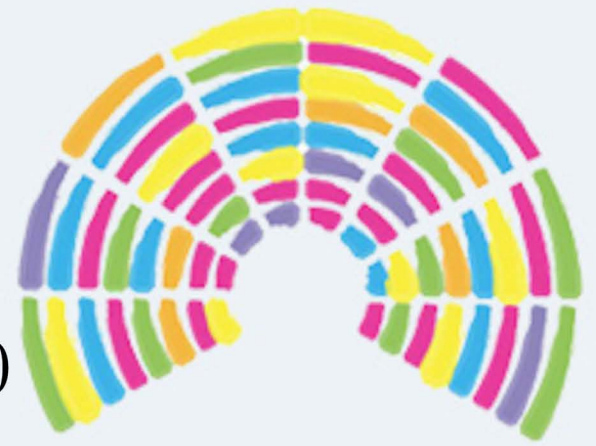


**SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY**  
**|MOTHER THERESA|**  
**(GENERATION OF PARTICIPANTS 2014/2015)**



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**ESSAYS ON THE TOPIC**  
**OF THE WORLD FORUM**  
**FOR DEMOCRACY 2015**

SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY [MOTHER THERESA] (GENERATION OF PARTICIPANTS 2014/2015)  
ESSAYS ON THE TOPIC OF THE WORLD FORUM FOR DEMOCRACY 2015

Aleksandar Klasninovski .....	2
Daniel Trenchov.....	5
Admir Brava.....	8
Aleksandra Vukovic.....	10
Svetlana Kjoseva.....	12
Elena Radeva .....	15
Ilija Nikolovski .....	18
Borjan Gjuzelov .....	21
Ivona Paunovska .....	24
Biljana Ginoska.....	26
Iskra Koroveshovska.....	29
Jovan Petreski .....	32
Viktor Ilievski .....	35
Marija Stevanovska.....	37
Dushko Bojoski.....	40
Nikolce Tasevski.....	42
Daniel Stojanovski .....	45

ALEKSANDAR KLASNINOVSKI

It goes without saying that Internet has been the most groundbreaking discoveries of the previous century. This was first time in the history that a human invention gave unprecedented power to the wide masses - direct access to all kind of info on a global level. Today in the developed countries, more audience get their news online rather than from traditional sources. Millennials are reviewing more on-line content than traditional TV broadcast and anyone can create a personal blog with purpose of transmission of their opinion, stances, values etc.

The world-wide-web has been a true gift to humanity. Using it we can communicate, exchange, learn and teach things from the fields of science, art and humanities without any limitations or frameworks. The internet is a key piece of technology that has assisted us to cut barriers and overcome existing gaps so we can help people come closer together. People are also using the internet to learn and understand many important problems which they are not able to analyze in day to day life just by themselves. The internet exposes us to quality information which can result in cognitive development and increased awareness of the things around us. The role of the internet is emphasized when it plays a part in demystifying propaganda which may be spread by various political elements to promote their own interests whereas social media assist us to connect with other people with whom we probably could not have direct interaction. The internet is also a tool that provides free access to quality education (websites such as Coursera), as well as entertainment.

Nevertheless, the internet is becoming something more today – it is used to coordinate protests, whereas social networks sites become alternative to the mainstream media since it give democratic access to the all concerned parties. Governments are usually reacting aggressively to this trend, especially the more authoritarian ones – the recent examples of Turkey, Egypt (during Mubarak) and Venezuela. It is even bigger problem that some democratic countries are even are starting to consider the possibility of legalize certain tools that will allow them to exercise control over the net with stating the regular excuses such as national security, terrorism attacks etc.

Therefore internet has become one of the primary battlefields between the camp who is asking for limitation of certain freedoms with purpose of enhancing the security and the camp who is defending the freedom of communication and access to information. It is perceived that many things will depend on the outcome of this battle. The projections are that approximately 5 billion people will be online in a 10 years. The largest increases shall be in countries that exercise some type of internet censorship. Even countries like USA are discussing heavily about implementing certain rules that would limit or establish control on the internet traffic such as the net neutrality issue. On the other hand we have countries such as France which has declared the access to internet as basic human right preventing the adoption of a law that would have tracked people and would allow the law enforcement agencies to cut off the network access without court decision if they violate certain intellectual property rights.

The war for preserving the basic civil rights is ongoing war. Lately, the internet has become one of the primary battlefields since it is giving unprecedented opportunities for access to information and communication which can be hardly controlled in its' entirety by anyone who would like to do so. Therefore the real challenge is to create censorship free Internet tech which would be able to withstand even when some organizations are vying for control over it. As proclaimed by the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights - the right to free speech, and the right to privacy are is a basic human rights. The Internet is rightly perceived as one of the most exiting tools that can trigger higher growth rates of human development leading us to a better future. Putting restrictions (or not removing them) shall only result in large scale revolt which would be harmful to the well-being of all of us.

United Nations already recognized that forceful disconnection of people from the internet is regarded as human rights violation and against international law in a report from 2011 which states: "While blocking and filtering measures deny users access to specific content on the Internet, states have also taken measures to cut off access to the Internet entirely. The Special Rapporteur considers cutting off users from internet access, regardless of the justification provided, including on the grounds of violating intellectual property rights law, to be disproportionate and thus a violation of article 19, paragraph 3, of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The Special Rapporteur calls upon all states to ensure that Internet access is maintained at all times, including during times of political unrest. In particular, the

Special Rapporteur urges States to repeal or amend existing intellectual copyright laws which permit users to be disconnected from Internet access, and to refrain from adopting such laws.”

Nevertheless this battle won't be easy for winning. Many people are ready to give up some guaranteed civil rights in exchange for more security. It is especially strange that this happens more often in a democratic countries where people are more prone to accept limitation of liberties when it's done by democratically elected representatives. Governments don't help either. They regularly spin the limitation of civil rights stating that through enhancing people's security, they actually are giving them more liberty which seems to be valid argument for a great number of people.

If internet freedom fails, it'll be another brick in the wall established by the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Therefore we mustn't let that happen.

SECURITIZATION OF THE DEMOCRACY; A MATTER OF CHOICE OR AN INEVITABLE TENDENCY?

DANIEL TRENCHOV

Security and democracy are undeniably one of the most relevant issues nowadays affecting both governments and citizens. Given the recent turmoil in some of the Western Balkan countries, the ongoing military conflict in Eastern Ukraine, the rise of the Islamic state in the Middle East, the unstoppable immigration waves in the Mediterranean as well as the past data disclosure scandals and espionage affairs occurred on a world scale, the pressure for governments to provide security for their citizens became a number one priority. Nonetheless, from the citizen's standpoint, the democratic values such as the right of expression, education, religion or health care, which are as equally important as the right of security, are of paramount significance for the citizens. Although all constitute elements of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, security has been perceived since recently as much more important than the other 'rights' and it has become a key pre-conditional factor for the existence of the nations. But, here come the real questions: Are all "secured" states democratically oriented? Are all democratic countries safe from the outer threats? Or even more importantly, does more securitized country mean, by definition, less democratic country?

Proponents of the security claim that in this multi-polarized world where the relations among the countries have never been more unstable since the end of the Cold War, an increased level of security in all segments of the society is not anymore a matter of choice, but a basic necessity. Aside from the military, economic or the political sphere in which the securitization process has already laid down deep roots, the area of exchanging information has inevitably been affected too. The access and distribution of information of any kind and form, and in particular, the exchange of information related to security requires application of strict rules and principles. As a result, it is now a real challenge for the state authorities to raise the security culture and security awareness among the citizens regarding the data protection and at the same time to manage to recognize in the enormous pool of information the one representing a possible threat. Thus, in circumstances where a rapid proliferation of communication technology and an express flow of information occur, a new security concept, military doctrine and defense planning are

essential to be incorporated. No matter what the level of democracy, countries have to put an accent especially on online security strategies in order to prevent potentially dangerous cyber-criminal activities that can harm the security system of a country and subsequently the safety of its citizens. From this point of view, the securitization process does not mean a restriction of the Internet access, but a creation of efficient defence systems for assessing and preventing the growing cyber and similar contemporary threats. The prohibition of wearing religious veils is one of the many examples of the security measures' prevalence over the democratic principles. Primarily for security reasons, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and some other European countries have adopted laws on banning burka which became applicable to the entire state or to some public places. Although the Muslim population considers the prohibition of wearing religious veils as discrimination imposed on Muslim women and as classic infringement of the women's rights, the European Court of Human Rights has upheld the law by stating that it did not breach any right written in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Due to the increasing de-secularization process, but mainly due to security measures undertaken as protection from the military activities in the intermediate neighborhood, the Turkish government prohibited to some extent the use of social media. A downward trend in the democratic governance was also detected in Hungary where the government endeavored to impose an internet tax. Such a policy would undoubtedly have ensured a greater economic security and financial benefit, but in detriment of the democratic values.

