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President Berisha Discusses Overcoming Hurdles

AU0807050192 Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian
10 Jun 92 pp 1-2

[Interview with President Sali Berisha by Remzi Lani;
place and date not given: "Freedom Works for All"]

[Text] [Lani] Nearly two months after your election to the high post of the president of the republic, we would prefer to start this interview with a question related to your first working day as president. What did you feel and think about on that day when you opened the door and entered the president's office?

[Berisha] You cannot help feeling a heavy burden and great responsibility when you sit down on the first chair of a country that has to start from the scratch in many directions and whose half-century inheritance is full of practices, attitudes, psychology, habits, structures, and constructions that are better than in anything else symbolized in the bunker.

I want to say that, on that day and later, I was not alone and pessimistic about this feeling of responsibility, which was the dominating one. I do not feel lonely, and I cannot conceive of myself as lonely. I am confident that the majority of Albanians, who understand the mechanism of the creation of this situation and will fight to overcome it, have this feeling of responsibility. This gives me courage just the same as the fact that we have great opportunities, despite the great difficulties we are confronting.

It is important that all of us should try to exploit the newly created opportunities to change the situation. Freedom works for all. Thus in Albania today, there are many people who have become rich in an irregular way and will face the repercussions of the law, but no one can deny that in every district and street of our cities, there are citizens, mainly young ones, who started their business with very modest incomes by selling meatballs, eggs, waffles, etc., and have now become real businessmen and traders. They realized this through great sacrifices by encountering great difficulties to ensure visas and sleeping in the open air in big European cities. They knew quite well how to exploit the freedom of business, thus ensuring an unseen circulation of goods. It is an undeniable fact that the number of color televisions, refrigerators, cars, and other items that have entered Albania during this period cannot be compared with what has entered Albania for half a century. These are only the first steps, because alerting our minds from the half century of centralism would enable us to exploit all our great opportunities and resources. One thing is certain: Freedom greatly increases the feeling of responsibility. I consider this as one of the factors to take Albania out of the crisis.

[Lani] To use a term from your profession, Albania resembles a patient who has suffered a severe attack. What operation does she need?

[Berisha] Albania is really sick. I can say that she is in a coma. It is important to say that this is not an incurable and hopeless disease. Albania needs to combine several factors to overcome the disease and recover. First, people should dedicate their work, toil, mind, and energy to the construction of a free economy. Second, Albania should ensure international aid and cooperation. We cannot overcome our disease without international aid and cooperation. Third, Albanians should be determined to build a democratic state. Only a real democratic state and society built on the basis of the functioning of law-governed state is capable of curing the disease of Albania.

[Lani] Two years ago, you and several renowned intellectuals published the first articles in which you asked for an urgent democratization of Albania. Today, after two years, do you think that things went according to your vision, as you had imagined them?

[Berisha] Two years ago, I had not in fact anticipated that developments would be occurring so fast. I cannot say that 1990 was the year of great hopes for me, but the year of great gloominess and melancholy. I looked at other countries which were changing. Yugoslavia and Albania alone were still the same. I did not think that changes in the Eastern countries would be near. The workers' movement and that of the students burned the cards of the communist regime. If you take a look back, you will find that what we have thought, spoke, and wrote about actually happened. Thus, the basic freedoms of the individual have been guaranteed today. We can say that we could not conceive too many things at that time. At that time, we rose in the name of human rights. I cannot say that we had in our minds the projects of democracy or democratic institutions, because, to be sincere, we did not. Of course, we could not imagine the consequences of the destruction of commanded economy and the lack of market economy, which we are experiencing now. This period has had many grave consequences. Besides, this has happened everywhere. No one, even the most distinguished specialists, could not manage to properly foresee the transition from a totalitarian dictatorial society into a democratic one. The difficulties have been unforeseen, especially at an economic level. We should not forget that this is a new experiment that mankind is trying for the first time. Anyway, I can say that our forecasts were in many aspects those we discussed and wrote about two years ago.

[Lani] The Socialist Party propaganda, and especially ZERI I POPULLIT, launched a fierce offensive against you, especially during the electoral campaign. Can you find a special reason why?

[Berisha] It is true that I became the object of daily slanders and attacks for a long time. As you know, I have not responded to them. First, I consider dealing with answers against personal attacks an unnecessary waste of time. Second, I consider the abuse of freedom a grave mistake. Those who deal in slanders and attacks abuse

freedom. I am convinced that time and perhaps the law on the press will solve this situation. The law on the press, that you reporters justly speak about, will determine several limits of ethics for publicists and journalists. Third, as far as I am concerned at a personal level, I do not intend to attack or prosecute anyone in the newspapers or in the courts. It is important that people speak and write freely. The majority do not abuse this freedom. A minority alone are those who abuse it, and I think that they do not deserve an answer. What answer can you give to someone, who after having worked for dozens of years as a "hack" of the dictator, writes that I have been his doctor for many years, though you know well that I have never seen him? This man is tragic in himself. He either invents and believes his own lie, considering the lie a total excuse, or is coauthor with Enver Hoxha in crimes and seeks to release himself by accusing others.

The specific reason and root cause of attacks against me in person do not interest me much. To be frank, I fully agree with General De Gaulle, who said, "I do not feel better when the opposition press does not attack me." All that I said has nothing to do with sincere critics, for which I will undoubtedly be open and grateful to every one who will address them to me. "The unmistakable" inflicted upon Albania the drama we are now experiencing. Their race is finished once and for all.

[Lani] People believe in you and the new Albanian democratic state. Are you afraid that a contradiction may arise between the desire and need that people have for fast changes on the one hand, and the impossibility to quickly come out of the grave crisis we are undergoing on the other?

[Berisha] This is a very great problem. The question of rates is a legitimate right of the people. Of course, nothing can be realized by itself. I hope that everybody understands this. Moreover, every leader should understand that every minute and hour is money, and we should take special steps not to allow such a contradiction to arise. If we are going to make an account, I can say that this has so far been the time of special steps. Could these steps have been more numerous? Undoubtedly yes. While telling the others about our specifics, we should not forget that we should first keep these specifics in our mind. If we say that we had the most fierce dictatorship, the worst isolation, the greatest backwardness, this means that our road will be much more difficult and hard than that of others. Let us discuss only the last two years of the Albanian regime. Theft, plunder, corruption, prosecution, looting, organized crime, barbarity in schools, organized exodus, all these were cruel acts of this regime for which it bears historic responsibility. In general they were invented to burn the land and accuse democracy, but honest people know well that they were its ugliest crime.

This contradiction and dilemma can arise for two reasons or in two ways: when there really exists sluggishness and apathy and this would be unforgivable, or when this

is incited with open aims. A frenzied antidemocratic propaganda aiming at inciting strikes, discontent, and destabilization of the country is an undeniable reality. Sixty-four employees from an institution went on strike. They are paid for taking care of only 20 children, i.e. three of them got their salary for caring for one child alone. Their strike had great impact in the opposition press, but not in the people's conscience. This is led and incited by a group of people who have considered dictatorship democracy and our democracy their drama and that of the whole country. Using the old weapon of treachery, they seek to frighten people with the scarecrow of the economic basket, which the democratic government will undoubtedly protect. I have faith in the fair judgment and assessment of the people. However they incite impatience, it cannot become general. This may be the opinion of certain social groups, but in democracy everyone has its own opinions and ideas and no one can intervene there.

Of course, impatience is based on the grave situation. It is true that we are undergoing a crisis, and the new government should solve this crisis. However, you can in no way blame it for the situation we have inherited. Those who governed the country until yesterday should be responsible for this. Those who have taken office only two months ago should be judged for these two months and for what they will do later. If we are going to do the accounts of these two months, it seems to me that they have been very active. On the basis of its agreements, treaties, and intensive activity, I can say that this government has succeeded in ensuring from foreign state institutions credits that amount to \$170-180 million within a two-month period. A series of laws, which constitute a powerful basis for the construction of democratic institutions have been issued during these two months. In the international field during these two months, the government has had such political and diplomatic activity as Albania has never had before. Do we need faster action? Certainly, yes. For instance, we simultaneously need to issue the law on enterprises, wages, social assistance, housing, investments; laws that the government is compiling by consulting foreign specialists, because it cannot do it alone. However, I think that the government should continuously consider the question of speeding up changes in every area. The rates are vital for Albania.

I often hear the words, "We should not hurry." The truth is that we should not do things hastily and without going thoroughly into the question, but what is the worst today is to lose time.

[Lani] In your first speech at the parliament as a president, you suggested the Spanish-Portuguese model as a possible and efficient way for development. Why do you prefer this alternative?

[Berisha] I prefer it because Spain and Portugal knew enough to show the world how a democratic society could be built after dictatorship.

[Lani] In what proportions will the European and U.S. component be in the new Albanian state policy, a theme that is widely discussed?

[Berisha] In my opinion, this is a theme that is being discussed according to old mentalities. It is very surprising that these voices sometimes come from those countries, which despite their present level of development, took a very strong impetus long ago from the Marshall Plan and U.S. aid.

Albania is undoubtedly a European country. Its goal is to be integrated into Europe. Its open policy with Europe and United States aims at integrating it into Europe. Our policy should be based on the principles of integration. At this point, I want to stress that Albania is part of Europe and is trying to integrate itself into Europe. On the other hand, Albania wants to have good relations with the United States, which has helped and will continue to help Albania.

[Lani] This is my personal opinion, but I think that sending people back to work would require opening of new important job vacancies and foreign investors. I think that someone who has been paid 80 percent of his wages for two years or has been unemployed will not go back to work for half a dollar per day or less. How should we get out of this vicious cycle?

[Berisha] Yes, you are absolutely right. We will get out of this vicious cycle through ensuring raw material supplies, putting into action all our enterprises that are profitable, and compiling and approving urgently the law on foreign investments. The old law on foreign investments is limited and requires drastic changes. We should take all possible measures to attract foreign investors to come to Albania. Toward this aim I demanded action from the government concerning one-sided abolishment of visas for citizens of the countries of the EC, the United States, Turkey, and Bulgaria. It is very necessary to have attractive legislation that will favor foreign investments.

Much is said about free-trade zones in Albania. I think that the law should be such as to facilitate investments not only in one area, but throughout the country. Only in this way would Albania be able to put into motion all its inner resources, attract foreign investors, create employment for people, and accelerate the rates of economic development.

[Lani] But, besides the invitation, foreign investors require the necessary guarantees....

[Berisha] This is true. They require the necessary legal guarantees that we spoke about, but they also demand public order guarantees. I am confident that we will establish public order. When I say that public order will be established, I do not have in mind establishing public order through dictatorship. Everyone should put this out of their mind. Dictatorship is dictatorship, democracy is democracy. They cannot resemble each other.

Through reform of legislation and order institutions, we should show crime and criminals how strong the law in democracy is and that democracy is a law that no one can gossip about.

I am optimistic. First, it is an undeniable fact that there is a significant change in order and calm not only in Tirana, but in all of Albania. Thus, if when I took office the police managed to catch only a small number of criminals from the events happening during 24 hours; today I can say that the policemen arrest the majority of them. This shows a great acceleration in the abilities to act of the policemen toward these events. I hope that order and calm will return to Albania.

