

Annotation of the materials under art. 65 of PRASPU

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Field of higher education:

9. Security and Defense

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9.1. National Security

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Security in the Balkans – foreign policy and diplomacy

I. Annotations of the materials

I.A. Monographs

1.

Goran Stoykovski. <i>The great change of the Macedonian Republic</i> . university publishing house „Paisii Hilendarski“, 2021, Plovdiv, ISBN 978-619-202-683-7, 154 p.
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The present critical analysis is a complex monographic study that traces in chronological order the transformation of Macedonia - a process that completely transformed the state within two decades. An interdisciplinary approach is applied: comparative political science and theoretical international political analysis. The analysis is based on the main assumption, that at the heart of the great change lies a complex of narrow ethno-political interests of the political elites, i.e. the ethno-confessional factor on one hand, and the interests of major players in the context of the international geopolitical and geostrategic situation, on the other.

Every crisis in the Balkans fits into and corresponds to every single scenario for destabilization of the international system on a border scale, whether on a regional, European or global level. In this context, every change in and around Macedonia represents a significant event concerning issues related to regional security, peace, stability and development of the region. Just

as stabilization, destabilization of international regional security can also be part of strategy of a power that seeks to rebalance the European, other regional, or even the global system.

The monograph covers three separate studies that analyze three consecutive periods, during which three key events occurred, marking the beginning of the great change. These are three periods of fundamental importance for understanding the Macedonian issue events: the armed conflict in 2001 and the subsequent Ohrid Framework Agreement, followed by the referendum for a new administrative division and local elections in 2005, and finally the early parliamentary elections held in 2008. The analysis of these events actually reveals the peculiar mix of ethno-political conflict, the ensuing complex diplomatic relations in international politics, external intervention and interparty compromises.

2.

Goran Stoykovski. ***The dawn of the white crescent – the perspectives of a new Turkish century on the Balkans.*** IRIS, 2014, Sofia, ISBN 978-9-5498582-7-3, 333 p.

Turkish strategic thinking, tactics, the essence of foreign policy goals and the geopolitical vision of the Republic of Turkey in general - represent a current issue that is not sufficiently researched by political science in Bulgaria. The monograph *The Rise of the White Crescent - Prospects for a New Turkish Century in the Balkans* is the first monograph written by a Bulgarian author, a new and original - authentically Bulgarian - scientific study presented to the domestic scientific thought, which analyzes this extremely topical issue.

The fall of Tito's Yugoslavia also marked the definitive end of the last traces of the Versailles system. The vacuum created by this change was successfully filled by the United States. However, after the U.S. shifted its focus towards Asia and the Far East, the power vacuum re-emerged.

The remarkable rise of Turkey in geopolitics after the end of the Cold War provided the country with a unique opportunity: a Muslim state to assert itself not only as a leader in Southeastern Europe, but also as a factor in relations between large Muslim communities in the Balkans, the South Caucasus, and the Middle East, and the respective states there, whose national territories these communities are part of.

The analysis reveals, among other things, the very essence of three very important aspects: **a)** what are the main goals set in the foreign policy activity of the Republic of Turkey after the end of the Cold War; **b)** what are the views of the Turkish political elite embedded in the new national doctrine for Turkey during the governance of the Justice and Development Party, and **c)** what are the characteristics of the geostrategic vision based on a new ideology: the Turkish Islamic consensus for the realization of a Muslim-Islamic synthesis, which aims to result in a pan-Muslim unification.

The book is structured into a total of 8 parts: a preface with an epilogue, an introduction, and the main research on the topic, presented in six consecutive chapters. Each of them examines the development of processes in geopolitics and analyzes the situation on a global and regional scale, as well as the consequences and practical results of the implementation of the Turkish foreign policy doctrine at the beginning of the new 21st century.

The presentation is supported by a significant number of examples and graphics - maps.

II.B. Academic article, reports and studies

Goran Stoykovski. ***Open Balkans in front of the (semi)closed doors of the EU***. UPH „st. Cyril and st. Methodius”, 2022, т. I, pp. 131-139. ISBN: 978-619-208-314-4; ISBN 314-4 (CD)

The article examines the phenomenon of the emerging and intensifying geopolitical dysfunction in the EU and the escalating accumulation of geopolitical risks, a period during which, among other things, Euroscepticism also emerged. This is a period in which new forces are on the rise and the world is brought into a situation of profound social and political change. The article analyzes the crisis of regional European integration in the Balkans, which actually occurred as a consequence of the crisis of integration within the EU itself. The research reveals the essence of the weaknesses in the foreign policy strategies of the Western allies, leading to an unforeseen situation with geostrategic significance. In this context, on one hand, there was a stagnation in European integration, while on the other hand, the foundations of a new and distinct Balkan Union - "Open Balkans" were laid.