In order to neutralize the strict measures of security and guarantee the democratic principles and rule of law, some authors propose the power sharing model of governance. In such a model, the power is not absolute but disseminated to several political actors who, by the principle of self-monitoring governance, would be equally responsible for both state security and the implementation of democratic values. Others propose the emancipation and the dis-identification as a strategy for desecuritization which does not necessarily have to mean building up an ideal liberal democratic politics. Nevertheless, these models of simultaneous desecuritization and democratization of the society may not be applicable to every country. Due to different historical, political or economic contexts, no two countries face identical challenges because the geography, history, demography, culture and politics are always unique. In other words, what works for one country may not work for another. On one hand, history showed that the model of power sharing could be successful and fully functional in well-developed

democracies. Switzerland and Belgium are examples of effective implementation of such a model. On the other hand, the Bosnian case proved that this model of governance could not be applied outside of a liberal democratic context especially in societies deeply divided by ethnical, political and religious line. Similarly, the dis-identification cosmopolitan model is easily implemented in the Scandinavian countries where citizens already identify themselves as Scandinavians, rather than Swedish or Norwegians. On the contrary, this model cannot be easily engrained in the Balkan nations' mentality as the self-identification is being considered here as a core element and root of their existence.

Given the above mentioned, a society cannot lean on the absolute meanings of the securitization and democratization as they are complex and dynamic and ever changing processes and certainly not mutually exclusive but complementary. A model in which the public opinion provided by the civil society organizations, independent experts and mainstream academia will also be a part of security policy making and in which, state security and public security will be seen as a substantial democratic value. A model of society that will manage to respond to every threat regardless its form, nature or origin, but will be also able to preserve the democratic values without impeding the principles of rule of law. Therefore, the model of successive bi-directional implementation of both concepts would be the most appropriate one.



ADMIR BRAVA

The dilemma of freedom vs. control is as long as history itself. These two concepts have often appeared in different shapes and formats. In some cases, freedom and control appeared to be complementary to each other, while in the other they are simply antonyms. Nowadays, this dilemma is more relevant than ever. Different social, cultural or ethnic groups have raised their awareness on the basis of how their societies should be organized. This is mostly due to information “overload” and globalization processes, which increase the demand for change towards the establishment of better individual and social values. When we try to make a deconstruction of the dilemma between freedom vs. control, it is of crucial importance to be oriented by the source of these two necessities. The individual as an autonomous cell of the society has to interact with other subjects and groups.

Without a doubt, in a free and democratic society this happens as a result of free will. In the other hand, in a free society individuals can be jeopardized by subjects or groups that have a tendency to suppress his opinion. This is the moment when we should take into account the role of control. In this sense, we can understand that we could possibly lack freedom, if we don't have in charge good controlling mechanisms. The issue that should be put forward, is how much control does a society need? Too much of it would more likely impose an opinion or behavior to an individual or society. In the worst case too much of control would emerge into a dictatorship. Dictators have always underestimated their people's ability to think. This has turned them towards imposing more rules and regulations that would minimize their freedom. Considering this fact, in free societies governments should leave their citizens to self-regulate and interacts freely, but control in some aspects is still necessary. Even though we live in an era of fast information flow, we cannot conclude that our judgments are always rational. If there are irrationalities, than we have to make a controlling mechanism that in the same time gives freedom for the different parts in the society. This social contract has to be compiled solely by the people, and if possible it must contain a transformative element, in the sense that other generations could re-discuss its points.

It is impossible to think of a society functioning in complete freedom without mechanism of control as corrector of failures, that freedom can produce, but it is more impossible to build normal functioning society though control. Therefore every society should make a combination between these two elements.

ALEKSANDRA VUKOVIC

Having fear from being part of a diverse society is not the first thing that comes up to our mind lately nor can be justified having our strive to becoming part of the big European family, that lays its grounds on diversity, as a starting point. The same was strengthened with the entering into force of the Lisbon Treaty recognising the rights of persons belonging to minorities as a founding value of the Union as well as common value to its Member States. Additional step forward was reached with the entry into force of the Charter of Fundamental Rights, as a legally binding document, which is addressing the concept of national minorities as a term of the EU law. Both the treaties and the Charter underline the importance of diversity. Even the most selling points in the pro-enlargement debates are focused on the increase of cultural diversity in the Union and by that, strengthening the Union's role in the world affairs. Having all this in mind it is more than clear that the Union is proud of this diversity which is not exclusively between its Member States but also within them. Diversity as a concept of richness of national identities and ethnic minorities residing on its territory. But how true is that really? Not that long ago, the alarm of the "drowning" of the human rights was set on with the recent developments in the Mediterranean and the increased number of migrants trying to reach Europe. The reality in which thousands of migrants are risking their lives to cross the Mediterranean was shocking and it turns on the light that none of the EU Member State should be left alone in addressing the migratory pressure with all that it comes with it. After the certain period of time that the EU is struggling with putting into practice the Common European

Asylum Policy and this year's Emergency summit triggered by the latest happenings in the Mediterranean, the European Commission came up with its Migration Agenda which seems to have lifted the EU Member states on their feet. Just in a week after the Commission presented its Migration Agenda, the line of member states opposing to the same has grown, bringing the total number of countries not in favor of the EC proposals up to 10 – France, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia and Poland expressing their position on the concept of accepting quotas of migrants and Great Britain, Ireland and Denmark not obliged to take part, under opt-out rules granted in EU treaties. Under the current rules, Dublin II, countries of arrival are responsible for the asylum application and are expected to keep migrants on their territory

until the application is reviewed. The foreseen quota plan supposed to help relocation of migrants in case of sudden and massive influx and relieve frontline states such as Italy, Malta and Greece. As foreseen the relocation of migrants will be done in accordance with certain parameters such as population and GDP size, unemployment rates and numbers of migrants already hosted by the member states. One cannot agree that the recent developments in this area do not really reflect the EU willingness to host diversity and bring the same to risk as some of the founding principles such as internal solidarity and common responsibility among the Member states aren't considered to be shared view by its members.

Migration from and to third countries is a permanent feature of the EU and the discussions should avoid the issue whether migration is needed but how it can be ensured that migrants can best contribute to the host countries. The duty of Member States should be focusing on guaranteeing that migration is properly regulated and safe so that migrants are not exploited and policies are thus sustainable. The concept of diversity embraces acceptance and respect. It means understanding that each individual is unique, and recognizing our individual differences. It is about understanding each other and moving beyond simple tolerance towards embracing this dimension of diversity contained within each individual. So while struggling to address the solidarity calls from the frontline countries, the EU is about to have its hands full of work to put pressure on educating its citizens in order to gain support for its robust policies that are needed. The EU should continue to pursue policies that allow migrants to fully contribute to their host societies, such as facilitating and coordinating the recognition of qualifications obtained outside the EU, as well as supporting the acquisition of language skills and fighting discrimination in many areas of life, including employment, housing, healthcare and education.