[Lani] Among the themes prevailing in the present press, we can mention those of the ratios between "winners" and "losers." You have said that democracy will disappoint those who will seek revenge. Anyway, you were not president of Albania at that time....

[Berisha] We will now and always stick to this viewpoint. I can give you numerous arguments about this. If others consider the thorough changes of the reform and the fight against corruption as revenge, this is their business. The fuss that the opposition press is making today is a continuation of their old habit. Unfortunately, various reporters have allowed themselves to use the most portentous labels and hypotheses, I would say even divisive and fratricidal ones. It is true that changes are being carried out. It is an undeniable truth that we cannot exclude the possibility of making mistakes in these changes. In general, they do not have the spirit of revenge.

I do not want to enter into polemics, but I can give you dozens of examples revealing that ability and attitude toward the reform have been the main criteria in the transfers that have been made, and not the party relations. I can say that one of the most well-done acts by the new government was the creation of the alliance with the Republican Party, Social Democratic Party, and free and independent intellectuals. This has created great opportunities in selecting people and mobilizing the intellectual forces in institutions and state administration.

I said that we cannot exclude the mistakes, but I do not agree with those reporters who on the one hand write that they support the reform and on the other rise against every eventual change. There can be no reform without change. Reform is a change in itself. If someone wants to carry out reform with the old communist structures, he is mistaken. If someone thinks that we should go toward democracy with the 80-percent wage law, he is again mistaken. It is necessary that the setting up of democracy be accompanied by the change in people and in relevant structures.

[Lani] You have asked Europe to apply to Albanians living in the former Yugoslavia the same criteria that the other peoples are using. Do you hope that this will happen in the near future?

[Berisha] We Albanians have always had a very difficult road, but we should again fight to fulfill our targets and aspirations in a civilized way. The world will certainly understand us.

[Lani] Finally, a personal question: Will you be obliged to quit your habit of walking along Tirana's main boulevard at very late hours?

[Berisha] I do not want to quit this habit, and I hope I do not have to. I walk time and again. We did not try to gain some freedoms for the sake of limiting some others.

Berisha Statements on Army, Citizenship Critiqued

AU2107081892 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 15 Jul 92 p 3

[Article by Fatmir Zanaj: "Allay My Suspicions, Mr. President"]

[Text] Despite my respect for the president of the Republic, I am obliged to oppose him over certain issues he mentioned and a reply he gave at his most recent news conference.

1. Mr. Berisha said that the aim of the reform in the Army is to turn it into "a powerful instrument to preserve the democratic order. Our Army will have the objective of guaranteeing the democratic order in Albania and the development of democratic processes," he added.

No, Mr. President, you are making a serious mistake! The duty of the Army is to defend the sacred borders of our homeland against any attack by a foreign aggressor. This is the reason why we train, feed, pay, and reform it. The Army is a state institution that was stripped of a party and political role before you were elected president. As such, it trains its eyes and gun barrels away from and not into the territory of the Republic.

The state has weapons to defend the social order and constitutionality in the public order police, the State Intelligence Service, and other forms of the police. These too were stripped of a party and political role before 22 March 1992.

International documents strongly condemn the regular use of the Army as a means of maintaining order. The Army must not in any way be allowed to become involved in the political game of the struggle of pluralist parties for power, must not become a weapon of one party or another, and must not arbitrate between political rivals. This is one of the first pieces of advice that U.S. Secretary of State Baker gave to our deputies in the People's Assembly on his first visit to Albania. The hope that "the Army will guarantee the development of democratic processes" sounds highly ominous. The right-wing wielders of power are trying, through the reform, to create a "democratic" army that will act as an armed repressive wing of the Democratic Party [PD].

What were you trying to say, Mr. President? For about 18 months, the people have been indoctrinated with the crazy notion that only the PD embodies the values of democracy in Albania. Albania's infant democracy has an unprecedented deformity, which cannot be found in any other country of Europe. In Albania, the arrogance of antidemocratic right-wing forces and the incompetence of the members of the government is so evident that the Army's "Kalashnikov" has been declared to be the guarantee of democratic processes in place of legal and scientific criteria publicly discussed and approved by a consensus among all the political forces. Azem Hajdari in his "muzzled" interview and Gramoz Pashko in parliament have finally announced what the Socialists warned a long time ago, that a right-wing dictatorship is being constructed in Albania with every day that passes. The Army can only intervene to reestablish order under circumstances envisaged by the Constitution, when a "state of emergency" is announced.

Is this state of emergency, one wonders, in preparation? Are the spawn of former traitors and quislings being introduced for this purpose into the leading bodies of the Army, the Police, and the National Intelligence Service? Mr. President, please allay my suspicions with facts.

2. At the news conference, Mr. Berisha also put forward the idea of dual nationality. According to a decree being prepared in the presidential chancellery, "Albanian" citizenship will be offered, not only to Albanians of the diaspora, but to any citizen of the world's different countries, from Alaska to Siberia, white, yellow, black, or red skin.

This is only the prelude to breaking down Albania's doors. We will soon become a "modern" multicultural society. Any drug addict, criminal, or mafioso will have the "honor" of finding shelter in a second "homeland" like Albania.

Albanian brothers, swim for one more summer off the beaches of our seaside! Next summer, the beaches will be fenced off by "Albanian" billionaire godfathers.

Albanian mothers, kiss and embrace your sons and daughters one last time. As a reciprocal favor (as if Mr. Berisha had guaranteed this), other countries will offer their citizenship to your children, who will thus be able to freely leave Albania.

Mr. President, I ask you to allay my suspicions!

Article Calls For Ramiz Alia Prosecution

AU1607131292 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 11 Jul 92 p 1

[Article by Petro Dhimitri: "The Blockmen's Hour of Trial Draws Near"]

[Text] It was democracy that brought to light last year the major malpractices of the former members of the Party of Labor [PPSh] Politburo and called for their

conviction. The people called for this so strongly that Ramiz Alia, in his capacity as president, was obliged to start arresting them one by one. The investigations dragged on and on, however, because it was difficult for the Socialist Party to condemn its former mentors. Therefore they survived for a long time without being brought to court. Only the triumph of democracy on 22 March this year led to renewed demands for their trial. Some individuals, who wanted the former rulers to be brought to justice as soon as possible, even thought that democracy was delaying their trial. Some people noticed a kind of softening in the attitude against them. What is the truth?

The Investigator Sends the Files to the Court

In such cases, guesswork always puts you on the wrong track. Facts from the Investigator's Office will therefore clear up many points. Prele Martini, chairman of the Investigator-General's Office, told us that the investigation process is virtually complete and that the cases will be handed over for trial in the next few days. Last year, they were accused only of abuse of office, while this year charges of large-scale theft of state property are being laid before the court. The latter charge was added during the course of the investigations. Specifically, besides Article 106 of the Penal Code, which covers abuse of office and in this case becomes a secondary charge, primary charges are being laid under Article 62 in combination with Article 13.

We also asked for a list of the blockmen who will be placed on trial. They are:

Adil Carcani, Manush Myftiu, Nexhmije Hoxha, Rita Marko, Hekuran Isai, Qirjako Mihali, Simon Stefani, Lenka Cuko, Pali Miska, Llambi Gegprifti, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Prokop Murra, Besnik Bekteshi, Muho Asllani, Vangjel Cerrava, Xhafer Spahiu, Kino Buxheli.

Only Ramiz Alia Missing From the Politburo?!

As we see from the list, the entire former Politburo will appear in court. Only one name is missing, that of Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the PPSH Central Committee and the main leader of all these people who are accused of large-scale theft. Why?

We also asked Prele Martini this question. His reply was precise, but unconvincing: "When the cases were first investigated, Ramiz Alia was president and under the protection of the law. No proceedings were therefore undertaken against him." All right. He is no longer president, however, and there is no reason why any citizen should not be brought to justice if he has broken the law or should not be held responsible for his actions before he held the office of president, especially when it is thought that his former comrades will implicate him in the trial.

In what we write, we do not wish to distress the former president. His extremely difficult and delicate role in a period so fraught with tension and the danger of the

outbreak of a fratricidal civil war is well known. It would be dishonest of us to deny his merits here, for which he will go down in history. Albania embarked on the road of democracy with democratic culture. Ramiz Alia was also in no sense a dictator. As early as 1974, he was forced to perform an act of self-criticism at the 11th PPSH Central Committee plenum for his liberal and pro-Western stance. History knows this too. At the same time, however, he was engaged in personal malfeasance and permitted large-scale malfeasance by his subordinates. He therefore deserves to be and must be tried. Thus, his merits and errors will be weighed in the scales of justice of a democratic and law-governed state. It belongs to justice alone, having judged the facts, to say whether he should be convicted or not. No personality in a democratic state, not even the president or the prime minister, has an a priori right to exclude from judgment one citizen or another who is responsible for his behavior and leadership.

We nevertheless wish the trial of the blockmen to start and finish with success on the basis of all legal principles, in order to raise the dignity and humane character of our new democratic state. We hope that the date of the trial, according to normal legal practice, will be no more than 15-30 days after the case is passed from the investigator's office to the court.

[Box, p 1]

Penal Code

Article 13: Conspiracy

Conspiracy is the commission of a criminal act by two or more persons by agreement among themselves, an organized group, an armed band, or a counterrevolutionary organization.

Article 62: Misappropriation of Socialist Property

The misappropriation of socialist property, committed more than once by an organized group or on a large scale, is punishable by no less than seven years imprisonment or death.

Article 106: Abuse of Office

Deliberate acts that conflict with the regular performance of state or social duties or the deliberate neglect of duty, when this causes or is known to possibly cause serious consequences to the interests of the state and society or the legitimate rights and interests of citizens, is punishable by reeducation through labor or up to 10 years' imprisonment.

Article Criticizes Trade Minister Hoxha

AU0807190992 Tirana KOMBI in Albanian 10 Jun 92
p 1

[Article by Artur Petriti: "Mr. Minister, Do You Know What's What?"]

[Text] Gentlemen of the government, when you appear on the television screen and give interviews, the people's eyes bug out, and they are all ears. The wretched people have been deceived for a lifetime. They therefore did not hesitate on 22 March 1992 to vote for democracy, and for you, honored deputies, who promised, "better days to come, when it will be a joy to be alive...." We therefore looked forward with interest to the interview with Mr. Artan Hoxha, minister of trade and foreign economic relations. You may reasonably wonder why. First of all, the people have grown used to receiving everything in the form of alms from abroad. The domestic economy is utterly devastated, and who knows when we will awaken from the coma into which we have fallen. We look to the outside world for bread, cooking oil, sugar, rice, soap, and milk, in other words for all everyday items. We look to the outside world for raw materials, too. Unemployment is to rise to 500,000. (Half a million unemployed when the total population is 3 million!!!)

We looked forward to your television interview for another, secondary reason, having to do with rumors. We can do without bread, but there is no way in which we can survive without "swallowing" rumors. Not a "mealtime" passes without this daily "nourishment," a vice inherited from the single-party system.

