest is constructed as a long-term goal exceeding governments and regimes and it is determined by geographical, strategic or economic factors. Other definitions supported by interests focus on natural rights, basic needs and living conditions.[27]

Territory, ideology, legitimacy of dynasty, religion, language, ethnos, self-defining, natural sources, markets, domination, equality and revenge according to Singer[28] are the main suspects in conflicting behavior. We will focus only on minority and ethnic conflicts, taking into consideration the specifics of the subject we are elaborating. Specifically, we will focus on the events that took place in Macedonia during the year 2001.

## 3. MINORITY AND ETHNIC CONFLICTS: CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

There is no equality between minority and ethnic conflicts. Although in most cases minority conflicts translate into ethnic ones, seeing them as equal is wrong. Minority conflict does not *a priori* mean ethnic conflict. Minority groups may have different identity specifications. For example, we can refer to as a minority group when we talk about the social minority of homosexuals, a specific social structure.

Most update reports dealing with conflict, prepared by prominent research centers (Carnegie, Woodrow Wilson) advise that ethnic-minority conflicts are dominant at the state and international level. Based on Beker's argument, cited by Szarka[29], minority conflicts emerge when the majority or dominant national power wishes to set the same conditions in the same region where the majority is comprised by the minority group, also in other regions within the state. Beker assumes the ability of minority groups for political action and elaboration of their specific demands such as cultural, educational and self-go-

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[27]  Galtung, Johan (1971), "A Structural Theory of Imperialism", Journal of Peace Research 8:2, pp. 81-117.

[28]  Singer, D. Joel (1996), "Armed conflict in the former colonial regions: from classification to explanation", in Luc van de Goor/Kumar Rupesinghe/Paul Sciarone (eds.), Between development and destruction: an enquiry into the causes of conflict in post-colonial states", pp. 35-49.

[29]  Szarka, Lazlo (1998), "Three minority groups through western eyes" in The Hungarian Quarterly", 39/150.

verning demands. Based on these assumptions, Beker defines minority conflict as a "form of active antagonism, between power (the state) and representatives of the minority group, regarding the possibility of the minority to influence the use and organization of the territory (sub-state), inhabited by them."

Fearon[30] admits that ethnic conflicts have a separatist incentive, as a consequence of the fear of the minority group that the state system run by the majority will be misused towards minority rights. Hechter[31] and Posen[32] assess that ethnic conflicts start as a result of insecurity feelings; when an ethnic group is not sure about the other group's intentions, and both behave like enemies.

Other theories assess that political elites create ethnic conflicts, manipulating with ethnic identities in their war for power.

Conflict management brings in a third side to the quality of the mediator, conflict advisor, conflict manager or supervisor, called in to help; or by self-initiative offers to manage the conflict. Experience has shown that both opposite sides have managed to resolve the conflict on their own.

Keneth Boulding[33] proposes a three-fold typology to conflict regulation:

1. sides in conflict **separate from each other;**
2. **invasion**, when one side has total power over the other side;
3. procedural regulation of conflict:

   • **reconciliation -** convergence of value systems and elimination of the conflict step by step;
   • **compromise -** there is no common value system, but opponent sides are prepared to give up on their main goals in order to regulate the conflict;
   • **arbitrage -** by the subject not involved in the conflict.

Boulding's typology represents the ideal classification, which in practice is rarely used purely as such. Often, a combination of many strategies is used for conflict regulation.

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[30] Fearon, D.James (1994), "Ethnic war as a commitment problem (Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association)", New York.

[31] Hechter, Michael (1995), "Explaining nationalist violence" in Nations and Nationalism, 1/1, pp. 53-68.

[32] Posen, Barry (1993), "The security dilemma and etnic conflict", in Survival, 35/1, pp. 27-47.

[33] Boulding, Keneth, "Conflict and Defense", A General Theory, Harper Torchbooks, New York, pp. 306-311.