The EU should show the positive example that the respect and high value of diversity is not high on the agenda and visible only in the context of EU enlargement when requiring respect of the so called Copenhagen criteria by which guaranteeing respect for and protection of minorities is expected by the countries acceding to the EU. Devotees of the EU values and the qualities of being part of the EU family should not be facing doubts whether the fear from being part of a diverse society nowadays is justified.

SVETLANA KJOSEVA

The best adjective that goes along with democracy is freedom. Notwithstanding of the freedom we talk about: freedom of expression, freedom of petition, freedom of market, freedom of choice, they can be found only in a society that sets its foundations on the values of democracy. However, many theorists and philosophers objected the unlimited freedom of people.

Since the time of Lock, Hobs and Russo till the Patriot act, freedom has been put in shackles. Respectively, there are two things in common for Lock, Hobs and Russo. First, according to them, every human being is born free and in the beginning enjoys freedom, and second, human kind can become a victim of an uncontrolled freedom. The well-known social agreement theory that they advocated for, teaches us that freedom should be controlled by many different reasons. In the case of Hobs, it is because he thinks humans are evil and that if their freedom is not controlled by the state the extinction of human kind is inescapable. This view is reflected in his quote *homo homini lupus est*. According to Lock, people must give their freedom to the state in order to protect themselves from other people that might attack them. Last but not least, Russo advocated that freedom will lead us to uncertainty and if people are totally free than they will not feel responsibility and will eventually hurt each other.

These doubts that many other philosophers had towards unlimited freedom are reflected in the functioning of modern states and the political systems they are built on. Furthermore, modern democratic societies are as well facing great challenges and threats such as globalization, terrorism, organized criminal, and poverty, that in a way became justification of the states' rigorous measures for strict control and regulation of the basic rights and freedoms of people. Thus, in order to fight these threats and challenges and protect the social wellbeing and public interest, the individual rights and freedoms and the individual wellbeing is set aside. The states have set legitimate aims according to which the state institutions can control and interfere with the basic rights like the right of private and family life, the freedom of thought and religion, the freedom of assembly etc. Consequently, one might even say that democracy and control complement each other.

Macedonia is not an exception in this matter. Control and violation of basic human rights is an everyday practice of the state institutions with the justification that a greater good has to be protected. Respectively, in the last couple of years it became a “trend” to restrict and flagrantly violate the right of free movement i.e. the right to leave the country as part of it, by state institutions. Moreover, in several judicial cases it was proven that this practice of the border police as part of the Ministry for interior affairs in the country is discriminatory and based on ethnic affiliation that even deepens the problem in stake. Article 27 paragraph 2 guarantees the right to leave the country of every citizen and its derogation is allowed only when the citizen is a threat to the national security, the public health and if there is a criminal charge against him. In addition, all this provisions has to be regulated by law. Yet, the effective implementation of this right is failing for a long period and it was targeted dominantly towards the Roma minority in the country. The country started to restrict this right since the European Union alerted that the numbers of “fake” asylum seekers in the Member States of EU coming from Macedonia is getting higher. There are staggering statistics issued by public officials but as well from other international mechanisms that address this problem and criticize the measures that the country has taken in order to prevent the cancellation of the visa liberalization. Yes, the country’s priority is to become a member of the big European family, but this is not the proper justification to continuously control and violate one of the most important constitutionally guaranteed human rights. A country that in the same time claims to be democratic society that respects human rights and promotes rule of law as well respects cultural diversity, cannot hide behind its measures of doing totally the opposite and saying that it is the right thing to do. The country instead of protecting and guarantying the basic rights and liberties of its citizens, chose to protect the public interest and the public wellbeing on the burden of the most vulnerable, most marginalized, and most stigmatized minority group in Europe, the Roma. Even though, it is a very harsh thing to state, there are many other alternative ways of solving this particular problem, and restrictions and sanctions is not the best solution.

In a way, as it was already mentioned before, control is an inseparable part of the democratic societies. On the one side, we, the citizens want free society built by free people capable to enjoy their basic rights and freedoms in whole its capacity. However, on the other side, in order to

fulfill this and in the same time fight the threats and challenges emerging in modern societies, the imposed control by state institutions is more of a necessity rather than an obligation. Nevertheless, the state has to assess carefully which rights are going to be controlled and what means will be used in order to do it. Thus, it does not mean that by all costs, the control by the state is justified and that the public interest is more important than the individual, especially when it comes to cases like the abovementioned. As Laurel Dewey said: ... “You can’t simultaneously control people, while offering them guaranteed freedom as their birthright.”

ELENA RADEVA

The past has been marked with wars, revolts and uprisings as well as folk exemptions, creating modern states, institutions and creation and birth of democracy.

Democracy is not an end of a state, nor a short-term goal of a society. It is a long process that requires constant development, constant upgrading, which involves active participation of citizens in the common political, economic, social spheres of society through the rule of the majority within the rule of law.

In order one society to be called a democratic society, there should exist respect, responsibility, accountability for the different needs of all groups because we are all born equal and free, free from fear and poverty. It is not enough to freely express our thoughts, our speech, our political affiliation and religion if we want to say that we live in a democracy. There should be a government that will be a real service to the citizens, a government that will deal with the trends imposed by the rapid economic, technological, environmental and geopolitical development of the society which nowadays leads to destabilization. Any act that restricts freedom and development of ideas and opinions is contrary to the rights and obligations arising from the nature of people and society and is contrary to democracy. Everyone who lives in a society based on the will of the people is free to take care about themselves and their development is free to build their future. In addition, everyone has the right to life, freedom, security, as well as the right to vote, the right of association, freedom of expression and the right to education, employment, faith and religion and the right to acquire wealth. All rights and freedoms that a man possesses should be respected and protected. No one should abandon them or not accept them - they are neither given nor taken. With birth we are protected from violence, inhuman treatment and we are protected from discrimination and slavery. We should not forget that our rights and freedoms are given neither from a king, nor from the authorities, but everyone possesses them with their birth. This is so because of the development of human civilization and the realization that everyone, always and everywhere should behave conscientiously, responsibly and wisely. People should respect each other and not to limit or infringe themselves.



The division of people according to various bases, groups, causes, traditions, cultures, religions, and conflict with the development of technology and innovation are just some of the problems that lead to a reasonable approach for the development of the world. Tolerance, patience, understanding for themselves and everyone around us should exist. It is essential for all of us to strive to develop friendly relations among nations.

To live in a successful world, we need to apply democratic principles in practice, where despite the respect for individual and group interests it is necessary to live in a functional state in which a constructive opposition will monitor the work of the government and will lead critical debate about democracy. Today we live in a world where citizens have the right in accordance with current developments in the society to actively participate in creating the public policy and are guaranteed the opportunity to express their desire for change.

Main challenges facing democracy today is the concern of the citizens about the safety of their life and the protection of freedom from a public display of their opinions, views and ideas if they are contrary to the opinion of the majority. Thus forgetting that we are all born equal, with equal opportunities and equal treatment before the law. Overcoming poverty will also contribute to greater citizens' independence of the state.

However attention should be paid to the fact that excessive freedom can be abused by spreading ideas that incite violence, cause hate and threat to democratic society and order on the basis of racial differences, religious differences, differences in national origin, differences in terms of ethnicity, differences in social orientation.

Every society needs to advocate for social justice, running a successful social policy, development of multiculturalism, better public policy and overcoming fear. Failure of human rights and freedom, and excessive control is an insult to the human conscience. None should call and encourage racial or religious hatred or intolerance, nor encourage or incite military aggression or national issues. Often happens that selective information is placed in public which is aimed at gaining the benefit of a small powerful group in the process of policy making. People

should realize that they have rights that no one has given them and one can revoke them and they should act consciously, wisely and responsibly.

The ideal of every person and the most successful goal of any society is the creation of a world in which everyone will be equal, everyone will enjoy freedom of speech and belief, a world in which everyone will be free from the fear of war and poverty. The media, as part of this world, should protect the rights of citizens through their stories, researches, and debates. Additional formalities, restrictions, conditions or penalties prescribed by law are required, in view of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, protection of health or morals, crime prevention and impartiality of the judiciary. To sum up, all this is because of improving the laws necessary for the developed democratic society, as all people are equal and no one is above the rights or freedom of another.