Rumor has it that you are the greatest riddle of the Meksi government. You are not only the youngest, but among the most unblemished. We say "among the most unblemished," because you inherited nothing from the Enverist and Ramizian single-party system but your years at school and university. You did not for a single day go to the work that used to "destroy" people. The "dubious" profession of oil engineer that you learned had an influence. You were not pleased when they appointed you to the Lushnje Oil Enterprise, which was active in various villages around the country. You claimed to have found a post elsewhere, and it is true that you graduated from the Faculty of Geology and Mining with high marks. However, everything turned out for the best. Because you were unemployed, you immediately replaced the chairman of the Democratic Party [PD] in Durres, who had jumped on a steamer and gone to Italy. From the "biographical" angle, you both do and do not deserve the post. Rumors claim that on your "mother's side" you do, but on your "father's side" you do not, because they served the single-party system! Better to put all this behind us. Never mind. What do we want to listen to rumors for? They leave you without bread, without work, without rest, and without sleep!

It was more or less for these reasons that the people could hardly wait for your "voice" in the television interview. We want to teach you a well-intended lesson, as the young man that you are. You lack experience. We appreciate the courage you have shown in accepting this high-level post at this time of serious economic crisis in our country. We want you to work for the good of the nation, because a castle is built stone by stone. Neither Mr. Meksi nor Mr. Berisha, as the country's top people, can do anything without strong righthand men. When

you next appear for a television interview or a meeting with the people, be well prepared. The people will not listen to you if you ramble "up hill and down dale." Do not forget that you are no longer chairman of the PD's Durres branch, but rather are in charge of an important ministry. You are no longer on the campaign trail, when an electioneer makes "promise after promise" and then eats his words as if they were bread or—what is that stuff whose name we have forgotten—cheese? You are appearing on the screen in front of a people who are hungry for bread and food, and the knife has cut so deep that they can endure no more. You are faced with an entire people who see only gloom in the future. They need to hear realistic optimism about the future. You talked and talked and mentioned several tonnes of food that have been obtained. The amounts you mentioned were enough only to supply the city of Durres without its surrounding towns and villages.

Mr. Minister, the people were waiting for you to say how much food is stored in your warehouses and whether the keys are in your hands or those of other people. They wanted to know how many items would be covered by the proverb, "Frying pan on the fire, fish in the sea." When should we light the fire, because the fish have been caught? When should we refrain, because we do not know when the time is right, and the fish could be scared off and might escape our net? What variety and range of goods will be included in the basket [of staple foodstuffs whose prices remain frozen]? Which enterprises and factories have obtained raw materials, and when will they start work? When will the remainder obtain raw materials? And so on and so forth.

I ask you whether you have ever chanced to visit the villages of Albania, especially in the mountains. It is one thing to read the newspapers and watch the "pluralist" television and another thing to listen to the peasants themselves. They are suffering from lack of bread. They have forgotten what rice, sugar, soap, and salt are. They do not have aspirin. (There is no question of penicillin or antibiotics; even in the towns, these are sold under the counter and at astronomical prices.) The peasants are taking land, but most are leaving it fallow because they have no tools with which to work it, while others have "yoked" themselves and, in the absence of tractors or oxen, are drawing plows like beasts. When will minitractors arrive for the peasants? When will at least one telephone be installed in every village? (The promise of a telephone in every village home was a real electoral fairy tale.) In this way, peasants could at least communicate the news of deaths. (It is not worth mentioning weddings, because journeys are so irksome that you wish a wedding to the devil.) The people wanted to hear these things said bluntly, simply, and with persuasive arguments that would at least have let them sleep in peace that night you appeared on television.

However, you struck poses in front of the camera and talked of what delights you would bring the people....

My advice, dear fellow, and it is not in fact my advice but that of the people who are still discussing what you said, is as follows:

Go out among the people as much as possible, especially in the countryside, and not to those villages to which the asphalt leads, or even those near the asphalt, but where Fords and Jeeps cannot reach. Tell the people frankly what you have in your "sack." No words and promises and again empty words and promises. If your sack is empty, do not appear on television. The people do not need to see the "handsome" faces of members of the government and politicians. They are more interested in your sack. You do not look handsome with your hands in your pockets.

If you continue with electoral speeches and promises, the people will not put up with you any longer. Just as they gave you their votes, they will give you a new job down there among the oil wells. Work there, and get to know the people's grievances. Oil wells look "beautiful" when sketched in books but not in their stark reality.

Opening Deputies' Security Files Suggested

*AU2107082292 Tirana REPUBLIKA in Albanian
9 Jul 92 pp 1-2*

[Article by Ylli Rakipi: "Are There Former State Security Informers in the Parliament?"]

[Text] When the Sejm, the Polish parliament, was discussing the question of files, one of the deputies said, "Those deputies who were Security Service informers should not come to the afternoon session." This suggestion seemed strange, and almost ridiculous, but it had a very great effect. There were vacant seats in the afternoon session. It was enough for one deputy to speak for the former informers to leave the parliament once and for all. We say that it is now time to look at the files. Imagine for a moment that a law has been passed to open the files in Albania, and one of the deputies makes the above suggestion. Would there, one wonders, be vacant seats in the parliament that afternoon? It is both easy and hard to answer this question. It is simple, because the dictatorship in Albania was different from other countries of the East, and was more savage and oppressive. It crippled people to a greater extent than in any other country and because of this, the network of informers working for the state security must have been denser. It would be a real miracle if all our parliamentary deputies remained unaffected by this disease. On the other hand, it is difficult to answer this question because the problem of the files, although widely discussed, has remained almost untouched. There is evidently no interest in tackling this issue. Add to this indifference the fact that many files were burned, and the problem becomes even more difficult and seems virtually insoluble; in this case, dubious people will continue to be active in Albanian politics, and their past will influence the new era.

Apart from this lack of interest in opening the files, the Albanian parliament already includes such deeply compromised people that they could be removed without opening the files. The most extreme case is that of Gramoz Ruci. In all of East Europe, it would be difficult to find a case to compare with that of Mr. Gramoz Ruci, the former first secretary of the Party of Labor [PPSh] for Tepelene District and former interior minister. It was a principle at the time of the dictatorship, a principle that became a law, that the first secretaries of the PPSh in the districts approved all arrests. Any arrest, however simple, had to have the first secretary's seal. For this reason alone, without further calculations, Mr. Ruci should not be a deputy. Nevertheless, he remains one, and there are lot of people whom this does not strike as odd. It is clear that Gramoz Ruci has done great service to the Socialist wing. For instance, their files may have been weeded out (and mostly burned). It is well known that in March 1991 Mr. Ruci was called from Tepelene in order to accomplish such a mission. Since then, he has retained in his head the aliases and activities of all those compromised, and he can use them whenever the interests of the party or his own interests demand it. In short, a glance from Mr. Ruci can command voting cards on both parliamentary wings. Put more accurately, it is not only the great socialist ideal that unites Mr. Ruli and the Socialists. Other ideals also unite people. Great intellectuals like Nano and Islami cannot be united with an ordinary detective like Ruci only by the socialist ideal.

It is also unnecessary to open the files for deputies like Fehmi Abdiu. The dictatorship compromised them to such an extent that it is not worth opening the files.

It is necessary to open the files to check, first of all, the right wing. Many might imagine that such a claim is absurd, but the truth may turn out quite otherwise. In Bulgaria 18 months ago, the United Democratic Front made a great noise about opening the files. When they were opened, dozens of those who had done the shouting turned out to be informers. In Poland, former Solidarity leader Lech Walesa is accused of cooperation with the Polish security service. He rejects the charge, but will not allow the files to be opened. In Russia, the patriarch of the Orthodox Church, a man who said that he prayed only to God, turned out to be a KGB informer.

On the basis of these facts, it would not be at all surprising if former State Security informers turned out to be sitting on the right wing of the parliament. If this is so, they can quite simply leave parliament themselves. This would be the wisest thing they could do. It is well known that on this wing, too, there are people who did their duty, at the cost of great sacrifice. Apart from devotion and dedication, the dictatorship also required your honor. That was what dictatorship was like. It asked for everything.

On this basis, it is necessary for the deputies on the right to ask themselves for the files to be opened. After this problem is solved, they will no longer be the object of rumors. A short time ago, Mr. Baleta was attacked in the

press. This was because his past was rather special... However, he asked with great dignity for the files to be opened. All deputies, especially the right wing, should ask for precisely this thing, because, besides the closed files that are waiting to be opened, there are also the living files, that are known to everybody.

Socialist Party Paper Criticizes Army Reform

AU1607085792 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian
9 Jul 92 pp 2-3

[Article by Halim Aliu: "Where Are You Leading the Army, Mr. President?"]

[Text] I ask you this question directly and candidly, because your judgment and behavior so far seem to me mistaken and with undesirable consequences for the country's defense. A reform must and can be carried out in the Army, but not this "snap reform" that we are experiencing!

There is a paradox here: Turkey and France publish actual figures about their military reform, also outlining the main measures that will ensure the country's defense capability for the future. Meanwhile, not even we servicemen know anything about the reform in our Army!

It has been known since ancient times that surprise is a major factor in ensuring success on the battlefield, but its use by the highest leadership of the state and Army against their own servicemen is intolerable, unless they consider the latter to be their opponents.

A single-party mentality cannot conceive the necessity of carrying out the reform or scientifically decide what must be changed. Few people know what has been done so far in this direction, but the urgent "flights" of groups of servicemen to different countries show that you have no faith in the masses of servicemen, but seek a "diagnosis" of the Army's diseases beyond the state borders.

It is well known that misfortunes or the need to make responsible decisions bring people closer together, and the results of such gatherings have gone down in the glorious history of our people. At this historic and perilous moment, you did the opposite with the Army: In determining the destinies of the Albanian people, you began massive purges, discharging prematurely all servicemen aged above 49 as well as others below this age, simply by a government decree and not by law.

Why was such dizzy haste in purging the Army necessary, when you could at least have waited to "cull" the more than 30 years of experience of each of these gray-haired and long-suffering men? Do you think that they are the most indoctrinated in communism and are of no use to you? Perhaps! But what about the young men that you are appointing to lead the Army. What are their guarantees, especially when you and Mr. Zhulali have no knowledge of military science? I am not against learning from the world's experience. On the contrary, nobody knows better than our servicemen what and how much

must be learned from abroad, and how ineffective and dangerous is the party-based selection that is being carried out.

Why do I say this?

First, nobody is aware that a platform has been prepared for the reform of the Army, and nobody knows what are its goals, objectives, guidelines, and timetables. Who has drawn it up and who has approved it? Those who were discharged from the Army cannot have done so, because they turned out to be indoctrinated, while the young ones will still not have found their way round the labyrinth of the Defense Ministry, let alone the Army.

Second, the alarms are sounding throughout the world to announce that an explosive situation has arisen in the Balkans, posing a danger to the whole of Europe. We Albanians should know this better than the world, because we find ourselves in the middle of this maelstrom. You must remember, Mr. President, that during your visit to the United States, when you asked for military intervention in Kosovo, a senator asked, "And is Albania prepared for war?" I did not hear your answer, but as a serviceman I consider that what is happening in the Army now is not preparation for war but for a wedding reception! Your assessment of the political and military situation round our state borders seems to me euphoric and highly suspicious. The experience of the world shows that small states like ours, which historically have been the object of the envy of others, can never allow themselves to "dance in the jaws of death," especially when their neighbors have been such "savages and traditional enemies as the Serbs."