Conflict management is composed of many elements. The first one is **conflict regulation**, where activities are directed only towards a direct impediment, where the third side attempts through different strategies to facilitate game transformation x/o and as a consequence to end the conflict by achieving political understanding. (Bercovitch[34], Zartman[35]).

The second form is **conflict resolution.** This management type does not assume only ending direct violence, but tries to find ways to fulfill universal human needs such as security, justice and acceptance. (Burton 1990). Burton proposes to transform conflict into an acceptable situation for both sides through workshops, discussion groups, or round tables (methods) and through mediation, negotiation and arbitrage (procedures). The need to improve communication among sides in conflict in order to have mutual understanding of interests of each side is fundamental for Burton. Crucial for both sides is to understand that human needs are not limited recourses and through negotiations, the **wining situation / winning results** can be achieved.
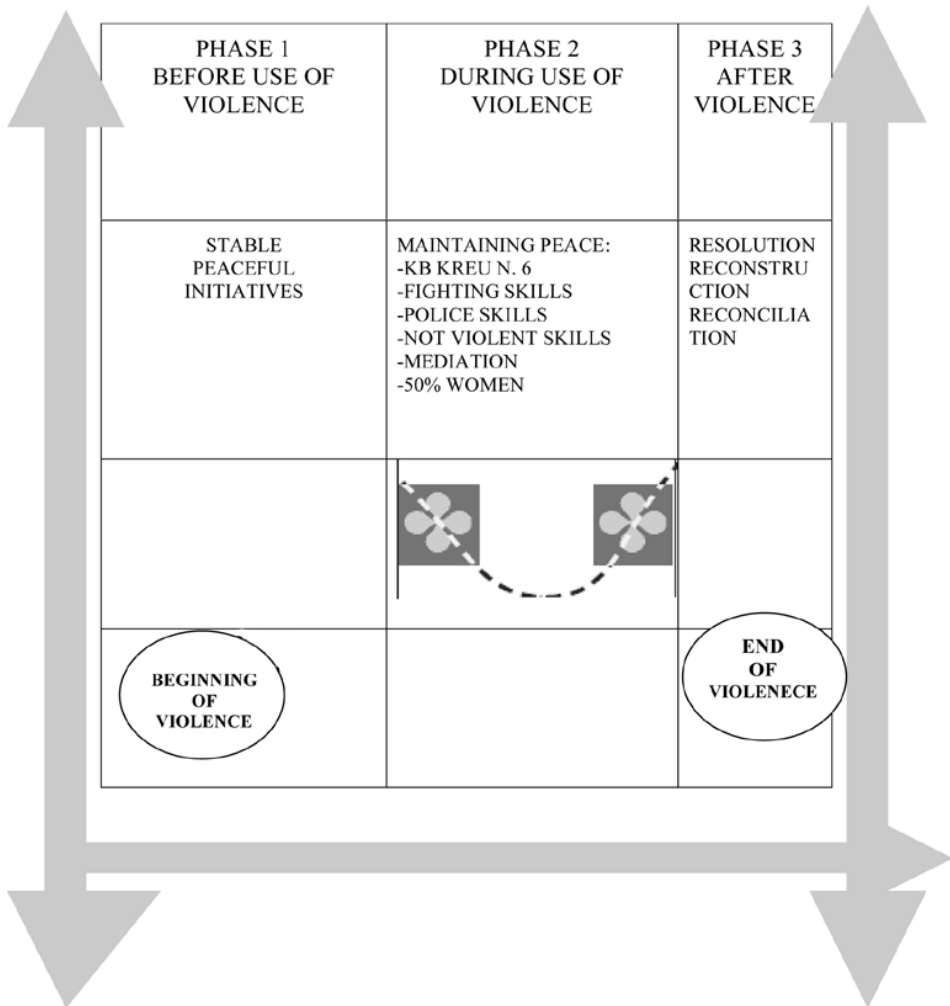
The third form of conflict management is **conflict transformation**. Actually, according to Galtung (2001) each conflict solution is more or less a temporary one. At one time, a certain solution may bring peace and prosperity, while opponent interests may emerge again or have new ones. The conflict transformation model is based on the fact that determined transforming capacities may and must be present at the sides involved in the conflict. By this, people's skills for mutual respect are accepted, as well as reciprocal understanding, which will lead both sides towards a stable and acceptable solution. (Berndt/ Speck 2000, Blasi 2001) We will introduce the transformation model of Johan Galtung.