ILIJA NIKOLOVSKI

*„If acceptance is daughter of a freedom, than ignorance is a son of a control”*

Nikolovski

Freedom vs control or control vs freedom seems like two sides of the same story. Or with the other words, they are like two contradictory things: heaven and hell, good and bad, sweet and sour, coffee and tea, you and me... In our actual conotation, including the situation in the Republic of Macedonia and worldwide, Freedom vs control can be described in one sentence like “Individual freedom governmental control”.

I have been thinking a lot lately about freedom and control recently. It seems to me that people often equate freedom with having a lot of control over things. We think we would rather be the boss who has control over other employees than the subordinate or follower who is under the control of the boss. Psychologists reinforce the idea that control is a good thing. Research on locus of control indicates that people with an internal locus of control (people who believe they are in control of the rewards they receive in life) are psychologically healthier and more successful than people with an external locus of control (people who believe their fate is in the hands of external, uncontrollable factors).

Yet there is a downside to being in control when it involves trying to control other people, because other people don't want to be controlled by you any more than you want to be controlled by other people. We often hear that if we do not like the way in which others are behaving, we are better off changing our own feelings about their behavior than trying to change their behavior. The reason for this is that behavioral habits are notoriously difficult to change, even when a person really wants to change his or her own habits; if people are not interested in changing their behavior, it is almost impossible to make them change.

Trying to control others, even people who, in our eyes, are misbehaving, is like trying to make water run uphill. Unless you can convince a person that listening to you is in his or her own best self-interest, you are wasting valuable time, which is antithetical to freedom.

It seems to me that such an attitude has a strong basis in reality. We are much more likely to achieve success and happiness if we allow ourselves to align with greater forces than to fight the flow and deny reality.

We live in an era of multitasking, and we find ourselves having to accomplish so much more in less time. When we see everything like a checklist from which we have to tick off tasks, no wonder we develop into time management junkies or control freaks.

The need to control may arise from social pressure. Even since childhood, we are taught specific norms, like “You have to be good to your siblings”; “You have to get straight A’s or you won’t get to a good college”; “You have to work hard otherwise you won’t get results”. In the end what results is a sort of psychological conditioning that “If” something gets done in a proper way, “Then” an appropriate result will be the consequence.

What happens in our mind when the mechanism of control gets started is a need to do something because “that’s the rule”, “that’s how it has to be done”.

For example, people who experience the need to control usually motivate their behavior by saying “but it has to be done exactly this way”.

Words such as “I have to”, “he/she/it has to”, “I must”, “it’s required” and similar show a mechanism of control. Often what happens is that the person who has a greater need to control ultimately ends placing a much higher stress on him or herself. Moreover, the person who controls sees herself responsible for the results, and may end up blaming herself unnecessarily and harming her own self confidence when these results do not happen.

What reverse mechanism could be used against the need to control? The opposite of control is letting go. Freedom is letting go. Freedom means not caring for the results, and not seeing oneself responsible.

If freedom is taken to an extreme, like with control it can become damaging – a certain degree of responsibility should be maintained. For example, seeing oneself not responsible for the end result but at least for one’s contribution in the process.

Freedom can be synonym with allowing ourselves the choice, thing that is recognized in democracy. But, is the freedom or the freedom that we used to learn from the books real? Can people or the citizens with no doubt say: „Yes, we are free, we have a freedom”? Or they can

say: „We have a control on Internet, we are followed on the phone conversation and yet we have a freedom and we are free(and safe)“?

Who is true enemy of the freedom? Democracy, Internet, Politicians, USA, EU, Russia, China, Google,...? After China, the Russian government is pursuing a similar agenda. A new law that came into effect last summer obliges all internet companies to store Russian citizens data on servers inside the country. This is only one example that is not enough for freedom to take part over control. Similar or same agenda can be seen elsewhere, but under different name or activity. An older generation of thinkers recognised that freedom and democracy don't always go hand in hand. We need freedom because our goals and values are highly diverse and often quite different from those of the people around us. Having a voice in collective decisions - the basis of democracy - is a fine thing, but it won't protect your freedom if the majority is hostile to the way you choose to live.

Many will tell you that this danger can be dealt with by bills of rights that put some freedoms beyond the range of political interference. But politics has a habit of finding ways around the law, and when the state is weak declarations of rights tend to be unenforceable. Once you think of freedom as living as you choose, you'll see that it's not just tyrants that stand in its way. The world is full of failed and enfeebled states in which the main threats to freedom come from organised crime, ethnic conflict and militant sectarian groups.

Like years ago when video kills the radio, freedom will kill control. Or is it better to be said that control will kill freedom. Control can be seen as freedom, depending from the person and the point of view. But, much more important is to support the true freedom, because true freedom is not only a word, is a level of the mind who can be developed in a style and a way of life. True freedom can't be changed in the name of control. It can be changed for a better and much more open and acceptable freedom worldwide.

BORJAN GJUZELOV

The notion of the 'public sphere' evolved during the Renaissance in Western Europe and the United States. The *public sphere* was a place between private individuals and government authorities in which people could meet and have rational-critical debates about public matters. Discussions served as a counterweight to political authority and happened physically in face-to-face meetings in coffee houses and cafes and public squares as well as in the media in letters, books, drama, and art. (Randall, 2008) The contemporary idea for public sphere dates back from Habermas (1989) who argues that the democratic society needs a public sphere populated by civil society organizations. 'In such arena a wide range of views and opinions can be developed in relation to matters of public concern. Discussion should occur in this sphere, involving a free and open range of opinions.' (Fligstein, 2008) The public sphere is also understood as 'the place where the civil society is linked to the power structure of the state' (Eriksen, 2005) or as an 'arena of communicative discourse to which citizens have access and may freely contribute to rational discussion of issues collectively deemed of societal importance' (Nicholas W. Jankowski, 2004)

Habermas' original work (1962) was not concerned with collaboration in Europe across nation states. His writing pertained to localities defined by the nation state such as France and Germany. (Vreese, 2007) However, in his later work he pointed out that the Europeanization of the public sphere and the creation of a transnational public sphere may increase the democratic capacity of the Union. In this context he argued that "the deficit in democracy can only be eliminated if a European public sphere comes into existence in which the democratic process is incorporated (...) the pan-European political public sphere is the solution to the problem of insufficient social integration in the process of Europeanization". (Habermas, 2001) European public sphere is understood as a field which would be independent from the national borders, where the people from the different states will have the opportunity to interact about the issues and problems which concern them. Due to the constant transnational interaction with the other people, one can argue that the citizens will become more 'European' while the European polity will become more state like.

In this process one of the most important roles is the role of the media: the media function as glue for the segmented public spheres. (Erbe, 2005) As de Vreese argues: ‘most of what citizens experience about politics involves media to some extent and the media represent an organized and confined space where speakers and actors can provide input for public discussions. News media are an arena in which political actors, civil society and even citizens can express views and make announcements.’ (Vreese, 2007)

However, it can be claimed that today the character of the public sphere has changed: the modern electronic communications with their ability to transfer huge amount of information over long distances, have changed the character of the public communication. While the traditional media are mostly a one way medium between the people and the public, the social media platforms have a strong two way character. There are much more possibilities which make the participation (for example in on-line discussions) easier in comparison with their older counterparts. Furthermore, while the ‘products’ of the traditional media are made by the journalists and consumed by the public, the social media are open and mainly based on the contributions from the users: in that context consumers of information in the same time can be producers or reproducers of the information. This situation resembles much on the ideal public deliberation that Habermas has put so high in his idea of democracy because thanks to the social media, people are empowered to discuss and share their ideas and cooperate in production of new ideas. Most importantly, this digital public sphere from the same start had a strong transnational character: in these conditions the existent European public sphere can only benefit from its potential digitalization because, unlike the traditional media which stayed tied to the nation state and the national public discourses, the social media have much broader and cosmopolitan character. Finally, if we take in account the limited results of the traditional media in creating and empowering the European political discourse (Fligstein, 2008), we can argue that the real transnational European public sphere may exist just after it becomes generally digital.

