

Searching for a better world? The campaigns and other activities of anti-globalization movements in Macedonia



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Abstract

This paper examines the development of anti-globalization movements in Macedonia. The aim is to focus on those organizations that have conducted a significant number of campaigns and protests in the country but which have not been subjected to sufficient academic research. The paper presents a review of the development of anti-globalization movements and various classifications of the opponents of neoliberal globalization. In addition to reviewing the experiences of other countries, the paper follows the emergence of anti-globalists in Macedonia after the bombardment of Yugoslavia in 1999. The organizations are treated separately in terms of their nationalist or anti-nationalist orientation and are analyzed from their beginnings up to the present day. Reviewing their activities and campaigns, the last part of this paper concludes that it is difficult for anti-globalization movements in countries such as Macedonia, on the periphery of the 'global village', to establish a developed network of citizens to challenge and overcome the problems arising from globalization.

Key words: *Anti-globalization, Anti-globalization movements, Activists, Protests, Campaigns, the Republic of Macedonia.*

Introduction

There are a number of issues that have risen to prominence with the process of globalization, including: the growth of nationalism; the emergence of global terrorism; environmental pollution and the destruction of nature; the rise of mergers of multinational corporations and the consequent emergence of an extremely small number of companies that enjoy an oligopolistic position in economic sectors; the continuous exacerbation of inequality in all fields of society, as well as between countries, regions and continents; the continuous expansion of genetic engineering; and more and more unilateral military interventions without the consent of the UN Security Council. All of these consequences of globalization have produced a revolt against injustice among citizens and groups in society, with the final result of building strong opposition to the trends of globalization. The losers of neoliberal globalization form the core of anti-globalization movements.

According to Jan Aart Scholte, today's anti-globalist movements can be grouped in three broad categories: reactionaries, reformists and transformists. He considers the reformists and transformists to be part of alter-globalization and counter-globalization movements, but not as anti-globalization activists. Reactionaries are the real anti-globalists of modern politics. For these critics, 'globality' at its roots is significantly and unacceptably dangerous, unjust, undemocratic and unstable. For reactionaries, it is only with a shift toward national and local spheres that people can build a better society (Scholte 2008: 70).

Besides defining opponents of neoliberal globalization as reactionaries or sceptics, Baylis, Smith and Owens (2010) call them 'anti-globalists'. These authors claim that these movements are free networks of activists demanding reforms of international financial institutions. Such activists gained popularity in the mainstream media after the protests that took place in Seattle in 1999. "The many names of anti-globalization reflect its overall lack of structure and organization, its distinct lack of major platforms or a single ideology and emphasize its fluidity." (cited in Clancy 2010; Klein 2002; *Upping the Anti* 2007; Bantjes 2007) Slovenian professor Žiga Vodovnik argues that opponents of globalization have introduced a new historical benefit to all humanity: "The movement was one of the first to overcome ethnic, religious and even gender differences, and was also able to connect European Enlightenment ideas with indigenous cultures." (Vodovnik 2010: 47) However, some theoreticians claim that

there is no room for great optimism because there also exist various far-right groups within the spectrum of anti-globalization movements: “Critics and opponents of globalization are ideologically and politically very different groups and movements—from Zapatistas and anarchist groups, through trade unions, social democrats and neo-communists on the left, to classical conservationists and extreme right-wing groups.” (Subotić 2003: 301)

Sceptics of modern globalization pursue their goals through counter-summits, global campaigns and social forums. At the same time, the internalization and popularization of these movements sometimes leads to their being linked with rich foundations, some of which have been established by international corporations. According to Chossudovsky (2013), a typical example of this is the constitution of the World Social Forum, held for the first time in the Brazilian city of Porto Alegre in 2001. As a global event highlighting the negative effects of the activities of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the World Trade Organization and other international institutions, this event involves several thousand non-governmental organizations and associations of citizens from over 120 countries. Chossudovsky argues that the campaign against neoliberalism organized by the World Social Forum is financed by corporate foundations that are firmly committed to the free market and to neoliberal economic policy under the auspices of the International Monetary Fund (Chossudovsky 2013).