Third, you have stated that servicemen will be assessed on the basis of their professional abilities, because the Army demonstrated itself to be in favor of the democratic reforms. I have the right to ask you, "On what criteria did you assess, select, dismiss, and reappoint hundreds of servicemen of different ranks in units and bases, without talking to the Defense Ministry staff?"

Who carried out all these "studies" when it is well known that you and Mr. Zhulali will have got to know few officers, while the Defense Ministry cadre director is new to his job and does not claim to know all the Army's officers?

Who made the distinctions among the cadres of one staff group or unit, promoting one man by several ranks, and demoting another by several ranks?

Where but in dictatorship and revanchism lies the basis for this savage personal cadre policy, which is leading our Army toward extinction?!

Where have you obtained the assurance to behave in this amazing way, when Bosnia-Herzegovina has been reduced to ashes, and the Greater Serbians have gathered such an army in martyred Kosovo that even Europe is anxious?!

Is your statement about "receiving possible refugees from Kosovo" an adequate response to the bloodthirsty and chauvinist ambitions of our people's age-old enemies?!

Fourth, in order to understand the direction in which the Army is heading, have you looked at the effectiveness of the measures taken so far in what is called the reform? I do not know how it looks to you from above, but to me down below it seems that the introduction of ranks, the pay increases, and especially the massive purges have not only not changed anything for the better, but have given rise to many question marks! Considering the times and the way in which these measures were introduced, they were doomed to fail.

Fifth, to the extent that such things are clear, the main tendency and ultimate goal of the present Army leadership is to reduce military expenditures at all costs, and as part of this to also cut human resources, etc. It is true that military expenditures gobbled up a colossal proportion of the state budget and it is now necessary to reduce them, but this must be achieved without violating the more vital principle that the country's defense capacity must not be curtailed.

Finally, Mr. President, if it is a genuine reform and not the annihilation of our Army that has been planned, it is only Albanian servicemen that can and must perform this duty, and not servicemen selected by party offices, but those outstanding for their skill and dedication in providing the best possible solutions to the good of the homeland. Therefore, call a halt to this dilettante, self-willed, theatrical, and adventurist behavior before it is too late.

PD Interference in Army Reform Alleged

*AU2007123892 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian
5 Jul 92 pp 2-3*

[Article by Bedri Islami: "Military or Party Reform?"]

[Text] It is perhaps more necessary to carry out a thorough and scientific reform in our Army than in any other aspect of our country's life. A range of factors make this necessary. The new conditions created after the fall of the Berlin wall, the end of the cold war, the democratic processes taking place in Europe, the collapse of the East bloc, the removal of the nuclear arsenal, and the new conditions that have arisen in our country dictate the need for deep reforms in the Army. The Army itself is aware of the need to carry out these reforms. It particularly supports them when they are done for the sake of the nation, for the defense of the homeland, and in the name of the future of our national Army.

However, it is one thing to say you are carrying out reform and another thing to actually do so thoroughly. Of course, a genuine reform cannot be carried out in a short time, and, as Mr. Zhulali says, it will require years. During this time—in other words, during these years—we will be dealing with an army that is not properly

reformed, but in a constant process of renovation, and always supporting the reform.

Meanwhile, the steps that are being taken show that the reform is for the moment concentrating on what is possible to do quickly and on the transfer of cadres and personnel cuts, without properly tackling either current or long-term problems.

At his meeting with servicemen in Shkoder, President Berisha said that "servicemen deserve special credit for their attitude toward democracy and the help they gave to democracy. The state and the people are grateful for this," adding that "the reform will be carried out, but without great pain." We will return later to this statement by the president, which Mr. Zhulali contradicts when he emphasizes that servicemen are among the people most twisted by the communist dictatorship because, he continues, from the Skenderbeg Academy to the highest levels they learned an art of warfare that was a paraphrase of the works of Enver Hoxha.... How is it possible that these people with what Mr. Zhulali, in a statement to ATA, called twisted minds could, according to Mr. Berisha, deserve special credit for their attitude to democracy and the help they gave to democracy? This is a matter that deserves special study.

However, I would say that it is precisely this mentality—that of a twisted mind—that puts matters of the right lines, although sometimes does so back-to-front.

What should start as soon as possible in the Army is a radical change in military doctrine and defense strategy, and in identifying the dangers threatening the country under the new conditions that now apply. The absence of "great pain" is also worth thinking about because it happens that Government Order No. 255 of 29 May, accompanied by certain instructions by Mr. Zhulali, discharged about 40 percent of the cadres of the Shkoder Division alone. Is this painful or not? It is said that there will be a reform, but the events of recent days suggest a game of musical chairs because dozens of nonpolitical military leaders of units have been discharged and replaced by certain others who are pleasing to those in power. There is also one strange sign that may be inadvertent, but cannot fail to attract attention. Of all the commanders of units and officers of equal rank with them, a total which we will call "X" (We know the real figure, but it might be a secret), only two have not been transferred from their posts and these two, strangely, hail from Tropoje. Do you remember Enver's cousins?

It would be much more natural to carry out the economic reform by first defining our defense strategy and later deciding on the organizational structures that will reflect it. However, although strategy cannot be defined all at once, other things have been done all at once. Although aptitude tests were sent to the Army, they were often not taken into consideration because several (let us again say "X") cadres of no ability according to the submitted tests were appointed to leading positions on 23 June. Those who were dismissed from their posts were given a strange

certificate stating, among other things: "You have worked hard to strengthen the defense of the homeland and have distinguished yourself in defending democracy in Albania...and are discharged from your post." This is very precise military and mathematical logic.

Is this something to do with the openness that the president talked about and the human dimension in handling the concerns of servicemen who have had no privileges either under the single-party system or now, and who now, having been cosseted before the elections, are faced with a great deal of pain.

In the most recent issue of the military magazine KOHA DHE USHTRIA, Mr. Zhulali states that the Army will implement the program of the Democratic Party [PD]. Let the minister now make it clear whether the Army leadership has been depoliticized or not, whether the aim is that the Army, having mastered the teachings of Enver, should now master the teachings of somebody else, and whether the famous slogan, "The party is in command everywhere," is not being applied to an even greater extent. Let the minister at least act on the president's instructions in Shkoder and the duties he set for the entire Army and not just what is in someone else's interests. The minister is not there to hold rallies.

Who has suffered more privations than the serviceman, who donned his cap at the age of 13 and devotedly dedicated himself to the sacred duty of defending the homeland, sacrificing everything and receiving little? Let us remember his youth that evaporated in remote garrisons. Let us honor his sacrifices in border units. Let us think about the many nights he spent away from his family. Of course, everybody agrees that incompetent victims of nostalgia, yesterday's loudmouths, should give up their places today. Why should those who completed a one- or two-year course and came "to imbue" the Army with the spirit of the workers class be weighed in the same scales as those who chose the profession of serviceman and graduated from the Military Academy?

The status of a serviceman in the Army has been defined for more than one year now, but there is more insistence today on his duties than his rights. Most of these rights are not yet exercised. This is true both for the servicemen whom the government sent away, as well as those who have come. It is not known when they will be applied. Ministerial promises the state will attend to the problems of those who have been discharged have perhaps already been forgotten, just as other promises of this kind have already been forgotten. Strangely, today's government even sends an instruction that conflicts with the law approved by parliament about the pensions of servicemen discharged under the reform. According to Article 16 of the Law on the Status of Servicemen, their pensions are calculated on the basis of their monthly salaries. In the government instruction, they will be calculated according to basic pay, disregarding a serviceman's rank, especially his long years of Army service. The paradox is that, according to the Meksi Government, even a serviceman who has served only two or

three years will be paid 55 percent of his basic pay for his entire life, just as if he had served for 30 years. This is neither economics nor justice, because the former could enter useful employment.

There are a lot of rumors about where the lists are approved. Some people say in the executive committees, others in the PD offices, others remember the lists of Lac, and others make different guesses. Would it not show more openness to display the lists, and then people would rest in peace?

In the final analysis, in the entire complex of events taking place around us and their evident dangers, are these cuts that are being so speedily introduced to the good of the country? After all, in some respects... (state secret?!) We all talk about the danger at our gates because the inhabitants of the mountains could tell the minister in which direction the guns of others on our border are aimed, and where the columns of tanks are moving. They could talk about other events because, besides the reform (the cuts), we are also doing other things that we can call "X." You can always be accused of revealing a secret.

'Purges' Seen Sweeping Intelligence Service

AU1607122992 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian
4 Jul 92 p 3

[Article by Alban Kosova: "The Paralyzed National Intelligence Service"]

[Text] The iron broom of the Democratic Party's [PD] political purges has finally swept the National Intelligence Service [ShIK] and has performed its task in record time. The purge began three days before the historic visit of President Berisha and Foreign Minister Serreqi to the United States and ended three days after their meeting with President Bush and National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft. The propaganda campaign of the well-known personalities Gonxhi and Rakipi, and especially the "Serreqqate" scandal [the discovery of microphones in Serreqi's office] heralded the start of this model operation, unprecedented in any East European country.

The result: 90 percent of the ShIK Central Directorate and 70 percent of its Committee were discharged. Dozens of others at the grass roots experienced the same fate, and not even Irakli Kocollari, the service's chief, was spared.

The reason: Discharge because of the reform in the Armed Forces. We are not aware of either the parliament or the government having approved any act for reforming the Armed Forces, still less the ShIK. There has been talk of reform in the Army, but no study paper or preliminary plan about this has been published. Perhaps this reform has been discussed and decided in the PD's forums, the Association of Political Prisoners, or even... It is therefore not a question of economic reform, but a political reform (by the PD), because the ShIK does not have a surplus of cadres, but rather a

shortage after the elimination of hundreds of Sigurimi cadres from the ShIK and the creation of the new organization.

The conclusion: The Republic of Albania does not presently have an ShIK, or rather has a miniature, truncated, confused, and paralyzed one. Even those inspectors who remain are waiting with the blood frozen in their veins, expecting to receive their dismissal notices at any time. The national security of the Republic of Albania has therefore now been left to the mercy of fate. Even in this area, the Albanian national genius is trying to challenge the theory of a state, showing the world that a state can exist without an intelligence service. Europe and the world could profit from this brave initiative, saving billions of dollars earmarked for the budgets of their own services.

Many discharged inspectors say that it is not they who have been harmed, because they will manage to get by somehow, but it is the homeland that is suffering incalculable damage.

When this purge is viewed in a political, professional, procedural, legal, and human light, it emerges as mistaken, damaging, and illegal.

To destroy the intelligence service in a political situation in which anticonstitutional activity against the Republic of Albania and the Albanian nation both at home and abroad and from north to south is assuming unprecedented dimensions, in the form of espionage, usurpation of territory, political corruption, etc., means deliberately or not to damage the national cause and to leave free scope for these activities to develop at will, thus seriously imperiling democratic processes and the national goals that everyone in Albania is striving toward. I do not think that the president can fail to be well informed about this situation. The service's inspectors have acted effectively to counter this activity. If it is a matter of the law on this agency approved by the pluralist parliament, these inspectors are able to enforce it successfully and honestly, but if it is a question of changing the purpose of this service and using it simply for party (PD) purposes, it is true that the present inspectors would not be able to perform such a task. Replacing these cadres not with specialists but with PD trustees, as is now happening, means nothing less than acting on the principles of the Party of Labor on the State Security Service, the leading role of the party, partymindedness, the class struggle, etc. There is no better way of following Enver Hoxha's injunction that a security agent is nothing but a party worker. However, all this is in open breach of the basic law on this agency's work. Now, whether we like it or not, all the service's employees must be PD members or supporters.