As a conclusion, as Boeder argues: ‘Habermas’ coffeehouse discourse has evolved in the direction of mediated communication within electronic networks: Its future is with the digital media, which offer exciting possibilities as digital networks enhance and change social

structures.’ (Boeder, 2005) The previously discussed rapid rise of the internet and the increasing societal role that social media have are just one more evidence that this process of digitalization will give the necessary transnational character to the existent public spheres and will contribute in the creation of the first really European public sphere.

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IVONA PAUNOVSKA

Democracy - and covered what is most important to establish order, monogumina use as an alibi for anarchy and chaos. Are we on the right track, as well as invest in democracy?

More party system after decades of party rule in Macedonia to bring great division in the parliament and the people. Ruling and opposition always the starting point to almost walk as enemies, not as political opponents.

The fall of communism, represented political, economic and social earthquake with global consequences. Appeasing the field runs today, after 25 years.

The period after the Cold War, not only establish a new equilibrium, but also cause new shocks, the global economic and financial crisis is one of the most significant examples. Redistribution of power in the world, strengthening multipolarnost, great progress on the economy of the East, especially China, and growing interdependence and connectivity of countries still do not exceed problemite in the eurozone, the US fiscal crisis, the bitter question of the Middle East, Nuclear weapons are just some features of today in the international plan.

When it comes to vnarteshnite challenges in many countries, had long mastered deep disappointment in the political institutions, whether it is for political parties, parliament or complete dissatisfaction with politics and politicians. Examples of corruption, big money is being spent in election campaigns, the perception of personal interests prevailing over the public good, for many politicians are creating public opinion which does not provide light in the political process, so that democracy is the least responsible for the phenomenon.

Poverty, unemployment, declining living standards, becoming growing gap between rich and poor, is not helping the government in strengthening the mood to it, this is a phenomenon that occurred in many countries. I often can see surveys that are conducted daily in many countries, where the question of whether you consider living in a country where the economic system is appealing, will come the results that most of the answers that we all live in an unfair system, ie the system where the rich have more privileges.

The fact of the absence of security, certainty and predictability, so a lot of places elemental human security, anxieties and creates movements to countries that are considered stable and thus, part of the future of a country goes to countries where it is considered that has a future. All this adversely affects the reputation of politics as a human trait that should be decided by domestic and international challenges, and also undermines the reputation of the institutions of democracy at national and transnational level. Without politics, parties and institutions, without democracy there is no reasonable potential solutions that are coming peacefully, processes based on the rule of law and human rights and freedoms. The states of the communist settings in Europe, went through a rapid process of political modernization and democratization process vomnogu European countries and America lasted for centuries. This short two-decade experience, the use of social rights and freedoms, it appears that democratic processes and institutions make them fragile or short period of adjustment brings institutions to slower ripening and difficulties in the development process, which provides a picture even porocesi that does not retard.

The parallel strengthening of state and civil society, government institutions and active participation of citizens is vital to the prosperity of democracy in each country. Democracy and learning demokratijatatreba to everyday activity, because only thus defend acquired rights and freedoms in developing democracy.

Free public sphere in which sestrogo defined within the law, and facing the different opinions and suggestions are the essence of survival of society really lived in his time, not in some imaginary fanciful shape with unrealistic expectations.

Each state and society faced new challenges need to rent and is carefully and skillfully managing and imagination, both patience and impatience to permit a peaceful and democratic way.

BILJANA GINOSKA

*“Democracies have ever been spectacles of turbulence and conflict; have ever been found incompatible with personal security or the rights of property; and have in general been as short in their lives as they have been violent in their deaths”*, - James Madison, fourth president of the United States and primary Framer of the U.S. Constitution

I always thought that freedom and democracy are friends who always pick on each other. It seems like they are always in conflict.

We have always believed that freedom is something that humans have from their birth, something that comes as a natural human condition. We also believe that freedom and democracy are linked and they cannot exit if they are separated. But, they can sometimes be enemies because personal liberty tends to shrink when the governments express the will of the majority.

Freedom is the right of people to determine their own actions, without having any kind of obstacles to live as they want and as they choose. But often this freedom is restricted by almost all democracies. Many of these democracies have corrupted civil services system, or corrupted court, they don't care about protecting minority rights, they don't care about women's rights and they constrain press freedom. Because of these reasons the U.S Constitution limited democratic majority from limiting freedom of speech, religion and so on. The U.S Constitution is a document of liberty, but not a document of democracy.

The very word "democracy" has become some kind of a really popular word among politicians and governments throughout the world. Even a communist country whose government leads tyrannical ruling they often call themselves "democracy". Simply put, democracy is a form of government chosen by the whole population through elected representatives. Throughout the world, many countries call themselves democracies, have regular elections but systematically oppress their own people. Democracy is a method of deciding who will rule and who will represent the people. Democracy means that government has the majority support from the people. But this is no guarantee that government will protect

your freedom because the majority in a democracy decides what you can or can't do, and what you must or mustn't do.

The ideals of democracy are so attractive to citizens throughout the world, that many of them have sacrificed their lives to fight for it. However, even in countries that have established democracies, people have to deal with pressure and threats because of the openness of the democratic system. This signals the weakness in the way some democracies are set up. In reality, when the power is attained by someone who doesn't like democracy or doesn't support it, it is rarely given up.

In short, freedom is about the individual person and it is about his rights to do what he wants. Democracy on the other hand is the dictatorship of the majority. Example of this can be found in countries like North Korea which calls itself "the Democratic People's Republic of Korea". In Korea people have the right to vote but on the other side, voting is mandatory. Countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, have so called democracy but people don't have freedom. There is a massive vote fraud, people can't talk against the ruling government because they will get fired. Citizens have little freedom and lots of poverty.

I think that one society can't be called democratic when its people do not know the intentions of its government. Democracy means that the people of a country are informed about governments plans, ideas and actions. And for me, freedom give people the right to decide what they want to do. Democratic people are those people who are well informed.

If citizens have no idea what their government does or if press media is censored and mixed with propaganda and if the economy is unstable and upset then that country cannot call itself free or democratic.

In order to live in a free and peaceful world, people in our created societies must have the inalienable rights and they have to be respected as an individual person. In a healthy society and strong democratic country, the power(s) of the government have to be strictly limited and restrained. This means government that is free of corruption and police that is free of corruption and bribe. It also means not imposing "democracy" by force. Too often the process of building democracy is used as a justification for destroying freedom. To achieve a peaceful world, that will be also free, we must restore freedom and individual liberty, but not democracy.

And definitely, there is a very big difference between democracy and freedom especially now days when government preachers about democracy as a form of freedom just in order to manipulate with its voters but actually is only about their own personal interest, so we must protect our freedom from democracy and we must be careful with expanding because it can easily result in elected tyranny.

ISKRA KOROVESHOVSKA

**Democracy** cannot be imagined without freedom of expression and the right to be informed. The very definition of modern democratic societies means “government belongs to people”, and with all rights and obligations imposed by this form of governing, its pillars are built on freedom: basically of expression and the right to be informed.

Freedom of expression and information are crucial rights whose realization depends on the realization of other human rights. It is directly related to freedom of association, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, the right to a fair trial, the right to free elections. The right to express one's opinion is broader than the right to information, and the individual has the right to express his opinion only, even not share it with others.

**Judging** by definition, the situation with freedom of expression and information seems perfectly placed in all democratic societies.

Although, still, there are countries where people die exercising freedom of expression (Syria, Afghanistan)...

Still there are countries that receive negative points because their people do not fully enjoy freedom of expression and information...

Still, in Brussels reports on the EU - candidate states (for ex Western Balkan states), stand remarks addressed precisely to the disrespect of freedom...