It should not be forgotten that national identity and cultural values create certain differences between anti-globalists in United States and Europe. In terms of the incitement for opposing neoliberal globalization, Eddy Fougier explains that it is possible to draw some sort of distinction between anti-globalization movements on both sides of the Atlantic. Thus, American anti-globalists are oriented towards the fight against free trade, foreign direct investments and the threats they pose to jobs and incomes. In contrast, French activists link modern globalization not only with financial flows (the mobility of capital and the authoritarianism of stakeholders), but include also the consequences related to cultural and national identity, sovereignty, democracy, inequality, the welfare state, public services, the environment, social rights and humanitarian activities (Fougier 2003: 2–3).

Many intellectuals cite the protests of Seattle in 1999 as the real origins of anti-globalization movements across the world, Tens of thousands of people went out onto the streets of the US city of Seattle on 30 November 1999 to protest against the ministerial conference of

the World Trade Organization. This large-scale event led to the formation of the Independent Media Centre as a network of collectively managed, independent and alternative media organizations and activists. The unexpected scale of these protests, and the effects that arose from the awkwardness of police forces in policing the demonstrations, launched the hitherto unknown anti-globalists into the focus of the mainstream media for the first time. These movements were described as opponents of the form of world development dictated by transnational corporations and the negative effects of globalization. “The term anti-globalization was attributed to the movement by news media after the Seattle protests in 1999, but is not technically accurate as it implies that the movement is against globalization.” (Atkinson 2005; Klein 2002, cited in Clancy 2010) In fact the unexpected scale of the protests in Seattle led to the creation of a negative image of these people.

This paper follows the development of anti-globalization movements in Macedonia from their origins to the present day. The main goal is to analyse the anti-globalization protests that have been organized in this country, but also to explore the spectrum of movements, groups and organizations that have raised their voices against some of the negative aspects of modern globalization. In the following parts of this paper are included organizations directly connected with campaigns that can be characterized as anti-globalist in terms of the reasons for their establishment. This paper examines their different approaches to action, the major goals of their campaigns, and the most important actions of these organizations, although some of them have never officially identified themselves with the term ‘anti-globalist’.

From Seattle to Skopje

A few months before the events in Seattle, one of the biggest protests in the history of the small Balkan state of Macedonia took place in the country’s capital. Expressing their anger with the bombardment of Yugoslavia that started on 24 March 1999, thousands of citizens staged a protest in Skopje (Dimitrovski 1999). As was later to happen in Seattle, the results of this event included conflicts with the police and major damage to public and private property. The US embassy building in Skopje was attacked and set on fire. The Macedonian Interior Minister,

Pavle Trajanov, declared that more than 5,000 people were present at this protest, which was organized by the Democratic Party of Serbs in Macedonia, the Serbian community in Macedonia, and supported, according to some media reports, by the Communist Party of Macedonia (Dimitrovski 1999; *Nova Makedonija* 1999; *Večer* 1999). This massive protest should be seen as the beginning of anti-globalist movements in Macedonia and was also one of the major anti-US and anti-NATO protests in Europe to have taken place in that period.

From today's perspective, the protest in Skopje in 1999 can be seen on the one hand as clear provocation from conservative forces in Macedonia, Yugoslav intelligence services and criminal actors opposed to the process of Macedonia's European integration, but also as an expression of genuine anger against the bombardment of innocent civilians, hospitals, industrial facilities and media buildings, as well as an embassy, by the world's leading military power. After the protest, most of the Macedonian media declared that the event had been organized by official institutions and radical structures/elements in Belgrade in cooperation with Serbian organizations in Macedonia (*Nova Makedonija* 1999; *Večer* 1999). In the following days, during the aerial bombing of Yugoslavia, peaceful anti-NATO protests took place in other Macedonian towns and cities, including Kumanovo, Bitola, Strumica and Negotino.

A neutral perspective on this anger against NATO in Macedonia is probably to be found in the middle of the spectrum of these opposite views, and it is precisely from here that the contours of the anti-globalist movements in this country can be drawn. These movements are extremely heterogeneous, without definite organization or leaders, without clearly defined goals, with a strong aversion to clearly determined agenda, and are rarely present in media reporting and analysis. These are the basic characteristics of resistance in Macedonia against neoliberal globalization, and they have been apparent from the beginning to the present day.

The type of mass protest that occurred in Skopje in 1999 against a global event has never since been repeated in Macedonian history. The organization of events against the negative effects of globalization has been reduced solely to rare reactions to major international events, usually as part of larger international campaigns taking place in dozens of other cities, which in the end can be described as 'global'.