In the period between two EU summits – in Thessaloniki in 2003 and in Brdo Castle near Kranj in 2021 – European integration in the Western Balkans gradually stagnated. Sensing that "the open door in Thessaloniki is gradually closing in Brdo Castle", some of the countries of the still non-integrated Western Balkans decided to institutionalize a special form of regional integration. The leaders of Albania, Macedonia and Serbia formed the "Open Balkans".

This article explores the phenomenon of why the West insists on globalization, modernization and democratization, but delays the process of Balkan integration. The article also traces why the East is interested in economic development and penetration of the Balkans, partly seeking modernization, but rejecting liberal democracy, capitalism, westernization and the westernization of societies - something that seduces some local forces in the Balkans.

The ultimate goal of the analysis is to trace and demonstrate to what extent the clash of these concepts threatens both global and regional security.

Goran Stojkovski. 2024. ***Exploratory reading of Arabia strategy „VISION 2030“ and its effect on the Serbian geopolitical worldview***, in: Public Policy.bg (Journal of Public and Good Governance), Sofia, 2024, ISSN 1314-2313, 24-35 pp.; available at: <https://ejpp.eu/index.php/ejpp/article/view/511>

The research is based on media monitoring accomplished in the period 2021 – 2023. The discourse analysis was applied as a method in a content study of three documents related to a national strategy for the strategic change that Saudi Arabia wants to implement for itself. Both countries – Serbia and Saudi Arabia – are members of the Non-Aligned Movement, and both actively showing a strong interest in their association in BRICS. In Belgrade more, and in Riyadh less, but the elite in both countries want to see a connection (sameness) between the idea of the currently forming BRICS, and the ideology and political philosophy of the doctrine of the "non-

aligned" of the Cold War era. This analysis ascertains that the system of the one-time "non-aligned", and the current network association BRICS are not related geopolitical paradigms.

Stoykovski, G., Dakova, M., Mincheva-Erturk, A., Nikolov, N., 2024. ***The future of higher education, digitalization and technological decisions through the eyes of students***, approved for publishing in *Proceedings of CBU in Social Sciences*, Vol. 4 (2024), *Web of Science*

The present of higher education is dynamic, and the future depends on many factors. However, it is important to realize that today's students with their opinions, expectations, and demands, are profiling the future of higher education significantly. They will be the ones to teach and create science. This article aims to point out the necessary elements to build the vision for the future of universities through the attitudes and behavioral analysis of current students. A literature survey was made on the dynamics of higher education development. Based on these dynamics a proper questionnaire was prepared to study student's opinions, expectations, and recommendations for technological development and their decisions. One hundred students of the first and second year of bachelor degree were selected to be part of the survey. This empirical study evaluates students' satisfaction with the educational process, the university environment, contacts with business, and their upcoming realization. Based on the data received from the survey, results that it is built a vision for the future of higher education. The survey confirms the positive attitude of students toward technological development, but also ambiguity about the impact on the characteristics of the labor market. One of the interesting outcomes is that the future university will be offline education and their solicitous manner to be more social. Despite the improved interaction between students and the university they still need more attention of their opinions and partnership to the largest extent with experts from practice.

Goran Stoykovski. 2022. ***The Crisis of democratic parliamentarism as a consequence of crisis of neoliberalism***, editorial board: Bulgarian Association of Political Sciences, University Publishing House "St. Kliment Ohridski", 2022, pp. 85-92. ISSN: 0861-4830

The present academic article observes – in a concise form – deformation occurred of democratic parliamentarism as well as the weakening of democracy in general. This negative evolution has happened as result of impact from dogmatized and globalized neoliberalism. The crisis of democratic parliamentarism arose as a result of the separation of political power from the citizens, and its center shifted to the sphere of economy. In other words: the political has consciously lost in favor of the economical.

Goran Stojkovski. 2021. ***Analysis of the Referendum and the Postreferendum Situation in Macedonia (July 2004 – April 2005***, political scientific study – process tracing) - Plovdiv, PH "Paisii Hilendarski", 2021; 21 p., e-book, ISBN 978-619-202-695-0; available at:

https://fisn.uni-plovdiv.bg/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Macedonia_Referendum_studia_G.-

[Stojkovski.pdf](#)

Signed on August 2001, The Ohrid Framework Agreement changed what was then Macedonia. Precisely with this peace deal agreement, signed by the government of the Republic of Macedonia (now North Macedonia) with ethnic Albanian's rebels, was started the process of decomposition of dominant political power and establishing the new system of shared power among Macedonians and ethnic Albanians. From this moment further, significant, unexpected, and shocking political events have occurred in Macedonia, which caused unforeseen turns in the Macedonian politics. By each new event, Macedonia exited one and entered another new political situation. At such a rate of change at that time, the processes in the Macedonian politics became difficult to foresee. It is necessary to make not too longer term forecasts. Thus, the status and the trends should be considered only in short term. Therefore, this analysis deals with one segment of the resulting political changes, such as the national referendum about laws of local government and administrative division. According to agreement of "shared political power system", at that time the ruling majority in parliament passed a package of laws of local government and administrative division. It was one of parts of peace deal. And it was this solution that shocked most of Macedonians. Due to that political problem, a national referendum was organized in the country. The then Prime Minister Hari Kostov stated that he would resign in case the referendum was successful. And despite of the failure of the referendum, the Prime Minister resigned. In order to understand the present political situation, we should see why this referendum was organized and what happened in relation to this key moment of the history of the Republic of Macedonia now – North Macedonia.