How is it possible in the most perfect type of society, built and constantly updated over the centuries, still have problems with freedom? Are freedoms hurting “themselves” by attacking one another, in a situation where there is a lack of set limits? Are freedoms collide and contradict? Is the main point that democracy has its flaws and proves that it is not the most perfect social system?

Probably the truth answers have been dosed in every mention question.

Ukrainian crisis is a typical dimension as free expression and freedom of information brought the country to ruin. Free expression was the reason for the country to be divided into two parts: those (Ukrainians) who want to see their country fully integrated in the European Union, and those in who still lives the strong desire for the Soviet Union. Freedom of information and informing were the instruments in the hands of forces of either side that incited processes to division. Western and Eastern media have played their roles, as opinion leaders, continuously creating images for (its) perfect future of Ukraine. What was the success of the "freedoms ", or better said, the success of its practitioners? They failed to lead Ukraine to insurmountable differences, to war, to an end.

What happened with the media? They are direct creators of the so called "Second Cold War". Instead they are an instrument of unification, remained to be an instrument of division, an instrument in the hands of those, who under the protection of democracy have been pushing personal, political and other interests. As a consequence of that, Baltic countries, for example, banned the broadcast of one of the channels on Russian state, just because broadcasting reports in the Ukrainian crisis as biased and contrary to the interests and security of the Baltic countries.

One of the highlights, when it comes to whether freedom of expression and information is a reality today, is the double standards of respect and not respect.

In many cases, especially the last 5 years, has been proved that the principle of assessment, the so-called "carrot and stick principle" is the basic tool of international factors when giving recommendations and assessments on the smaller and weaker countries. Politics is the filter through which pass all the methods of evaluation and decision-making. Democracy, with all the rights and freedoms that underpin it, became skilful used instrument in achieving political goals of the world most powerful once.

**At** the end can be concluded that the basic tenets of democracy (freedom of expression and information) are reality. But, the problem is their abuse. This means that actual democratic systems are failing to protect and ensure their full implementation. Obviously democracy as a way of regulation and governance must be further improved. What is needed is a new, more perfect and more suited way of practicing democracy. What is needed is its controlling. No

matter if it is called "controlled democracy", "neo- democracy" or other, least important is that this new democracy system must provide basic tenets to be respected in every sense of the word.



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## IS THE LEARNING FOR DEMOCRACY ADEQUATE TODAY?

JOVAN PETRESKI

*After attack of the USA on the 9/11, the whole world was changed forever in the way that after 14 years there are still questions in some part of the world: Is the democracy the right way to arrange the be a better place of our citizens from all nationalities and religions?*

In the era of mass communication major role in promoting democratic values and democracy have certainly the media and the internet in the era of globalization where the information in each part of the globe reaches in a split second. But to not forget also a great role media and the internet have played in spreading the hate speech that in recent years has experienced its culmination especially in Europe with emergence of extreme parties who are experiencing their renaissance after WW II. Is the best way to reduce hate speech in one society by is censoring the media who promote violence, radicalism, non-tolerance by authorities and the state? Whether this would change something in a society that wants to promote democracy in an era when everybody has a profile on FB, Tweeter, LinkedIn, YouTube etc.? Whether this would violate one of the most important rights of democracy the Right for free expression? History shows us how much more state authorities will try to prevent hate speech through censorship and control the more will increase the resistance in parts of society that promote this type of world view. Therefore we must be very careful in trying to prevent hate speech and incitement to intolerance and radicalism by censorship and control of the media (radio, television, Internet, print media, etc) to by state authorities. This is a very complex issue which requires engagement of all relevant stakeholders in a states that wants to be a promoters of democratic benefits in an era when globally are occurring wars, especially in countries of authoritarian regimes that wanted to bring democracy in the country (examples with the revolutions of the Arab continent where in some countries have moved in open conflict with unpredictable consequences and mass casualties).

Radicalization can happen at any age, young people in search of a sense of belonging, purpose, and/or identity may be more vulnerable to violent extremism and radicalization. Radicalization among youth can and should be prevented, starting at an early age, in formal schools settings.

Particular efforts are needed with respect to teenagers, a group that is generally harder to engage with as they have specific interests and may avoid or oppose those they perceive as figures of authority.

Informal education plays a key complementary role and youth work by civil society organizations can support peace-building and promote tolerance based on positive and enjoyable activities. Lessons learnt can be drawn from activities carried out by civil society organizations working especially with youth from the early ages through all stages of education system in the every state who like to promote democracy and democratic thinking, to promote diversity among all citizens like a way of living. While radicalization is often understood and spoken with a negative connotation, it was argued that youth should be radicalized towards peace and democracy. Youth should be encouraged to embrace and actively promote peace, tolerance and democracy although these may be held as radical ideas in their communities.

*How we can achieve this in our societies where we live with diversities of nationalities, culture and religion? These are some examples for achieving this in a diverse society especially in the diverse societies:*

- Strengthening the key contribution which education makes to personal development, social inclusion and participation, by imparting the fundamental values and principles which constitute the foundation of our societies.
- Ensuring inclusive education for all children and young people which combats racism and discrimination on any ground, promotes citizenship and democratic way of thinking and also teaches them to understand and to accept differences of opinion, of conviction, of belief and of lifestyle, while respecting the rule of law, diversity and gender equality ;
- Strengthening children's and young people's ability to think critically and exercise judgment so that, particularly in the context of the Internet and social media, they are able to grasp realities, to distinguish fact from opinion, to recognize propaganda and to resist all forms of indoctrination and hate speech.

The importance of civic responsibility is paramount to the success of democracy and fighting against the hate speech and extreme ideologies. Civic Education is a method in which to teach

civic responsibility, it is a way to promote and enlighten responsible citizenry committed to democratic principles. This is very important in the multicultural society where we have a diversity of culture, religion and nationalities.

If a society wants to be successful in learning their citizens about the importance and benefits of democracy and respect of others, the best way is to encourage the state by stimulating a culture of coexistence sharing cultural values of the democracy that will achieve the goal society to be tolerant and to fight against hate speech among their citizens. The concept of cultural democracy comprises a set of related commitments:

- protecting and promoting cultural diversity, and the right to culture for everyone in our society;
- encouraging active participation in community cultural life especially in the multicultural societies;
- enabling people to participate in policy decisions that affect the quality of our cultural lives;
- assuring fair and equitable access to cultural resources and support.

All of the measures for promoting pluralism and critical thinking through education, culture, civic action; and initiatives which increase the public's defense against hate speech and extreme ideology must be a priority of all actors in a society that wants to enjoy all the benefits offered by democracy.

### **Finally is learning for democracy adequate today?**

Yes indeed, because there is no alternative other way, because learning and respect for democracy and all the values that it promotes and respects are the only way one society to be prosperous through permanent education of their citizens in cooperation with all actors who play a major role in process of spreading these values among all citizens no matter of nationality, religion or color of the skin.

VIKTOR ILIEVSKI

If we pose the question what would be a democratic solution to the dilemma ‘freedom or control’, then it is clear that there is no viable alternative to the commitment to freedom and civil rights as the basis and essence of democracy. That is a condition without which no true democratic society is possible. Freedom and civil rights have to be widely available. In the real democracies this is not a matter of negotiation or even discussion. The above dilemma arises only in those places where the basic principles of democracy are threatened. Under a threat of this kind there is no real and sustainable development. In the states where this dilemma is current there is obviously a deficiency of liberties and rights. The fundamental human rights, like the right to life, protection by the law, right to education and work and social security, right to privacy, freedom of thought and expression, etc., are the foundation of the democratic pillars on which the most important values and capabilities of humanity are resting, in every department of life and in any kind of occupation, be it politics, economy, law, culture, media development, IT technology, protection of the environment, sport.

All the other forms of rights are based upon the fundamental human rights and freedoms, and here another basic principle has to be emphasized, namely the principle of equality of possibilities and obligations that result from the rights and liberties which have to be guaranteed to every human being, without exception. That is the key determinant which is supposed to guarantee that every individual will harmonize his personal social, political, ethnic and religious affiliations with the common interest of the people. In this way the true personal dignity of each individual may be established, but it will be gained only if the establishment practices open access policy and universally implements the principle of equal opportunities and obligations. There are the key institutional defense mechanisms against the various contemporary risks which endanger the democratic freedoms.