Several years after this major protest, Skopje joined in the antimilitaristic campaign against the invasion of Iraq by the United States and other western allies in 2003. On 15

February of that year, a peace protest took place in the capital against the war in Iraq as a warning against allowing air bombardments being launched from this country. In contrast with the anonymously staged protest of 1999, the organizers of this action officially presented themselves. Hundreds of citizens were led by the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights, the Macedonian Centre for International Cooperation, the Social Forum, the NGO Peace Action and several other NGOs. According to the NGOs involved: “The protest is part of the February 15 2003 anti-war protest against the war in Iraq, held in around 70 countries worldwide, which was initiated after the possibility of military intervention in Iraq.” (*Gragjanski Svet* 2003)

Nearly five years later, in 2008, the Lenka Movement for Social Justice organized the first protest against Macedonia’s bid for membership in NATO and against NATO as a military organization. Similar events were organized in the next two years, as part of a further struggle against militarism in Macedonia. On 23 October 2011, the first Macedonian anti-capitalist conference was organized in Skopje, with participation from the members of Lenka and several other organizations, including university professors and anti-capitalist activists from Greece (*Lisica* 2011).

Although actions expressing opposition to current global tendencies can be characterized as being rare in Macedonia, they have certainly existed in the country. However, none of these events held so far can be called ‘anti-globalist’. Macedonian movements do not identify themselves with this term; nor have the majority of issues arising from globalization been put into question. To date there has been an absence of campaigns against the World Trade Organization and the World Bank, as well as any kind of struggle against the influence of global media. The anti-militaristic protests organized in 2008, 2009 and 2010 were isolated events. However, one constant has been the activities against the Government’s desire for Macedonia’s membership in NATO (*Lenka* n.d.). Anti-globalist roots can be found in several Macedonian non-governmental organizations and movements. The organization of a conference against capitalism by the Lenka movement and the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation did not pass without criticism of international financial institutions. And the anger felt about the bombardments of Yugoslavia and Iraq did not omit resistance to military organizations that have the power and resources to enable their global dominance.

Anti-globalist movements in Macedonia

Macedonian anti-globalists can be divided into a range of actors, from independent individuals to social movements, non-governmental organizations and civic associations fighting against specific negative issues generated by or influenced by globalization. There are obvious differences in their methods of action, their organizational structure, and the effectiveness of their campaigns.

In terms of its longevity of existence and continuity of action, the Lenka Movement for Social Justice should be considered in first place for their organized and active fight against neoliberal globalization in Macedonia. This movement was established on 28 July 2008 as a group of people struggling against capitalism, nationalism, militarism, clericalism and conservatism. The Lenka movement has developed a manifesto that represents a starting-point for implementing their activities. This document clearly indicates the group's opposition to neoliberal forms of globalization. Some of the goals that support this position are presented in the movement's manifesto. The Lenka movement takes a critical stance to the position of Macedonia in the globalized world and the inconsiderate decisions taken by the political leadership of the country in order to support global powers. In their view, Macedonia has taken the position of an obedient satellite of more powerful players in the world, is constantly under pressure from controlled instability, and is managed by corrupt elites. The manifesto presents the position of this movement in terms of the country's cooperation with the main pivots of globalization today. The Lenka Movement for Social Justice is against the country taking loans from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and against the militaristic policy of Macedonia and its participation in the occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan. Social activists demand an open debate on issues related to the European integration of the country and are strongly against the alliance between NATO and the Republic of Macedonia. From a political perspective, the Lenka movement is a radical leftist organization in which individuals with different left-wing ideological backgrounds are involved in activities (*Lenka* n.d.).

In a period of five years, this social movement has undertaken a number of campaigns and protests, and also published three studies connected with the experiences of Macedonian workers on strike, an analysis of labour legislation and the positive decisions of Macedonian

courts in favour of some workers. These papers, together with several debates and the anti-capitalist conference in 2011, were organized in collaboration with the regional office of the Rosa Luxemburg foundation in Belgrade.

In the area of anti-militarism, the Lenka movement organized three protests between 2008 and 2010 against Macedonia's membership in NATO and against NATO as a military organization. The movement also organized two protests on 31 October 2009 and 20 March 2010 calling for the withdrawal of Macedonian troops from Afghanistan and Iraq (*Lenka* n.d.). Lenka has developed a structure not only in Skopje but also in other cities in Macedonia, including Kumanovo, Veles, Bitola and Ohrid. Open discussions and film screenings are organized by the movement in different cities in several locations.