Goran Stoykovski. 2020. ***Macedonia from dusk till dawn (From Republic of Macedonia via FYROM to North Macedonia)*** - Publishing House „Paisii Hilendarski“, 2020, ISBN 978-619-202-565-6 (print) ISBN 978-619-202-566-3 (online) pp. 126-134

The Macedonian statehood today have been constructed and keeping into an upright and standing position by the multitude of international agreements. These agreements - reached in the period from the end of the Cold War hitherto – gradually are transforming the country into the multi-ethnic democracy by the western pattern. The Western powers identify this important part of Southeast Europe as its own sphere of geopolitical influence. In this way, Macedonians profile their identity and the character of their own state. The countries in the region also define their national interest through these agreements. On that occasion, the strategic stability of Southeastern Europe is achieved.

Goran Stoykovski. 2018. ***The decline of metanarratives and the dawn of ambitious strategies***, In: "Where have we gone?", Jubilee Collection of reports in honor of the 60th anniversary of Prof. Ph.D. Todor Tanev; Sofia, PH "St. Kliment Ohridski", 2018; ISBN 978-954-07-4533-6, pp. 222-234

Today, 50 years later, it's clear that this symbolic 1968 actually is year of the big change which at aftermath will change the essentials of the capitalism, and therefore will change the West itself to be unrecognizable, but will change also the World in whole, equally. These 50 years it's period in which Marxism, Postmodernism and Ultraliberalism are intertwine and outplay among themselves. This dramatic fight in long-run triggered geopolitical shifts and global changes in international relations today.

Goran Stoykovski. 2016. ***Cultura Balkanica: similarities and resemblance in the colorful diversity*** - B: CONSERVATIVE QUARTERLY, Sofia, book. 3-4, 2016; available at: <https://ncbsite.wordpress.com/rep/cb/>

The Balkans are the „kingdom“ of contradictions which, although difficult, somehow they manage to coexist. In other words: the Balkan cultural space is the *realm* of contradictions that successfully coexist. The Balkans cannot be uniform: the combination of too many different cultures is actually theirs unique characteristic. There is no Balkan nation that is unwavering in its conviction of the superiority of its culture over all other local and foreign cultures.

Goran Stoykovski. 2015. ***Neo-imperialist aspirations and ideology of modern pan movements as a threat to democracy and collective security***, in: "*Times of Uncertainty and Risks: Opportunities and Prospects for Development*"; Plovdiv, PH "Paisiy Hilendarski", 2015; ISBN 978-619-202-037-8, pp. 344-354

Post-Cold War period occurred in which raised new powers and the world is brought into a situation of profound social and political change. Are there currently real Russian-Turkish neo-imperialism and pan-Islamism? Undoubtedly radical religious pan-movements and neo imperialistic aspirations currently intimidate the liberal and democratic Europe and generally pose a threat for democracy and freedom of people around the world.

Goran Stoykovski. 2015. ***Soft power in foreign policy strategies: Christianity, Islam and culture***, - CONSERVATIVE QUARTERLY, Sofia, 2015.; ISBN 2367-6981; pp.63-67

Introduced in 1990 by Joseph Nye, the concept of "soft power" describes how a state can influence international relations in its favor and even cause internal change in the social relations and culture of other states without applying coercion to effect this purpose. Through this form of foreign policy influence, Turkey wants to ensure cultural, intellectual, ideological and informational influence on the Balkan peoples by presenting the spiritual values of its culture with high moral authority and thus making them attractive to the people.

Goran Stoykovski. 2006. **Post-referendum Macedonia – abandoning the concept of the nation-state** - B: "Macedonia in the aftermath of the framework agreement", Skopje, Foundation Open Society Institute – Macedonia, 2006; pp. 45-57; ISBN 9989-834-68-7 - 2006

The referendum on bringing back to force the old Laws on the Territorial Organization of the Local Self-Government Units in the Republic of Macedonia and on the City of Skopje dating from 1996, - and against the new ones from August 2004 – was a wrong political undertaking.

Real danger for Macedonia is not the threats of its division, but its falling behind. Membership in NATO and EU integration are phased process with specific dynamics. Missing or being late in any of that rhythm`s stages, represents falling behind.

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