According to Galtung, conflict transformation is possible before violence initiates, during violence and after violence comes to an end. As we can see in the graph below, the TRANSCEDENT model deals with conflict transformation and relevance of A.Q 3 R - reconstruction, reconciliation, and resolution.

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[34]  Bercovitch, Jakob (1984), "Social confict and third parties. Strategies of conflict resolution", Boulder

[35]  Zartman, Ira William (1985), "Ripe for resolution. Conflict and intervention in Africa", New York

| PHASE 1 BEFORE USE OF VIOLENCE | PHASE 2 DURING USE OF VIOLENCE | PHASE 3 AFTER VIOLENCE |
|---|---|---|
| STABLE PEACEFUL INITIATIVES | MAINTAINING PEACE: -KB KREU N. 6 -FIGHTING SKILLS -POLICE SKILLS -NOT VIOLENT SKILLS -MEDIATION -50% WOMEN | RESOLUTION RECONSTRUCTION RECONCILIATION |
| | | |
| BEGINNING OF VIOLENCE | | END OF VIOLENECE |

Source: Galtung, Johan (2005), Conflict Transformation by Peaceful Means (The Transcend Method).

The analysis of the theoretical basis of the conflict notion is used in order to observe that conflict is not only an eloquent journalistic or political means. Conflict in its essence is a profound psychological, political and economical and irenologic means. Based on the theoretical background of the notion, improvisation and irresponsible use, often naive, would be avoided.

Actually, ignorance of the theoretical fundaments of the conflict in Macedonia in 2001 is a classical example of caused disagreements that crystallize in the glass space of the media in Macedonia.

Denis Mcquail[36] emphasizes that the dynamics of the media can be understood as a broad principle, and the mass media can act through three ways: by reflecting differences in society (dynamics as reflection), by presenting different approaches to differentt points of view of the world (dynamics as approach), and by presenting a broad spectrum of solutions (dynamics as solution).

The media dynamics is seen by Jurgen Habermas[37] as a social sphere where information and common interest development take place and where public opinion is formed. This public opinion in Macedonia sharpened the political will in the media space and revealed the dualism of Macedonian society. Actually, it introduced this dynamics as a democracy achievement, but politicians and journalists remained inside their ideological shell.

Journalistic comments launched a great number of terminology molecules which clouded simple citizens' point of view. Terminology of the media contained terms such as: war, foreign aggression, civil war, terrorism, national war, extremism, etc. All these terms, in regard to scientific validity, do not have any point of reference with what happened in Macedonia in 2001. Macedonia experienced a conflict with all its dynamics, trajectory and conflict transformation.

In May 2001 Macedonian Parliament, the highest legislative body, decided for the representatives of KLA, who were one side of the conflict, to be labeled by the term **armed extremist groups**[38]. However, even nowadays, the Macedonian side still uses the term terrorists. This was also admitted by the spokesperson of the majority party in the Parliament, VMRO-DPMNE, Igor Gievski:[39]

> "I wish to say in front of Macedonian public opinion that these people are terrorists to us and nothing more. There are no armed groups or other terms, which our party will refer to as such. There will be no negotiations with them and there will be a rough offensive against these armed terrorist groups, to their destruction and total elimination."

Also, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ljube Boshkovski[40] used to call extremist armed groups as terrorists:

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[36]  Mcquail, Denis (1992), Media Performance: Mass Communication and the Public Interest. London: Sage Publication, p. 144.

[37]  Habermas, Jurgen, (1995), The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society, Cambridge Mass: The MIT Press.