After several years of joint activity, some members of the Lenka movement decided to form a new organization for more effective action. The Solidarnost movement was founded in May 2012 by a group of activists connected with various initiatives and organizations, most of them from the Lenka movement. Guided by leftist ideology, this organization pledges to support the humanization of all spheres of society, social justice, labour rights and participatory democracy. "Solidarnost unites the people against all authoritarian forms of government and its system of exploitation, and stands against nationalism, militarism and clericalism." (*Solidarnost* n.d.) The first Solidarnost event was held in June 2012, when they organized a forum for alternative views on the economic crisis in Greece and the success of the Greek Coalition of the Radical Left, Syriza. One of the biggest activities of this movement was a Balkan anti-nationalist conference organized in Skopje. The purpose of the conference was to bring together several political organizations fighting against nationalism and advocating policies for solidarity and social justice in the Balkans. The event was held on 16 December 2012 with the attendance of representatives from the Greek Coalition of the Radical Left, *Syriza*, the Albanian organization, *Antonio Gramsci*, the Bulgarian organization, *Haspel*, the Kosovan *KMD* organization, and the Macedonian movements, *Lenka* and *Solidarnost*. This event called for an international campaign against nationalism in the region (*Solidarnost* n.d.).

The Solidarnost movement differs from the Lenka Movement for Social Justice in several respects. First of all, Solidarnost has more influence on public opinion in Macedonia. Some of the founders of this organization are university professors and are thus actively included in

various media reports. Also, Solidarnost is mostly oriented towards organizing debates and conferences, in contrast with the Lenka movement which tends to express opinions through staging protests. But the main contrast lies in the statute and constitutional documents of Solidarnost, in which there is no mention of the negative effects of globalization. The main goals of the Solidarnost movement are set out on a more abstract theoretical level, without giving specific details about their opinion of Macedonia's membership in NATO, about the country's loans from international financial institutions, or any clear standpoint on the introduction of genetically modified organisms in Macedonia. In contrast, the Lenka movement's activities are oriented towards campaigning against the consequences of ongoing financial and economic globalization, such as poverty, unemployment, inequality and other negative effects.

As a member of this organization, university professor Zdravko Saveski published his own article on the official blog of this organization, with the title 'Macedonia's Intoxication with Capitalism'. Besides responding to local problems, this article also elaborated on global trends that have an influence on many current problems. "The world economic crisis has lasted more than four years. Its length and depth, as well as the consequences to the standard of living of the poor and unprivileged, is for many people a sufficient reason to reject the basic thesis of neoliberal propaganda, which says that capitalism is the best of all economic systems." (Saveski 2013)

Besides these two social movements, there are also other organizations in Macedonia that criticize specific aspects of today's globalization. Some of these are connected with anarchist ideology and frequently related to anti-globalization ideas. Organizations currently active in Macedonia with this ideology include the *Anarchist Front*, the *Black Bloc*, and *Meta Libertas*. Some of them, such as the Anarchist Front, are actively involved in the organization of events, while others rarely try to promote their public profiles and represent a close circle of a few members, or simply individuals who react independently.

Besides engaging by creating a movement with anti-globalist ideas, Macedonian anarchists offer books, magazines, documentaries, radio and video materials, articles from internet-sites and other content. They maintain blogs and social media pages where they publish materials related to their causes. This form of action is known for the project *Teror 13*. As an anarchist info-shop, library and distributor, it was established in November 2004 in a small

garage in Skopje (*Teror 13* n.d.). Their website is divided in two parts: one part consists of news about anarchist activities in Macedonia and important events from other countries; but the most important part of this project is the library. Some of their books are free of charge, including anti-globalization literature. Some of them have been translated into Macedonian.

Supported by their own printed and electronic publications, domestic anarchist movements continue to exist in response to negative developments on the political scene. However, the main characteristic of these organizations is that they typically exist for a short period of time and are usually composed of a small number of activists. The oldest functional organization is the Anarchist Front, which was formed in July 2009 (*Anarchist Front Facebook Page* n.d.). They staged a protest in front of the Serbian embassy in 2012 against the detention of several anarchists in Belgrade. One year before this event, the Anarchist Front supported an anti-NATO conference in Serbia in response to a NATO conference in Belgrade in the period from 13 to 15 June 2011 (*Anarchist Front Facebook Page* n.d.). In cooperation with the Anima Mundi Association for the Protection of Animals, based in Skopje, the Anarchist Front organized a demonstration as part of an International Day of Action Against McDonald's in 2010, a global event that happened in many countries in the world.