The procedure followed for this purge has been more than ridiculous. Those discharged have clearly stated that the hand of the president himself was involved. He is the executor of this reform. Did he also inspire it, when he announced a short time ago that the ShIK has

been created on an entirely democratic basis? It is now known that this operation was preceded by lengthy work in the central and district forums of the PD, compiling lists and character references of the inspectors of the service who were to be removed and the party trustees who were to replace them. In the end, it all came true. How can such a thing be allowed when this service has no party affiliation? Moreover, the president is responsible by law for the appointment of the chairman of this service and his deputy, but not for the remainder of the staff and above all not for ordinary inspectors. Is it now time for him to take over the job of ShIK personnel officer? We have so far not read any law removing this service from the responsibility of the prime minister and entrusting it to the president, who has quite arbitrarily assumed these powers, although the law sanctions no such thing. Is what has been done a violation of the law?

This purge is a long way from the president's "human dimension." The average age of those purged from the ShIK's Central Directorate is no more than 33. To ascribe to this young generation the crimes of the Sigurimi committed in 1945, 1956, or 1973, a time when they were not born or were in primary school, is political malpractice. Many of these people were not even engaged in the detection of propaganda. It is not kind to lay the burden of the injustices of the former system on the tender shoulders of a generation who were then not even 30 years old. It is political arrogance to deny these people's patriotism and sacrifices for the national cause. There is thus no question of a "human dimension" when one sacks young people who have served seven or eight years in the north, whose children play in the streets, and whose wives are unemployed. Did they, too, enthusiastically welcome this "humane" reform?

The fact that this operation was conducted without any kind of criterion or assessment is still more absurd. The motive and the responsibility were always collective and never individual, both in the cases of those who were purged and those who were retained. In a three-person office, two went, and one stayed. Those who leave, but still more those who stay, all shrug their shoulders. Those purged included people with two or more degrees, academic honors, knowledge of foreign languages, and also young, able, and uncompromised specialists who are dedicated to the national cause. What fault is it of theirs? Perhaps this is clear from the files that the PD's forums have opened about them. We would not in any sense be against dismissals, if they were reasoned and on the basis of criteria.

The work of these ordinary people has not gone against either the law, the people, the national cause, or the democracy with which they are closely tied. They have rendered dedicated service. With whom have they fallen into conflict, and for whom are they an obstacle? Time will tell. A state without national security is exposed to many dangers, and perhaps its democracy or its very existence can be jeopardized. It must be realized that it takes many years to rebuild such an agency.

Police Director States 'Most' Weapons Turned In

*AU0407160392 Tirana ATA in English
0902 GMT 4 Jul 92*

[Text] Tirana, July 4 (ATA)—June 30 was the deadline of handing over the weapons based on the law approved in the parliament. Mr. Thimi Remocka, director of police at the Ministry of Public Order, said to the newspaper ZERI I RINISE that the most part of the weapons with or without permission is handed over. Recently the delivery of the weapons has been accelerated as compared to the first days when this law appeared. Asked whether the delivery of the weapons will be carried out in time, he said that there might be a few days tolerance.

Regulation of Foreign Currency Market Planned

*AU1407083592 Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian
4 Jul 92 p 1*

[Article by Anton Joro: "1 July Has Passed—Does the Hard Currency Market Still Exist?"]

[Text] The hard currency market in front of the Bank of Albania was livelier than ever before on 1, 2, and 3 July. Everywhere you could hear voices: "Buy dollars, buy marks, buy drachmas, because the market will be closed down!"

Q.C., a professional of this market, says: "They should close it slowly, because by closing it fast they will not close it at all. This market exists because people, traders, tourists, and Albanian people in trouble need it. The bank does not supply their needs at all, therefore they cannot close it down fast."

Blerim Cela, chairman of the State Control Commission says that the proposal was not at all to close down the market, but to move it to an appropriate building and to supply interested people with permits in order to exercise the profession of money changer. Cela says: "We are thinking of creating a similar exchange to the one in London, where everybody who is involved will gather, have their licenses, pay certain taxes, and bring the bank into this game too."

Some professional money changers interpret the move of the market as an attempt to "close it down." Barlet Shehu, a professional money changer, says: "Maybe they should close it down, but it cannot be closed down. They should close it down because everybody profits at another's expense and especially at the expense of people in a fix, who are obliged to pay the most for hard

currency to travel abroad. Administrative measures could not do this, because the market would continue again, hidden in corners."

The Control Commission chairman has already made it clear that it is simply a question of moving the market and regulating it. He says: "Moving it is easy; the same thing as happened with the market for goods at the New Bazaar. The police will interfere if they resist." If the removal is easy, it will be difficult to regulate and reconstruct a currency market. "This is where my job ends," Blerim Cela says, "and the Bank's begins."

Trying to reform this market, the Albanian Bank issued an announcement a few days ago saying that it would buy and sell dollars. The money changer Q.C. says: The Bank buys currency but does not sell it. It has no power. This market can be closed down only if the Bank starts selling."

In search of Albanian Bank Chairman Ilir Hoti in order to find out his views about this problem, we learned that he was on a visit to Kuwait. Of course, a possible Kuwait credit would be more than welcome at this time. However, the government's deadline has passed and the currency market has still not been regulated.

At one time this market was called the "black market." It was Pashko with his economic reform who changed this term to "parallel" or "free" market. The exchange rate of this market seriously contested the bank rate for two years. The first one was realistic, the second one fictitious. Valer Miho, hard currency specialist at the Albanian Bank, says: "The free market expressed a fair relation of the lek against hard currency. In fact it is the most exact exchange rate in Albania, since the bank rate was established on bases that do not hold water."

The descent to or appearance of this market on the street would be an anomaly that you do not see (at least the police do not allow it) in any other East European country. Valer Miho says: "All this has to do with the lack of legislation. A new law on the liberalizing of exchange rules, which envisages many regulations of these arrangements, is being drafted. Thus, those interested will receive licenses, will come to the bank every day, and will report the volume and rate of exchange. Companies or secondary banks (apart from the Bank of Albania), receiving these data from individuals, will reckon an average daily exchange rate and the taxes."

The government's deadline has passed. The bank continues to be weak, while the "parallel" market continues to flourish. What will happen in the future?

President's Adviser Disagrees With Government

AU1407150992 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 7 Jul 92 p 5

[Interview with Lyuben Berov, economic adviser to the president of the Republic, by Nikolay Zhukov; place and date not given: "The Government's Economic Policy Needs a Reliable Coordinating Instrument"]

[Text] [Zhukov] Professor Berov, regardless of the permanent reorganizations of the economic ministries and the change of their names, a specific organ likely to coordinate the government's comprehensive policy in this sphere is still missing. Is this omission intentional or accidental, in your opinion?

[Berov] It is true that the developed countries have introduced coordinating links for their governments' economic policies. In our country, this function was assigned to the Ministry of Economy and Planning prior to 10 November 1989. Such an institution no longer exists. The reason for this can perhaps be attributed to the fact that we are now living under the conditions of a market economy and that the planned economy has disappeared along with socialism. This is true, but some kind of coordinating link is still required. A Ministry of Industry was established. Nevertheless, transportation, finances, and industry are also part of the economic sphere. We need an institution of this kind, no matter what it is called. We may even call it the Holy Synod, as long as it coordinates economic relations. Under Dimitur Popov's government, it was Dimitur Ludzhev who exercised this function. Whether he did it well is another matter. Naturally, as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, he did not deal with all of the problems of economic policy. There was some kind of competition, or we may even call it division of labor, between him and Aleksandur Tomov. Regardless of their different political views, however, there was at least an attempt to coordinate the economic policy.

The second institution that was established at that time was the Agency for Economic Programming and Development. However, this is simply an institution set up for short-term political purposes. Apart from this, it is publishing some rather useful monthly reviews on the country's economic situation. It also deals with some general problems, such as the foreign exchange rate and the interest rate, but examines them under a purely theoretical aspect.

[Zhukov] The agency could not do anything else, being deprived of all executive powers. It is not authorized to instruct anyone to do anything....

[Berov] The Agency does not even have access to the necessary information. It is not authorized to request full information on a given problem from Minister Bikov, for example. Naturally, you can ask anyone for anything on the basis of personal friendship. Hence, we can assume that no coordinating organ whatsoever exists in our economic sector.

We must admit that this is the reason the government is incapable of drafting a general and clear concept for our economic policy. It is totally meaningless to declare that the election platform of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] is being implemented. It is true that Filip Dimitrov urged his ministers to draft their own letters of intention, which they did. However, no convincing coordination of the letters ensued because the letters were not properly listed and examined in their respective order. No program was drafted on their basis.

I hope that Filip Dimitrov will not resent my remarks, but this is the truth. In addition to this, we must admit that the economic ministers disagreed on various points, at least until recently.

Ivan Pushkarov's intention to produce "Ford Pony" automobiles in our country was a typical example of contradictory ministers' views.

Let us disregard the fact that the model is outdated. Let us forget that Bulgaria has at least 10 other offers for the production of modern passenger automobiles.

On top of everything, Dimitur Ludzhev submitted the proposal of producing "Rover Maestro" automobiles to the Council of Ministers a few months later. They are also no longer produced in the United Kingdom. Nevertheless, the proposal provoked a sharp controversy between Ludzhev and Pushkarov. I stress that the controversy was exceptionally sharp. Naturally, both gentlemen are no longer cabinet members, but the example is sufficiently instructive in showing how economic policy should not be coordinated.

Commentary Regrets BSP Walkout of Parliament

AU1507164992 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 11-12 Jul 92 p 6

[Commentary by Emil Koen: "Antiparliamentarism"]

[Text] Judging by the statements of distinguished National Assembly deputies from the majority, the absence of the opposition from the National Assembly hall during the past three sessions is "not an obstacle to excellent work." In addition to this, the majority "could bring up its own opposition in parliament, if necessary."

There is no doubt that, in walking out of parliament, the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] accomplished an act that brings parliament closer to the secret aspiration of all who are ruling the country—namely, to have a parliament without opposition. Naturally, disputes are allowed in such a parliament. Even the best families argue sometimes. However, as everyone knows, this only contributes to consolidate harmony.

A parliament without opposition is like an iron made of wood. It is an imitation, a mere shadow of parliamentarism. The task of the opposition is to not only argue but to also submit alternative points of view and to exert control over the executive power through its presence.

Parliamentarism cannot be saved by walking out of parliament. This extreme method can only voluntarily, or involuntarily, contribute to its destruction. It may mean that someone is deliberately pushing the country toward an uncontrolled increase of social tensions, just as the notorious "Group of 39 deputies" [39 Union of Democratic Forces deputies who walked out of parliament in summer 1991 in protest against the Constitution] did a year ago. If this is so, the outcome is unpredictable but dangerous, under all circumstances.