[38]  Kostova, Jadranka ((2003), "Nezavršen mir", Skopje: Bata pres, str. 54.

[39]  Ibid.

[40]  TV Show "Vo centar" , Kanal 5.

"… I think we had 11 days to withdraw the terrorists…"

To continue, we will bring declarations of different important persons, direct actors in the armed conflict in Macedonia 2001. Actually, based on the examples below, we see that inadequate terminology used by politicians and public persons in decision-making, used during the conflict of 2001, caused confusion in mass communication and the mass media, Macedonian and Albanian.

The declarations below were given in two mass media: TV Kanal 5, documentary "Vo centar" (in the center), and the Albanian newspaper Lajm, in the script "The dossier ". Both mass media communicate declarations of different protagonists and their expressive originality.

Let us see in detail:

Heins Jorg Eiff (NATO official) says regarding the conflict in Macedonia:

"Those pictures of American soldiers being put in **NLA**'s busses, therefore they were not spies…"[41]

In this case, the term NLA is used. Based on this declaration, the armed groups of Albanians in Macedonia are called by Mr. Eiff by their real name (the way this armed group called itself in the conflict of 2001) National Liberation Army.[42]

Ex-Prime Minister L. Georgievski at the beginning of the 2001 conflict declares: "…according to their information (Serbian Secret Services) there will be an **uprising** in Macedonia. They let us know some villages where the uprising will take place."

In the same show for the same matter the ex-Prime Minister Georgievski says:

"There were special vehicles that withdrew the **terrorists** from Haracina.[43]

Robert Frowick, (Special Ambassador of OSCE in Macedonia during 2001) refers to the term "conflict":

"I talked regarding the unchangeable solution of this **conflicting situation** and the establishment of a new government."[44]

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[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.

Peter Feith (Special Negotiator of NATO-and NLA), in a declaration about the armed formation of NLA says:

"There were around 300 **warriors** that needed to withdraw…"[45]

In this case Mr. Feith does not use the term terrorists. In another case he says: "In reality the **conflict** of 2001 in Macedonia did not have losers".
Based on this declaration in Macedonia there were two "sides" in the conflict. Also, Mr. Feith in the same show (Vo centar) declares:

"Lord Robertson said that it would take 20 thousand NATO soldiers to control a possible **civil war** in Macedonia."[46]

In this case Lord Robertson uses the term war.
Sllobodan Cashule: The conflict in Macedonia took place in a region that coincides with contraband passage, the so-called 8th corridor of **international organized crime.**[47]

George Robertson (ex-Secretary General of NATO) in the show "Vo Centar" and the newspaper Lajm says:

"Their activity (NLA) was **criminal** and this is NATO's position." Later in the same show he declared "I have already said that the ***uprisers took Haracina faster than you could spell the village's name. It was too fast and by accident, since neither uprisers nor Macedonian forces wanted to fight in Haracina***"[48]

General Pande Petrovski (ARM) declares: … in Tanushë there were 20-26 **terrorists** who came from abroad and for one month there were discussions whether the army should have solved the problem.[49]

Vllado Popovski (Professor at the University of Saint Kiril and Metodij -Skopje) declares on the conflict of 2001 in Macedonia:

… **The crisis** in Macedonia started with 26 and ended with 2200-2600 **armed persons of NLA.**[50]

In such a case, the Professor uses two terms: crisis and NLA.

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[45]  Ibid.
[46]  Ibid.
[47]  Ibid.
      TV Show "Vo centar", Kanal 5
[48]  Ibid.
[49]  Ibid.
[50]  Ibid.