The basic human rights and liberties may become endangered if the external threats of ideological character overpower the institutional fundamentals of those rights and liberties, if the political, economic, religious or ethnic divisions give rise to major social stratification and destabilization of the society, if the current technological and economic development is employed in the service of a particular social strata or a political party within certain society. and

when the rights and liberties that guarantee a dignified life to each individual lose the battle with the particular interests of a small political group in a particular society, than the society in question certainly enters at least the phase of controlled democracy, which introduces new processes in the frame of which the necessary claim for more democratic rights competes with the controlled democracy of the system. It is, of course, clear that the possibilities for control, even in the most developed societies, are fully in the hands of the governing establishment. In the cases where the establishment cannot or does not want to recognize the true values and the creative power of each individual in the wider social environment, it uses and misuses that power of control, covertly or openly. The control of the public media is not the final, but certainly one of the key steps which leads to the control, limitation and finally subordination of the democratic processes.

Where does Macedonia today stand in this regard? We have to find a way, exclusively through democratic means, to overcome the single-mindedness which is imposed upon the citizens of this country, where the ruling party makes decisions overlooking the will and the interests of those citizens who are of different opinion and who have different understanding of the democratic capacities that need to be imbibed by the authorities in power. This country has been engrossed in a kind of democratic decadence for years, and it needs people that will be able to lead it forward. It needs leaders able to recognize the capacities of the citizens, leaders capable disseminating knowledge and democratic values, but at the same time ready to respect and put to use for the common good the values and abilities possessed and displayed by the citizens. The power of the citizens in a democratic society is unlimited, provided the principle of equal opportunities and obligations is preserved, if the rights and liberties are being respected by the institutions of the system and if equal access to and free flow of vital information is ensured. These principles are, unfortunately, lacking from the contemporary Macedonian society. A good step toward their restoration is the slow but sure emergence of the civil sector, represented first and foremost by the student movement and some other civil and leftist movements and associations. This phenomenon gives us the hope that we can progress faster and better, it shows that higher standards and values in life and work represent the goal to be attained in near future by the citizens of Macedonia, and that any time soon some other political, social and democratic criteria, much higher than the present, will be installed and embraced in this country as well.

MARIJA STEVANOVSKA

In an era of highly developed technology, widespread and timely information during intelligent energy and developed a sense of awareness and responsibility towards mankind, while green cities and free minds, everyday rage colored revolution.

At a time when physical borders are empty space and the world's only point of the universe of intelligent creatures that live run by instinct for profit and power, the red color became synonymous us how much more we have a bit of freedom.

Issues of the environment have taken center stage within recent years. With issues such as climate change, global warming, environmental degradation, pollution, extinction and execution of specific plants, insects and animals exemplify the inconvenient truth that we throw the sight many documentaries with unpleasant truths in order that the destruction not the result itself of the natural evolution, but crude profit greedy revolution. Al Gore Hollywood movies, Avatar, The Aarhus Convention of Environmental Protection, the Protocol of Rio + 20 and Kyoto Protocol are few, and very strong arguments that should convince us to think how environmental benefit of the economy and a highly developed military and cyber technology ? All this is a problem in the name of the environment of particular importance to the development of democracy and environmental justice by assuming how much destruction will be curbed.

Environmental justice is not only a national but also a global problem. The effects of incubation of climate change is the most obvious example of self-destruction and extinction, caused mainly by humans burning fossil fuels, the maximum use of natural resources in the heavy industries, major accidents and chemical plants.

The significance and the role of environmental democracy have to take the most important place in the decisions of the actors who create public policies ranging from local, national up to international level through an inter-generational placement in all countries. Identifying the injustices in the environment is often a difficult task that offers information at a time of social inequalities in the public health which will set a clear framework for discrimination on the health of different communities of the environment.

Will once again question whether the commitment of the Aarhus Convention will fail to meet democratic principles contained in it as "a crucial roadmap for the future of human rights and the environment in all parts around the world" at a time of financial crisis, when the international policy environment working in the field of capacity building, increased scientific research and achievement in protection?

Under the first pillar of the Convention, access to information, document aims mainly to focus on transparency and access to timely information placed on the public with clear definitions character povrazni to strict rules in order to increase public confidence and avoid spreading misinformation quality of the information. Through access to information, the Convention aims to encourage national dialogue on access to information including a wide range of stakeholders through active outreach to information dissemination sustainability by providing open public data access to information and use of the Internet and the role of social media for information and public involvement in the area of decision-making.

The role of public participation of the public in environmental democracy is transparent treatment and equal partner in the decision making process in the making of timely and relevant items based on decisions and results. Senior representatives of governments, business and civil society are the main actors who create environmental democracy and take account of security and functionality of the laws and decisions that should be applied in practice.

Rule of law, access to information is a key link for the elimination of barriers to access to justice for decision making. Decisions should include: elimination of certain rules that are laid NGO organizations, reduction of court fees, to avoid too expensive costs, greater support of the public interest in the environment protected by the mechanisms of the proceedings and removal of legal remedies and procedures undermine the rule of law and legal order. Restrictions on information access to justice significantly impede involvement and public participation in decisions about environmental protection, although it is part of the principle of rule of law for access to information.

Such issues require systemic solutions, not results from case to case. Therefore calls for the development of environmental democracy to find feasible ways to achieve effective reform objectives for transparent access to justice.

Finally again wonder whether democracy will fail to address the security risks associated with the digital revolution without jeopardizing the freedom and democratic stability? Are ecological democracy will be the topic of high politics of significant character and act as a balance between security, economic profit and ecological quality ??

Up to us to breathe colored revolutions or green building democracies



DUSHKO BOJOSKI

Starting from the complexity of the relation freedom- control-democracy and the interconnection between them, as well as, having in mind the very broad meaning of the three abovementioned terms, it is more than obvious that elaborating on all the aspects related to this axis is rather an impossible task, or let say, a not very much realistic mission to be engaged in.

The topic itself includes philosophical and theoretical approach, complemented by moral, political and economic aspects which are framed in the 21<sup>st</sup> century's cultural, social, political and economic circumstances and challenges.

In that regard, my modest contribution to this wider debate will be by sharing few thoughts on the topic: How much control kills democracy? Maybe I should start with: is the word Control the right word to use? It is a very complex word in itself, therefore someone may find it as an indirect implication of a debate leaning towards, somewhat abusive, control of the State. Accordingly, more suitable and fitting approach would be if we rephrased it as: how to balance freedom and security in a liberal democratic society? In this regard we do not ask the question either/or but rather how to balance protection of freedoms vs concerns for safety.

On one side there are those who argue that the government's security strengthening curtail individual freedom. On the other side are conservatives who argue that the national security and protection of the state sometimes requires sacrificing some of the rights.

The fact actually is the fact that there is a fine line between the act of protecting the human rights and freedoms and the act of violating them, when the State goes beyond its proper functions.

In my personal opinion, security is actually a prerequisite for freedom. The very purpose of the Government is to provide security and the rule of law in order for individuals to be able to exercise freedom in its' purest form.

Security of the individual is a basic human right and the protection of individuals is, accordingly, a fundamental obligation of the Government.

Furthermore, having in mind the security threats these days, both domestic and international, and the unconventional enemies the states are facing with, the debate whether it is necessary for the state to interfere is only a defocus from the main problem and it weakens the capacity of the state to react to the rising security threats.

“There shall be no interference by a public authority with the exercise of this right (the right to respect private and family life, home and correspondence) except such as is in accordance with the law and is necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security, public safety or the economic well-being of the country, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others. (Article 8 Paragraph 2, ECHR).”