Government Blamed for Seizure of Residence

AU2007134692 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian
15 Jul 92 p 1

[Commentary by Lyubomir Kolyovski: "Kennedy Cabinet Makes Sapper's Blunder"]

[Text] Even new army recruits know the aphorism that the sapper cannot make more than one mistake because it will be his last. The gentlemen members of the Cabinet, led by Corporal Filip Dimitrov, are in the same position as the raw army recruits. As soon as they sensed which way the wind was blowing, they immediately fitted the detonator to the mine left by the Communists as a legacy of their half-century-long dictatorship. Now this mine can explode at any moment and destroy the fragile social tolerance achieved between the government and the trade unions.

The goal of the operation is crystal clear, in contrast to the machinations that are developing in the lobbies of power. The aim is to box the ears of the unruly members of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation. The aim is to make Prof. Krustyu Petkov come to his senses and, moreover, to demonstrate to the entire world that, although our homegrown democracy cannot cope with the economic and social reform, it does love the dangerous game of making trouble, to the detriment of reform. Accordingly, the name of Mr. Filip Dimitrov is likely to be reported in the transmissions of the leading press agencies and television companies. The prime minister will go down in history for his decision to parry the transport strike with the Red Berets' batons in the Bistritsa Residence. However, nothing is said about the arrogance of the pseudopolitician Kostov, who demonstratively turned his back on the trade union leaders during the "Repercussions" television program on 13 July—an unprecedented act that was stupid and offensive not only for Dr. Trenchev and Professor Petkov, but also for the entire audience.

Mr. Dimitrov hopes that people will say to themselves: "Look, that man stands for no nonsense!" Then, with a stroke of the magic wand, on the very next day we will have investments and credit tranches showered upon us! Mr. Dimitrov's hopes are adding fuel to the fire set by the opposition. They, too, nurture hopes for early elections, and they will hasten to include in their election platforms the forgotten promises that the Group of 39 [group of Union of Democratic Forces deputies who

walked out of parliament over disagreement with the adopted Constitution] made nine months ago. This is what we call sly Byzantine strategy, Gentlemen Ministers. The Red Berets and the state's entire machinery of repression may keep you in power for a further month or two, but what then?

However, the pogrom against the trade unions is a double-edged sword.

Trenchev Explains Conflict With Government

AU1607193492 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian
10 Jul 92 pp 1-2

[Interview with Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, president of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, by Tsvetanka Tizova and Georgi Nedev; place and date not given: "Society Is Disintegrating While the Government Is Fighting Windmills"]

[Text] [PODKREPA] Mr. Trenchev, do you believe that the accumulated social energy, which has not cooled off as yet, to say so, is like a volcano that is about to erupt at any moment, and who do you think is activating it?

[Trenchev] If we were to carefully analyze the manifestations of social tension, we would see that there are two chief trends—one is the request for more just wages, in view of the escalating inflation, and the second, which seems to be prevailing, is the fact that the increasing social tension is caused by the state of the production branches, which are virtually ruined. Hence, people are rising to protest actions to save their jobs and the branch for which they are working. This is their legitimate right, considering that their personal fate and the future of their families are at stake.

[PODKREPA] Who are the people whose action or inaction stimulates social tension, according to you?

[Trenchev] The problems have been simmering for a long time, but they were neglected until they escalated, for the simple reason that there was no mechanism likely to settle them from the very beginning. Unfortunately, those who stubbornly refused to engage in a social dialogue (and who are unwilling to do so) are responsible for the current state of affairs. The problems should have been resolved at a much earlier stage. Instead of doing so, they were allowed to escalate to a degree in which the protest is already out of control. It is significant that the people's demands are not based on political arguments. The discontent is dictated by the people's concern about the future of the economy and is turning to despair. There is nothing surprising about this, the more so because we are observing an accelerated process of decline in society. Even a cursory glance at various strata of our society, such as the Army, the police, the medical profession, the economy, with all of its infrastructures and branches, is sufficient to reveal a general disintegration that affects even the church as a basic and very conservative institution.

Under normal circumstances, relations in these structures are subject to certain rules, but, when the structures are replaced by new ones, they should be transferred to another state, without totally disintegrating.

[PODKREPA] You are talking not only of an economic decline but also of social disintegration. Is this not an extremely dangerous state of affairs?

[Trenchev] Yes, because the aforementioned structures are serving our society, and we have no right to deprive ourselves of them. This is what causes our concern—namely, that something is disintegrating, but nothing new is being created to replace it.

The changes of the structures are inevitable because we renounced the society that was built up over 45 years. To break with the past, we must change everything, but the change does not happen by itself; it requires a certain program or platform. We cannot build a new house without a plan, and this is what the present government is trying to do because it has no such plan.

[PODKREPA] Dr. Trenchev, are the experts of the Podkrepa Confederation in a position to submit a project to the government, likely to compete with the Cabinet's decisions, which Podkrepa criticizes?

[Trenchev] We have drafted and developed specific programs so that we may be of assistance as soon as they ask for our advice and cooperation. The government, however, has not asked for our cooperation so far. Yesterday, for example, we were ready to submit a list of potential financial resources and of missed opportunities, as well as to enumerate the damages caused. Our argument is that the slogan "There is no money" may sound convincing, but it should always be preceded by the question "Why?" Those who have been placed in their positions to earn money have not done their job properly.

[PODKREPA] Nevertheless, you can guess the answer to this question, based on the following argument: The communists left us a ruined state, a disintegrating economy, empty pension funds, and economic structures that are only pretending to operate.

[Trenchev] It is true that the communists caused incredible damage to this country, but the negative processes continue, unfortunately. As a matter of fact, a method of mastering the situation did exist. If we leave things as they are, they are likely to get much worse. We should very quickly embark upon the rescuing path. However, this requires a team of people who share the same ideas. It requires resolute individuals and competent experts. Unfortunately, our country's potential intellectual elite has distanced itself from politics.

[PODKREPA] Are you convinced that an alternative to the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] government exists?

[Trenchev] The alternative is a new SDS government. I do not see anything bad about a coalition between the

SDS and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS]. Among the numerous SDS voters, there should be some competent people ready to assume the responsibility for rescuing Bulgaria from the crisis. As far as I am concerned, I exclude the option of a coalition with the communists for several reasons, even on moral grounds, if you wish.

[PODKREPA] Do you regret that Podkrepa left the SDS, thus depriving itself of the possibility of exerting influence and assisting the SDS in ruling the country?

[Trenchev] A trade union and a ruling political party are an incompatible combination because this would represent the classical example of official trade unions. Such an alternative is in contradiction with the formula of independent trade unionism.

Nevertheless, I would like to stress that, while opposing the policy conducted by certain political figures within the SDS, we are not against the SDS as such. The two structures simply have different fields of action, and, so far, I do not know any successful social formation that can exist without its own corrective. The social mechanism is composed of numerous institutions, and they should be separated from each other, although their views on society may coincide. There can be no harmonious cooperation as long as one structure prevails over the entire social mechanism.

[PODKREPA] The name of Podkrepa is frequently mentioned in connection with various spheres and problems. We now understand that Podkrepa is allegedly responsible for National Bank Chairman Professor Vulchev's resignation. Deputy Prime Minister Eskenazi unequivocally stressed that the Podkrepa Labor Confederation is allegedly interested in the resignation of the chief banker.

[Trenchev] Mr. Eskenazi is either uninformed about these things or is deliberately trying to deceive someone. I have actually met Mr. Vulchev and had conversations with him. However, we discussed the specific problems of bank clerks that could be solved on the basis of trade union methods. The best thing would be to ask Mr. Vulchev himself, and he could answer whether some one has tried to influence him. I deeply respect Mr. Vulchev, and I am convinced that our banking affairs would be disadvantaged by his resignation. However, I know why some people wish that we should always be responsible for something.

[PODKREPA] The version also emerged that, after your disagreements with the SDS, you felt isolated and therefore accepted the partnership of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB].

[Trenchev] Podkrepa has always insisted on social dialogue. That is one of our basic demands. The KNSB also asked for it. Podkrepa tried to find a just and sensible formula for the compensation of incomes. The KNSB also hopes this question will be solved with an equitable solution. Podkrepa wishes to begin a structural reform to

halt the precipitating drop of production paralleled by a growing unemployment rate. The KNSB expressed the same view. Well, I ask you: Should we renounce our claims just because the KNSB shares the same ideas? As far as our ideological differences with the KNSB are concerned, they are numerous and remain unsurmountable.

Trenchev Reveals Goals, Denies Political Ambition

*AU2007080392 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian
11-12 Jul 92 p 10*

[Interview with Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, president of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, by Petur Boychev; place and date not given: "I Am Not Career-Minded, I Do Not Depend on Anyone's Financial Support in This Country, the Podkrepa President Claims"]

[Excerpts] [Boychev] Mr. Trenchev, after Khristofor Subev devoted himself to the affairs of the church, you remained the only representative of the first opposition wave. How do you explain this fact?

[Trenchev] The reason that prevented numerous people from remaining on the political scene was the lack of a clear concept, on the one hand, and the lack of courage to defend their point of view, on the other. Many of those people grabbed for power right away, thus being forced to make serious compromises with their consciences.

If something kept me on the crest of political life, it was the fact that, unlike numerous politicians, I realized that structures are the source of strength. The establishment of structures, however, requires tireless efforts. In the second place, I understood that the people's confidence is earned only with an unshakable position and not with luck of principle—namely, by saying one thing in the morning and changing one's mind at night. In this respect, I am proud of Podkrepa's being the only organization in Bulgaria that, rather than changing its stance, has further developed it. In the third place, I have never tried to pursue my personal ambitions for a career through my activities, and I do not depend on anyone's financial support in this country. The worldwide recognition of my work is also one of the reasons I still play a leading role in political life. Even if it may sound slightly conceited, I am enjoying the greatest international prestige among all Bulgarian public figures because of having been elected vice president of the largest worldwide trade union center—namely, the International Labor Organization. This is the highest international position ever occupied by a Bulgarian citizen. [passage omitted]

[Boychev] In my opinion, you committed the first mistake in your evaluation of the country's political situation at the end of April 1992, when you forecast a no-confidence vote for Filip Dimitrov's Cabinet. Who misled you on that occasion—the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS], or the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]?

[Trenchev] At that time, we expressed our great concern that the economic reform in this country had embarked on an utterly wrong path.

It was our conviction that a drastic change in the economic policy and the country's economic life was required and that this could only happen by replacing the economic team and by changing the economic doctrine, if there could be a question of the doctrine in all. In this respect, we succeeded to a certain point because one of the ministers whose incompetence was proved—namely, Pushkarov—left the Council of Ministers. We never insisted on a radical reorganization of the government. We simply stated that it is possible to achieve a change for the better with new political figures, who are likely to earn the people's confidence.

If the politicians were not sufficiently farsighted to realize this fact, so much the worse for them. We have never bargained with any political parties but insisted on electing a real executive power, capable of ruling this country and steering it toward some kind of future. [passage omitted]

[Boychev] Are Ludzhev, Dogan, and Trenchev expected to become the internal opposition of the SDS?