Between November 2009 and May 2013, the Anarchist Front created their own publication, a fanzine called *Sloboda* in which they published articles on several anti-globalization themes, including news about worldwide protests against GMO, articles against loans from the International Monetary Fund, and updates on the periodical activities of Macedonian anarchists. Along with the Macedonian Marxist magazine *Nova Iskra*, the fanzine *Sloboda* is one of the two Macedonian media publications that have openly represented leftist ideas and supported certain anti-globalization issues. From 10 to 12 June 2011, the Anarchist Front hosted the 6th Balkan Anarchist Book Fair in Skopje, an annual regional event. After previously taking place in Ljubljana, Zagreb, Sofia, Athens, Thessaloniki and Zrenjanin, this event took place in Skopje's Youth Cultural Center with a presentation of books, film screenings, and discussions and debates on the theme 'Global Crisis: the Production of Despair' and other topics related to the crisis of capitalism, nuclear energy and Balkan nationalism (*Anarchist Front Facebook Page* 2011).

In 2013, another anarchist group was formed in Skopje. With the identical name as a

group prominent in the WTO protests in Seattle of 1999, the Black Bloc. This group is a collection of individual anarchists that is established on three basic, though not limiting, principles: direct democracy, direct action, solidarity and mutual assistance. “We believe that freedom and equality cannot be achieved without the abandonment of all forms of political power of the country and the economic power of the ruling class.” (*Crm Blok* n.d.) Macedonian anarchists from the Black Bloc have not so far been actively included in protests and their actions are confined to the publication of articles on specific topics. In contrast to the Seattle protests, this anarchist group uses peaceful methods for expressing their opinions.

In addition to the activities of these anarchist groups, there is also criticism in Macedonia of direct investments by world financial institutions in risky construction projects. Loans from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and from the World Bank for specific energy projects have been subject to criticism, including from ecological organizations that are supported by European financial funds. For example, a campaign for the environmental protection of the biggest national park in the country was launched by the Centre for Environmental Research and Information, *Eco-Sense*. This citizens’ association monitors the implementation of EU environmental legislation in Macedonia, but it also decided to start an institutional campaign against the construction of the Boshkov Most hydropower plant in the Mavrovo National Park. Eco-sense decided to submit a complaint to the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development against their approval of financing for the Boshkov Most hydropower plant project. Through several meetings, an official letter to the European Commission, an analysis and a workshop, this organization launched a campaign to oppose the construction of the energy facility that threatened to destroy biodiversity in the Mavrovo National Park. In the final phase of their campaign, Eco-Sense succeeded in convincing European financial institutions and the project was subjected to further review (*Ekosvest* n.d.). This successful campaign is part of the organization’s strategy of running campaigns against environmentally destructive projects of international financial institutions. Eco-Sense was also the first organization to launch a campaign against genetic engineering and GM products in Macedonia. In order to raise public awareness about the effects of these scientific innovations, a project for declaring GMO-free zones in Macedonia was conducted in 2008 and 2009. The municipalities of Ohrid, Valandovo, Veles, Chashka, Mogila, Vevčani and Vasilevo accepted

resolutions against planting these kinds of GM organisms in their areas (*Ekosvest* n.d.). The campaign against GMO in Macedonia was later enlarged by other ecological alliances and groups of individuals.

A second approach to campaigning against genetic engineering in Macedonia is through street actions organized by activists. In May 2012 and October 2013, protests were organized in Skopje against Monsanto and other global companies that produce genetically modified seeds. The main coordinator of these events is the organization called 'GMO-Free Macedonia', which has a webpage (stopgmo.mk) for following actions on this issue in Macedonia and abroad. Reflecting a growing awareness of this issue, some 'Food Not Bombs' events were specially organized by the Anarchist Front. For the first time, this kind of event in Macedonia was realized in August 2009 in the Macedonian town of Veles.

All of the activities of the abovementioned organizations are founded without nationalist or authoritarian principles. However, negative examples similar to the Serbian nationalist movements *Obraz* and *SNP 1389* are also present in Macedonia. Some of them proclaim themselves as anti-globalist movements. Besides contributing to some events, they are present through registered organizations.