Article 8 is a broad-ranging right which is often closely connected and correlated with other rights such as freedom of religion, freedom of expression, freedom of association and the right to respect for property. As a part of the Council of Europe legislative, this makes it clear that those rights are not absolute and that the public authorities can interfere. But it is of crucial important to mention that the interference is limited, only in very determined circumstances and in accordance with the law. Additionally, as a paramount, that is necessary in a democratic society, in pursuit of one or more of the legitimate aims. Needless to say that there is a list of non-derogable rights, such as the right to live or the freedom of thought, conscience and religion.

When it comes to the final few lines, instead of a conclusion, I would like to raise a question which currently is probably the most commonly discussed topic referring to these rights and the freedom state violation debate. Let's ask ourselves: is it necessary and rightful to implement security measures such as: surveillance, metadata retentions, passengers name record (PNR) data protection, and what are the implications for a fully comprehensive point of view? This paramount of a question should be a subject of a very broad and serious public debate.

NIKOLCE TASEVSKI

World of today as we know it is really shrinking his dimensions. If twenty years ago China was Far East for European countries, today is only click away and couple of days if you order some goods. Technology development, global economical movements and free media, especially Internet, provided we think for a world of today as global village where virtually there are not boundaries. From one side this gave freedom to the people across the globe, but on the other hand, this diversity bring to the front doors vulnerability from the diverse sources of threats, such violent religion extremism, environmental risks, geopolitical risks, and most important, economical risks.

Like it nor not, World of today is very diverse. Countries which in the history were more closed and conservative to immigrants, faced with aging of nation and pressure for economic growth, open their job market to people from diverse countries and diverse cultures. And this open not only job market, this open whole society, from new classmates at schools to new neighbors, from new colleagues at work to new friends and mixed marriages in families. This generated new sort of fear – fear from diverse society.

If fear exists can we be free? Is freedom possible if we think this diversity is threat to our established way of leaving? Can we tackle to escalation of fear on the base of civic answer to them and in the way of active citizenship? Is democracy possible in new diversity societies or we need to protect our “territory” and our “society”?

Answer to those questions we can find across the globe, in almost every spiritual teaching. Let’s open ourselves to those teachings and try to find what works for us.

All spiritual teachings teach us same thing – to love ourselves and to love others like ourselves. The same spiritual teachings teach us on wisdom and what to think about freedom and freedom from fear.

Lao Tzu, the founder of Taoism, on this is saying: “Kindness in words creates confidence. Kindness in thinking creates profoundness. Kindness in giving creates love”. Also, another of his saying is deeply truthful: “Be content with what you have, rejoiced in the way the things are. When you realize there is nothing lacking, the whole world belongs to you.” Lao Tzu watched life in all its dimensions and he saw that in life there is no struggle. The very idea of struggle is false and human, and it is the human mind that sees that there is violence in life, and if it not there, it is misunderstanding. Fear makes people slaves. When people are fearless, they are no longer a slaves, and they are neither afraid of anybody, nor make anybody afraid of them, so fear totally disappears.

Osho, one of the greatest Sufi sages is saying: “Drop the self. That is the most beautiful thing that can happen to you. That will be the greatest contentment that can come to you. Drop the self, if you really are selfish. If you really want to be blissful, drop the self -- because self is creating all your miseries and all your hells. It is difficult, because it looks like a paradox. But have you watched? All miseries come to you because of yourself, because of the ego. You are hurt again and again; you suffer so much because of the ego. It is like a wound which remains always alive, and anything, even a breeze, a cool breeze, hurts you. Somebody smiles and it hurts, somebody laughs and it hurts, somebody is going on his way, maybe lost in his own thoughts, not looking at you, then it hurts.”

In the Holy Bible, Luke 6:31 says: “Do to other as you would have them do to you.” Similar, Luke 6:34 says: “Love your enemies, do well to them, and lend to them without expecting to get anything back. Then your reward will be great, and you will be sons of the Most High, because he is kind to the ungrateful and wicked.”

The Holy Quran also is teaching on love and fearless. Quran 16:91 says: “God enjoins justice, and the doing of good to others; and giving like kindred; and forbids indecency, and manifest evil, and wrongful transgression. He admonished you that you may take heed. Quran 29:70 says: ”God is with those who are of service to others.” Quran 16:129 says: “God is with those who are righteous and those who do well.”

From history we can learn that there is no society better than democracy, even knowing that democracy is not ideal one. Anyway, in democracy we need to learn that our own destiny and

future are in our own hands. We need to be responsible and practice active citizenship, and that our own security is our own responsibility. Yes, when we give our vote to our representatives we gave up of some part of our independence and sovereignty, but democracy works that way. Also, those representatives are our voice which has to say: diversity in society is strength, not weakness, and just because we are not the same, we are all equal. We share same values and thoughts, we all love and we are all humans, so there is no way for fear from each other. We all can live together, especially because we all share the same planet. Nobody possesses the planet, or state or city or neighbourhood. There is an enough place for everybody, and everybody is welcomed to give diversity in our society and to give his own contribution to better life for everybody.

DANIEL STOJANOVSKI

## **Introduction**

This essay will review the topic of providing personal data protection on the internet in the Republic of Macedonia. It includes the legal context of the personal data protection, the competent body, activities for personal data protection on the internet, as well as statistical data about motions for breaches of privacy.

### **Is this issue legally regulated?**

Yes, the right to personal data protection is a legally prescribed right at the highest legal level, with article 18 of the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia, as well as with the Law on Personal Data.

Furthermore, within the frames of its policy for approximation to EU legislation, as a candidate country, the Republic of Macedonia has been continuously monitoring and harmonizing its national legislation with the European, in the area of personal data protection. In this context, the Law on Personal Data Protection has been harmonized with the European directives, and the rights and obligations of this law are currently being implemented.

### **Definition of personal data**

Definition for "personal data": It is any information related to an identified physical entity or physical entity which may be identified, and a person which may be identified is a person whose identity may be established directly or indirectly, especially based on the person's single identification number or based on one or several specifics of the person's physical, mental, economic, cultural or social identity<sup>1</sup>.

### **Body responsible for personal data protection**

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<sup>1</sup> Article 2 from the Law on Personal Data Protection

The competent body for supervision of the lawfulness of the undertaken activities in the process of data processing and their protection in the Republic of Macedonia is the Personal Data Protection Directorate (PDPD in further text), established on 22 June 2005.

The Directorate is an independent State body with status of a legal entity. The Directorate acts upon motions for establishing violations of the right to personal data protection, implements projects, organizes campaigns and issues brochures and manuals.

### **Activities for personal data protection on the internet**

In addition to the activities for providing personal data protection in other areas, PDPD as a competent body, undertakes activities for cyber security of the personal data. The activities for personal data protection on the internet include procedures conducted by PDPD in the following cases:

- Identity theft;
- Disclosing personal data on the internet without the consent of the holder of such data;
- Abuse of personal data on the internet;
- Abuse of password to profiles or electronic addresses;
- Creating false profiles on social internet pages; and
- Uploading videos without the consent of the personal data subject.

### **Statistics for the period 2010-2014**

The analysis of the PDPD annual reports shows the following statistics regarding the motions processed by PDPD, as presented in Table 1 for the period 2010-2014.

*Table 1: Number of motions filed to PDPD in the period from 2010-2014, related to abuse of personal data on the internet, number of motions according to year<sup>2</sup>*

<b>Grounds for submitting motion</b>	<b>Number of motions per year</b>				
	<b>2010</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2014</b>
False Facebook profile	153	87	118	187	142
Hacked Facebook profile	2	12	49	43	47
Removing a photo and video content	3	3	9	6	13
Motions based on other grounds		14	31	16	

The analysis of the data presented in the table presented a tendency of increase of the number of actions upon motions for abuses of personal data undertaken by PDPD on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia.

This never-ending hot topic regarding protection on personal data on the internet is by no mean exception in Macedonia. Therefore, further action according to best practice around the globe should be promoted, implemented and monitored.

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<sup>2</sup> Annual Reports from the Personal Data Protection Directorate for the years 2010 – 2014 [http://dzlp.mk/god\\_izv](http://dzlp.mk/god_izv), assessed on 01 June 2015