[Trenchev] You should not draw any conclusions from simple and absolutely natural acquaintances. I have known Mr. Dogan since 1989. From the very beginning of my opposition activities, I had a clear stance on the nationality issue. I know that all citizens on Bulgaria's territory must have equal rights, and this position earned the respect of all ethnic minorities in our country. There is even more: I was subject to repressions together with them during the 1989 summer campaign. [passage omitted]

We are the only trade union organization in Bulgaria that has a representative of the Turkish ethnic minority in its executive organ. Mrs. Emel Etem is one of our confederate secretaries, and we highly appreciate her work. My acquaintance with Mr. Dogan does not serve any specific political objectives, but we consider it quite expedient for politicians and trade union leaders to exchange views.

As far as Mr. Ludzhev is concerned, I must admit that I had profound differences with him about the economic situation in 1991, when he chaired the Social Partnership Commission. To put it more precisely, our relations had quite deteriorated at the time of the miners' strike in August 1991. However, I insist on pointing out that Mr. Ludzhev never had recourse to the absurd statement that the strike has some connection with the Moscow coup, something individuals like Kostov and Pushkarov stubbornly claimed, although I have no idea why.

We had our differences of principle with Mr. Ludzhev, and, if we see each other today, it is to discuss various topics, but it is a normal discussion between trade unionist and politician. No personal emotions interfere with our conversations. On the contrary, we exchange

sensible arguments, and, if our evaluations and assessments should sometimes coincide, there is no reason for us not to pursue our dialogue.

I read Mr. Ludzhev's analysis on the structural crisis within the SDS, and I must admit that I consider the majority of his arguments correct. If you like, I can commit myself to the following statement: If one wishes to accomplish something, his personal likes and dislikes should be of secondary importance. [passage omitted]

Radio-Jamming Installations Said To Still Exist

AU1607121992 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian
9 Jul 92 p 3

[Article by Ivaylo Dachov and Nikolay Kolev: "The 'Bumblebees' Are Ready for Action in Less Than a Minute"]

[Text] Until recently, about 40 installations were used to muffle the "enemy" propaganda. They are still maintained by their special staff, whose pay is calculated to be about 16 million leva per year. The specialists call the equipment "bumblebees" because of the peculiar noise they emit when in operation. Such an installation still exists about 20 kilometers from Sofia, on the road to Novi Khan, and travelers on the highway to Plovdiv can see its antennas. The installation is top secret, and the notice outside states simply: "Intruders Will Be Shot Without Warning."

The transmitters need less than a minute to start operating, and the security measures border on the ridiculous. Representatives of the Council of Ministers visited the installation near Novi Khan and, after showing great persistence, managed to obtain entry. They emerged about an hour later, quite amazed by what they had seen. Until then, they had not known of the existence of such an apparatus. According to a representative of the Committee on Mail Services and Long-Distance Communications, Committee Chairman Stefan Sofiyanski was utterly dumbfounded when he found out that his department manages these installations. According to the same source, the longstanding chief of the "jammers" is one of Mr. Sofiyanski's present advisers, Eng. Valentin Grozdanov.

When Gorbachev shut down the radio jammers on Soviet territory in 1987, this issue also came to the forefront in Bulgaria. At the time, however, the "commander in chief," in the words of Atanas Popov, formerly head of communications, as quoted by a reliable source, issued orders that these installations should be maintained in readiness "just in case." From that time until now, our country has lost 500 million leva in funds needed to maintain the equipment and pay the staff. The installations are fully equipped and have their own independent power supplies. Only one of the diesel generators used can provide lighting for 100-150 families. The equipment for the installations was supplied through secret channels by the Soviet Union, and the jamming of radio stations was carried out on barter principles. Because of the specific nature of the short-wave transmissions, some of our jammers were used to protect the Russians from "brainwashing," while their systems were used to prevent us from faltering on the road to communism.

Radio stations like Deutsche Welle, Radio Free Europe, and Voice of America broadcast freely on Bulgarian territory, and many say the continued existence of these installations is a misunderstanding that may put Bulgaria in an extremely tricky situation. People familiar with the problem comment that it is hardly right for such systems to continue to exist in Bulgaria when all of the former socialist countries gave them up long ago.

According to the specialists, the expenditure on these installations is charged to the funds allocated for radio broadcasting, and part of it is paid from the budget of the Bulgarian National Radio, without the latter's knowledge. A receiving center used to operate on Galichitsa Street in Sofia, serving to coordinate and tune the installations to intercept foreign radio transmissions. This center issued the orders that made it impossible for Bulgarians to hold "different" opinions.

A well-maintained asphalt road leads to the jamming systems, and a highly qualified engineering staff works there. Even today, these "secret" installations left over from the totalitarian period are guarded from curious eyes by police and dogs.

Czech Press Comments on Havel's Resignation

AU2007135092 Prague CSTK in English
1141 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Excerpt] Prague July 18 (CSTK)—All Czech dailies today comment on the resignation of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel announced Friday, and on Friday's declaration of Slovakia's sovereignty.

MLADA FRONTA DNES writes that the announcement about the president's resignation means that the Czechoslovak Federation "has entered the stage of a coma before death." In an article entitled "let's meet again in better days," the paper says that by announcing his resignation, "the president, who has recently stood somewhat aside of events following the election victory (in June) of the ODS [Civic Democratic Party] and the HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia], has again become a coactor in a process that will very quickly lead to a constitutional birth of an independent Czech Republic."

The paper notes that while the right received the resignation almost without surprise, "the left-wing leaders did not conceal their shock, disappointment, and apparent indignation." Their "tactics of obstruction hidden in a veil of a 'common state at any cost' is no more possible," the paper says, adding that now they will have to show constructive cooperation in preparing and approving the Czech Constitution in the Czech National Council (parliament).

TELEGRAF writes that the president's decision certainly gave a bitter taste to the fires lit on Slovak hills in celebration of the Declaration of Slovakia's Sovereignty. According to the paper, it "not only made clear our present situation but also brought the chief political forces to a task to make clear their goals by unambiguous steps."

In an interview carried by PROSTOR, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar says that the president's resignation "will have no impact on the state of talks" between the two (Czech and Slovak) republics and their political representatives.

"Slovakia has awakened, the common state has died," writes LIDOVE NOVINY and continues: "The two years of good old chat about (Czechoslovakia's) setup have ended.... All that time Slovak representatives, including those who now rejected the declaration (on Slovakia's sovereignty) have believed that the door leading to Slovakia's sovereignty are held shut by Prague centralists. Now the door has been flung open. And what a surprise: It was already wide open before," the paper says.

On its front page LIDOVE NOVINY writes that "the president's resignation only underlines the fact that it is Slovakia who is leaving the common state." [passage omitted]

Ruml Defends Choice of Deputy Interior Minister

AU1607141892

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 15 July on page 3 carries a 700-word interview with Czech Minister of Interior Jan Ruml by Jan Subert entitled "He Did Not Collaborate With the Secret Police." The interview, the place and date of which are not given, deals with the appointment of Jiri Krizan, "President Havel's former assistant for security and domestic policy affairs," as Ruml's deputy.

In the interview, Ruml first confirms that Krizan is registered in the files of the now defunct StB [State Security] as "candidate for secret collaboration." He adds, however, that "Krizan's case was examined by an independent commission. The attestation issued by the commission states that he was not a conscious StB collaborator. That is enough for me."

Asked why he appointed Krizan as his deputy, Ruml says that this choice was "predetermined by the coalition agreement, whereby one deputy minister is to be from the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] and one from the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU-CSL]. Mr. Krizan was nominated by the ODA and because I can exercise my right of veto only toward persons and not toward political parties, he was the only solution for me. I do not know of anyone else in the ODA who could execute this position more competently and responsibly." Ruml also rejects the criticism that Krizan, a scriptwriter by original profession, lacks professional prerequisites for the job. He refers to Krizan's experience with security issues acquired during his work for President Havel and in the State Defense Council, to his "many contacts" in the field, and to his thorough familiarity with police work. Ruml also emphasizes his and Krizan's "identical views on the concept of the Czech Republic's security policy" and his "100 percent confidence" in Krizan.

Report Studies Referendum Proposal Voting Results

AU2207074092 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK
in Slovak 17 Jul 92 pp 1-2

[Article by Jozef Polacko, Christian Democratic Movement deputy in the Federal Assembly: "Who Is Not Interested in the Citizens' Opinion?"]

[Text] Important decisions, such as the constitutional and legal arrangement in democratic (and even in many not quite democratic) states, are usually made by citizens in a referendum. Otherwise, we have cabinet policy of the Munich 1938 type (about us without us). On Thursday, 16 July 1992 the federal parliament discussed a proposal put forward by Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] deputy Ivan Simko. This was a proposal to include the declaration of a referendum on the constitutional and legal arrangement on the agenda of the second joint Federal Assembly session. Of the 140 deputies

present in the Chamber of People (71 votes were necessary for approval), 68 deputies were in favor of including this point on the agenda, 34 were against, and 33 abstained (five deputies did not vote). Of the 143 deputies present in the Chamber of Nations (72 votes were necessary for approval), 69 deputies were in favor of including this point on the agenda, 54 were against, and 19 abstained (one deputy did not vote).

How the Individual Parties Voted

- Party of the Democratic Left [SDL]: Chamber of People—of the 10 deputies, all 10 voted in favor; Chamber of Nations—of the 13 deputies, all 13 voted in favor.
- Christian Democratic Movement [KDH]: Chamber of People—of the six deputies, all six voted in favor; Chamber of Nations—of the eight deputies, all eight voted in favor.
- Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement-Egyuetteles [MKDH-ESWS]: Chamber of People—of the five deputies, all five voted in favor; Chamber of Nations—of the seven deputies, all seven voted in favor.
- Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]: Chamber of People—of the 24 deputies, one voted in favor (Mr. Moravcik), 20 voted against, one abstained (Mr. Filkus), and two were not present; Chamber of Nations—of the 33 deputies, 26 voted against, two abstained, and five were not present.
- Social Democratic Party of Slovakia [SDSS]: Chamber of Nations—of the five deputies, all five voted in favor.
- Slovak National Party [SNS]: Chamber of People—of the six deputies, five voted against and one was not present; Chamber of Nations—of the nine deputies, all nine voted against.
- Civic Democratic Party-Christian Democratic Party [ODS-KDS]: Chamber of People—of the 48 deputies, nine voted against, 31 abstained, three did not vote, and five were not present; Chamber of Nations—of the 37 deputies, one voted in favor (Mr. Zverina), 19 voted against, 15 abstained, one did not vote, and one was not present.
- Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU-CSL]: Chamber of People—of the seven deputies, all seven voted in favor; Chamber of Nations—of the six deputies, four voted in favor and two abstained.
- Left Bloc: Chamber of People—of the 19 deputies, 18 voted in favor and one was not present; Chamber of Nations—of the 15 deputies, 14 voted in favor and one was not present.
- Liberal Social Union [LSU]: Chamber of People—of the seven deputies, all seven voted in favor; Chamber of Nations—of the five deputies, all five voted in favor.
- Czechoslovak Social Democracy [CSSD]: Chamber of People—of the 10 deputies, nine voted in favor and one was not present; Chamber of Nations—of the six deputies, all six voted in favor.