The Anti-Globalist Union of Macedonia (AGUM) was founded in 2002. Amongst the activities AGUM has conducted over the past decade, in 2002 the organization issued the anti-globalist bulletin *Macedonian Voice*. They further collaborated with the Initiative for the Revocation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement. The Macedonian daily newspaper *Dnevnik* published an article in 2006 about the suicide of one of the most important members of this organization. The journalist who wrote this text states that the member of AGUM was actively involved in the wars in Yugoslavia as one of the closest collaborators with the Bosnian Serb former military leader Ratko Mladic (*Dnevnik* 2006). If we take into account all the activities of this organization and their members in the past, the Anti-Globalist Union of Macedonia can be compared with other Balkan nationalist movements.

Another group that has close ties with nationalism was especially active in 2013. As a group of intellectuals, *Macedonian Manifesto* is a public initiative against negotiations with Greece to resolve the name dispute between the two countries. To date they have organized protests and symbolically burnt a copy of the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest by which the geographic

region of Macedonia was partitioned amongst its neighbouring states (Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia). This group includes several writers, musicians, historians and university professors. Although not directly opposed to Macedonian membership of the European Union and NATO, some intellectuals from this group are opponents of certain aspects of the globalized world. Their discourse is characterized by strong emotional vocabulary, such as “genocide” committed against the Macedonian nation by neighbouring countries (Dimeska 2013). Through its strong criticism of the negotiations with Greece, and with active support from conservative elements in society against solving the name dispute, Macedonian Manifesto has the capacity to become a non-formal leader of some anti-globalists, but also nationalists, in the future.

Conclusion

Anti-globalist movements remain on the margins of Macedonian society. Their campaigns are usually small and without substantial influence on the final decisions taken by the political leadership of the country. Their activities are mostly ignored by the mainstream media. The press releases and articles that are mostly published on their websites, blogs and social media pages only rarely emerge onto the agenda of the Macedonian media and the public. This represents a further decline in real criticism and the generation of alternative ideas that might counter the neoliberal globalization of society. Almost none of the actions and ideas from antimilitaristic, antinationalist, anti-capitalist and ecological movements have been accepted by the political establishment. Their campaigns and other activities in Macedonia have so far failed to achieve a victory against any decision of the state that might provide them with encouragement and energy for further action. There has been only one case of success against world financial institutions, i.e. when Eco-Sense succeeded in convincing the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development to further review their participation in the construction of a hydropower plant in the Mavrovo National Park. However, this action was implemented through institutional means, using official legal channels for submitting complaints to this financial institution.

The level of development of actions in Macedonia against negative aspects of neoliberal

globalization cannot be compared with their development in countries of Western Europe. The main characteristic of domestic anti-globalist movements is their underdevelopment. Only a small number of organizations are involved in criticism against the current problems arising from globalization, and the number of individuals involved in these organizations is small. Some of these groups exist only informally, mostly with articles published on the Internet. This can be concluded from the number of events organized over a long period of time, their size and their real effects on the political scene. In contrast with Macedonia, there are advanced events in the neighbouring countries, one typical example being the Subversive Film Festival and Subversive Forum in Zagreb, Croatia. So far, these types of action have not been organized in Macedonia, especially not any kind of annual events.

The main weakness is their poor connection with similar organizations at regional and international level that would result in campaigns with a higher level of impact in more than one country. Some of the Macedonian anti-globalization movements have occasional contacts and joint activities with organizations from neighbouring countries, but they have been not continuously maintained or further evolved. The exchange of activists from different countries is also rare, with almost no inclusion of foreigners in domestic campaigns.

Despite these limitations, anti-globalists in Macedonia have some positive aspects that should be mentioned. With the clear exception of a small number of nationalist organizations, opponents of globalization in this country have the potential, and also clear space, for future campaigns. It is hard to find resistance against neoliberal globalization amongst the major political parties, interest groups, the media and non-governmental organizations, so that such organizations could fill the existing gap in criticism. Another affirmative position of these movements is that they refuse to be labelled with the term 'anti-globalists'. According to them, this concept is used by the mainstream media and main political actors to present their activities in a negative light. Finally, a crucial aspect of the history and current situation of anti-globalist movements in Macedonia is that they are necessary for the further democratic development of this country.

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