Lubomir Frckovski (Professor at Saint Kiril-Skopje):

"…last two or three days there were attempts where negotiations for **guerrillas**' relocation were done…"[51]

Lube Boshkovski (ex-Minister of the Interior of RM):
The village Haracina was surrounded. **Terrorists** did not have water or food. Terrorists could stay in the village for two or three days…. To act united for disruption of **terrorist bands** in Haracina.[52]

In this show, its author V. Eftov refers to the Albanian armed groups as the National Liberation Army. During talks he declares that the "members of NLA were locked in basements and aimed to…"[53]

Vllado Buçkovski (ex-Minister of Defence in RM):

"This would be convenient for the group of Commander Hoxha and all **members of NLA** in Haracina, and this was proved since their victims' number was minimal."[54]

In this declaration, the ex-Minister of Defence, who led the Macedonian army during the conflict, uses the term NLA.
Arben Xhaferri (leader of DPA):

"When a war starts according to political theories then big territorial issues come to the play. **Wars** do not take place for **human rights** but for political rights."[55]

Ali Ahmeti (political director of the general headquarters of NLA) says:

"We made a just **war** for **rights** of Albanians in Macedonia. We didn't have a war for territories and not even against Macedonian people. We were a disciplined **national army**; we fought for national and human rights."[56]

After an attentive observation of the political-military terminology by protagonists, we come to the conclusion that all participants in this conflict, based on their declarations for public opinion, have different versions of an objective situation such as the armed conflict in Macedonia in 2001. This terminology

[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.

confusion is carried out in all the mass media in Macedonia, Albanian or Macedonian. Almost every media at the time had its own terminology reality to reflect objective reality of the events in RM.

Most used/misused notions at that time are: Armed war; Armed conflict; Interethnic conflict; Terrorism: Extremism; Terrorism of state, Conflict of parties' interests; Cultural conflict, National war, Human rights war, Nationalism …

Based on this empirical-theoretical analysis of the terminology use we come to the conclusion that the actors of the 2001 conflict in Macedonia used inadequate terminology to reflect objective reality.

The actors of the conflict and the media representatives did not respect the language-terminology meaning of objective events. Maybe this is the rationale of why today, five years later, there is no scientific definition of what really happened in Macedonia in 2001.

 This terminology confusion caused for the public opinion in Macedonia, the intellectual and political elite, to ask the question up to this day: what happened in Macedonia during the conflict of 2001?

Macedonia is experiencing Galtung's post-transformation conflict, and is still not lucid about the events of 2001. When a common consensus on the 2001 events is reached, only then the basis of new post-conflict society will be set; free of homophobic chains, intolerance and frustrations.

Inadequate political terminology used by different politicians and the mass media, as a message carrier of human communication, caused a subjective confusion from an objective circumstance, such as the armed conflict between the Macedonian government forces and members of the National Liberation Army.

It is uncontestable by all that Macedonia in 2001 experienced a CONFLICT. Based on many definitions of conflict, we come to the conclusion that Macedonia experienced an ARMED CONFLICT. Other attributions to this conflict will remain the question of analysis and terminology confusion.

The main aim of this paper is to offer another possibility in defining the notion of conflict, in regard to the events of 2001 in Macedonia, seen from the theoretical- scientific point of view in the use of terms and misuse of others, for needs of public opinion reflected through the mass media.

## CONCLUSION

Even after this theoretical aspect and empirical interpretation of terminology regarding the conflict of 2001, everything remains unclear, and the question

"what happened with the armed conflict in Macedonia in 2001?" is still being asked.

Although five years have passed, the definition of the armed conflict in Macedonia in 2001 is still pending.

Political juridical terminology used by the actors of these events is absolutely incompatible and opposed by three participants in the conflict: military-police forces of Macedonia, the NLA and the international factor.

All these terms and concepts have caused confusion regarding their interpretation and communication in the mass media. It is a fact that disrespect for political juridical terms in the empirical sphere of communication has caused a subjective interpretation of objective events and circumstances in the armed conflict of 2001.

In 2001 in Macedonia an armed conflict between armed groups and governmental police forces took place. The question that poses itself at this stage is - did we have an ethnic conflict or an ethnic war? Was there a geo-strategic clash in this conflict? Did we witness terrorism towards the state or the state terrorism in this conflict? Did this conflict illustrate to us that we had a civil war? Was terminology of a "war for human rights" used in this conflict?

All these questions and many others continue to require scientific and empirical answers.

Sažetak

**Ymer Ismaili** [*]

### SUKOB KAO DRUŠTVENO-POLITIČKI POJAM

*Čak i nakon teorijskog vida i empirijskog tumačenja terminologije koja se odnosi na sukob 2001., sve ostaje nejasno, a pitanje "Što se dogodilo s oružanim sukobom u Makedoniji 2001?" još se uvijek postavlja.*

*Premda je prošlo pet godina, definicija oružanog sukoba u Makedoniji 2001. još uvijek nije konačna.*

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*Politička pravna terminologija kojom se  koriste akteri tih događaja potpuno je neprimjerena i protivna trima sudionicima u sukobu: vojno-policijskim snagama Makedonije, NOA i međunarodnom čimbeniku.*

*Svi ti termini i koncepti uzrokovali su zbrku u njihovu tumačenju i komunikaciji u masovnim medijima. Činjenica je da je nepoštovanje političkih pravnih termina u empirijskoj sferi komunikacije dovelo do subjektivnog tumačenja objektivnih događaja i okolnosti u oružanom sukobu 2001.*

*U Makedoniji se 2001. dogodio oružani sukob između naoružanih skupina i državne policije. Pitanje koje se postavlja u ovoj je fazi jesmo li imali etnički sukob ili etnički rat. Je li postojao geo-strateški sraz u tom sukobu? Pokazuje li nam taj sukob da smo imali građanski rat? Je li terminologija "rata za ljudska prava" korištena u tom sukobu?*

*Sva ta pitanja i mnoga druga još uvijek traže znanstvene i empirijske odgovore.*

*Ključne riječi: sukob (nasilan - nenasilan), sukob kao proces, politički sustav, rat, kriza, nasilje, etnički sukob, ekstremizam*

Zusammenfassung

**Ymer Ismaili** [**]

## DER KONFLIKT ALS GESELLSCHAFTSPOLITISCHER BEGRIFF

*Auch nach dem theoretischen Aspekt und der empirischen Auslegung der Terminologie, die sich auf den Konflikt von 2001 bezieht, bleibt alles unklar, und die Frage, was mit dem bewaffneten Konflikt 2001 in Makedonien passierte, wird immer noch gestellt. Obwohl fünf Jahre vergangen sind, steht die Definition des bewaffneten Konflikts im Jahre 2001 in Makedonien immer noch nicht endgültig fest.*

*Die politische Rechtsterminologie, die von den Akteuren der Ereignisse verwendet wird, ist völlig unangemessen und entspricht nicht den drei beteiligten Seiten im Konflikt, den Militär- und Polizeikräften Makedoniens, der NOA und dem internationalen Faktor. All die Termine und Konzepte haben Verwirrung in ihrer Auslegung und der Kommunikation in den Massenmedien verursacht. Es ist eine Tatsache, dass die Missachtung politischer Rechtstermine in der empirischen Kommunikationssphäre zur subjektiven Auslegung objektiver Ereignisse und Umstände des bewaffneten Konflikts von 2001 führte.*

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*In Makedonien kam es im Jahre 2001 zu einem bewaffneten Konflikt zwischen bewaffneten Gruppen und der Staatspolizei. Die Frage, die sich in dieser Phase stellt, ist - hatten wir einen ethnischen Konflikt oder einen ethnischen Krieg? Ist es in diesem Konflikt zu einem geostrategischen Zusammenstoß gekommen? Zeigt uns dieser Konflikt, dass wir einen Bürgerkrieg hatten? Wurde die Terminologie "Krieg für Menschenrechte" in diesem Konflikt benutzt?*

*All diese und viele andere Fragen verlangen noch immer nach wissenschaftlichen und empirischen Antworten.*

*Schlüsselwörter: Konflikt (gewalttätiger - gewaltloser), Konflikt als Prozess, politisches System, Krieg, Krise, Gewalt, ethnischer Konflikt, Extremismus, Auflehnung*