- Association for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia [SPR-RSC]: Chamber of People—of the eight deputies, five voted in favor, one abstained (Mr. Sladek), and two did not vote. Chamber of Nations—of the six deputies, all six voted in favor.

The discerning citizen can see for himself which parties want to take important steps without giving the citizens an opportunity to express their opinion.

Macek on Possible State Arrangement Models

AU217155392 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech
17 Jul 92 p 3

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Miroslav Macek by Eva Kunova; place and date not given: "Reflecting Reality"]

[Text] Deputy Prime Minister Miroslav Macek (Civic Democratic Party [ODS]) is able to visualize the optimum model for the federation's possible breakup. As he said in our interview, a prerequisite for this model is political maturity among those who make the decisions on our constitutional and legal arrangement and their ability to view issues pragmatically and not emotionally, reflecting reality.

[Kunova] Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] representatives openly declare that they are not talking about a common state, but a union of two sovereign states. Has the period of "camouflaging" terms come to an end?

[Macek] The question is whether this was camouflage or whether it was not, by chance, a "semantic black hole." A number of terms have lost their meaning in recent years. What a common state is has been clarified recently under pressure of events. I think the HZDS view of how it should be arranged is the same, only the semantics have changed.

[Kunova] Federal Assembly Chairman Michal Kovac (HZDS) held talks with the CSFR president recently on the possibilities of confederative coexistence and on the associated post of "rotating" president....

[Macek] In the opinion of the ODS, the confederative model is extremely nonfunctional and unstable. We know from history that this model has always been the first stage for the merger or separation of two entities. We think it is unnecessary to create unstable and short-term models. Either we want a functioning federation, or two states with the proviso that we do not anticipate how these states will cooperate after their separation. If we wanted a confederation—and we do not want it—it would still be necessary to take two steps: Two independent states would have to evolve and then an agreement on the confederative principle would have to be reached. The HZDS is relentlessly trying to remold this federation into a confederation of two independent states without actually dividing the state.

[Kunova] Is there a different way to divide the federation other than holding a referendum?

[Macek] They are all just ideas. What happens depends on real policy. One model, the one that recommends itself to me, would have the national councils reaching agreement on a specific form for the constitutional and legal arrangement and on the gradual and individual legislative steps it is necessary to take. The Federal Assembly, as long as it agrees, will implement the steps proposed and thereby decide on a further solution. If the national councils agree that this solution will involve a unitary state and submit a proposal on the laws it is necessary to revoke, amend, or adopt, and if the Federal Assembly says yes and votes in favor of these laws, we will become a unitary state. If the national councils decide that this state will break up and prepare gradual steps for adoption by the Federal Assembly, in many ways these will be self-liquidating steps requiring political wisdom and foresight. I can envision parliament adopting constitutional laws breaking up the federation. Everything will take place by constitutional means. The majority of critics who maintain that the federation's breakup would take place by nonconstitutional means proceed from the status quo, that is, from the current constitutional laws. Of course, the Federal Assembly can change these laws.

[Kunova] Could a solution to the constitutional and legal arrangement negatively influence the adoption of republic constitutions?

[Macek] If a constitution exceeds the framework of the federal Constitution or if it somehow violates federal laws, then, of course, it will be impossible to talk about a common state. This state will break up in an instant. I do not presume to say what its end will be like, but it will probably be precarious.

[Kunova] In its policy statement the government attempts to draw up draft conditions for the smooth functioning of two independent states with the proviso that, if it is entrusted to do so, it will submit the draft....

[Macek] If the government is to be a responsible government, it will not govern on a day to day basis, but plan things in advance. It must assume that this state will break up and draw up the necessary mechanisms. The government will only prepare what has to be done by the executive branch if the state breaks up. That is all that is within its jurisdiction.

[Kunova] How, and within what time frame will jurisdiction be transferred from the federation to the republics?

[Macek] The government commits itself to opening up the jurisdiction issue. However, the government can only make suggestions. The final outcome is up to the Federal Assembly. It alone may amend the federal jurisdiction law.

[Kunova] Seven federal ministries are to be abolished by 30 September....

[Macek] When I defended the government's policy statement in the parliamentary committees—in the Social Affairs Committee and the Environment Committee—it was apparent that the idea still prevails in our country that if an institution is abolished, its function is also abolished. The functions of the seven ministries can be transferred to other organs in such a way that the same work can be done with fewer people, but done better and in a more qualified manner. We expect that some of this work will transfer, depending on the jurisdiction law, to the republican ministries, and some will remain at the federal level, as long as the common state continues to exist. Of course, there must be "supreme" federal legislation. I can visualize a model whereby the republican ministries draft coordinated legislation which they submit to the Federal Assembly with the proviso that the Office of the CSFR Government Presidium Legal Department merely guarantees the new laws' compatibility with other federal legislation.

[Kunova] What is your opinion of the proposal put forward by the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU-CSL] to devote a single joint Federal Assembly session to debate on constitutional and legal issues?

[Macek] I think this is merely wishful thinking or some kind of naive belief that a problem that has been discussed in vain at all possible levels for two years will be resolved during the course of a single session.

Slovaks Contemplate Splitting Federation

Feeling Shame

92CH0710A Bratislava TELEGRAF in Slovak
19 Jun 92 p 3

[Article by Martin M. Simecka: "Secret Longing"]

[Text] Pity the federation. After two years it looks gnawed down to the bare bone which not even a dog would pick up off the ground. It seems that they are right, those who insist that Slovaks need to have their own state at last in order to taste the forbidden and unknown fruit, regardless of whether it will give them a stomach-ache or not. They are right, those who claim that these elections have clearly revealed this longing, and nothing is changed by the fact many now, when its fulfillment is within reach, are beginning to be afraid of that longing. Although we can take as our basis of reasoning the preelection polls and findings that the majority wanted a common state and assert that the breakup of the federation will take place against the will of the population, we must also take into consideration the undercurrents of the longings which came to the surface during the elections. Those who voted for Vladimir Meciar also voted, it so happens, against an accommodation with the Czechs. Most likely the Czechs will not be willing to exchange Havel for the federation or some other union,

and in no way will they be willing to exchange him for Meciar. Those who voted for the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] surely had to know that, or at least suspect it.

I admit that today, more than by the fate of the federation, I am troubled by a feeling which I have been conscious of for more than three years. It is a feeling of being ashamed of those who represent Slovakia, and therefore also me, on the stage which is being closely watched by the whole world. The apparent self-assertiveness of the HZDS politicians, so revered and admired in Slovakia, is stripped completely naked in confrontation with the Czech politicians, and all that is left is an embarrassing stammering. Unfinished sentences, which, when set down on paper, do not make sense, inability to understand and respect the logic and precision of the language (the term common state is like a hot potato in their mouths, which they can neither swallow nor spit out)—that is, unfortunately, a precise picture of the new Slovak politics, which on its home ground can look like a solid rock but which stands on shaky knees beyond Slovakia's borders. A well-known feeling from a more distant time is coming back to life within me—I am beginning to feel sorry for them!

But that feeling quickly passes when I remember that the HZDS leader has grossly offended me. He offended me, because he behaved rudely toward the president of the republic. I realize that Meciar can never understand Havel, because his intellectual and personal inadequacy prevents it. I also realize that this disparity, which has been crystallizing for some time and which now appears as if suddenly occurring between the two politicians, is not just a personal disparity. Meciar, defined as he is by his inadequacy to communicate with a man who is his moral superior, is at the same time also a personification of the moral relativism, typical for conditions in Slovakia especially during the past 20 years. In this, the entire HZDS movement, irrespective of the various streams within it, is at one with its leader. For the voter it represents maybe not so much an economic and political continuity with the former regime, as it does, above all, a continuity of this moral relativism. Vaclav Havel is sharply opposed to such a continuity with his very being. Although I understand all this, nevertheless I am offended by the absence of basic human decency, through which Meciar is solving his problem. Not even mentioning political culture.

And so the historic moment for Slovakia has arrived. And as almost always, we have chosen the least appropriate time for it and the least suitable politicians. I believe that for all those who still want a federation, the federation is to a considerable degree a kind of a substitute symbol for democracy. And if that historic moment, which I do not want, is to arrive and the common state ceases to exist, we should think even now about the concept of democracy as something that must be defended even without the shield of the federation. So that, if we do have to feel ashamed of our politicians, we will not have to be ashamed of ourselves as well.

Media Threatened

92CH0710B Bratislava TELEGRAF in Slovak
19 Jun 92 p 3

[Article by P. Tatar: "Federal Media?"]

[Text] The most important problem these days, immediately after the elections, is the question whether "it will be possible to preserve the common state, whether it will be possible to preserve Czecho-Slovakia."

What just two years ago seemed unthinkable, is today not only the topic of the day but even an immediate threat. The victors in the elections in Slovakia do not have the mandate for taking such a step. In their own preelection program they offered the choice of five different possibilities—from a federation to an independent Slovakia. In spite of that, the threat of the breakup is imminent. The steps HZDS is taking are unequivocal and they constantly narrow down the space within which it is possible to think about the preservation of the common state.

It is logical that every parting has its cost. Even the most conciliatory method of dividing the state will have very serious impact on the economy, most of all in Slovakia. To that must be added the risk of political and economic instability, the possibility of unrest and violence, as well as the not negligible consequences in the sphere of foreign relations.

If it proves impossible to prevent the breakup, making the process as conciliatory and rational as possible would certainly be to the benefit of all the participants. And there are, whether they want it or not, more than 15 million of them.

The demand to abolish the CST [Czechoslovak Television] and the Czechoslovak radio does not bode well in this connection: Without mutual exchange of information accessible to citizens of both parts of the federation the risk of misunderstandings, lack of comprehension, and one-sided views will increase. In any divorce the feelings of wrongs and injustices, suspicions of dishonest behavior or intentions must be expected. We can see it in almost any divorce proceeding.... Federal media can play precisely here a very important and necessary role of maintaining the flow of information back and forth, which will make mutual understanding possible and easier.

One of the first steps in Yugoslavia was the closing down of the federal television.... Does anyone want to follow the same road?

Views Criticized

92CH0710C Bratislava NOVY SLOVAK in Slovak
23 Jun 92 p 4

[Article by Milan Horcicak: "Slovak 'Politicians and Publicists'"]

[Text] There is really no need to emphasize that the Prague daily *TELEGRAF*, which is published also in a Slovak version, is actually the extended arm of Vaclav Klaus and his Civic Democratic Party [ODS] in Slovakia. During this postelection period it has been giving increasingly more space particularly to Slovak politicians of the former governing coalition, and also to Slovak publicists who more or less openly identify themselves with the politics of the Prague Castle.

An entire pleiad of these remarkable personalities presented their Czechoslovakists views in the weekend issue of 19 June.

For example, for the former member of the Presidium of the Slovak National Council, Petr Tatar (ODU-Civic Democratic Union) the "most important question these days is whether the common state can be preserved...." In the article "Federal Media" he views with great concern the demand of the HZDS to abolish the government-subsidized institutions of federal television and radio. "Without mutual exchange of information, accessible to citizens of both parts of the federation," emphasizes Petr Tatar, "the risk of misunderstandings, lack of comprehension, and one-sided views increases...." In the conclusion of his article the author himself makes an attempt at one of them. "One of the first steps in Yugoslavia was the closing down of the federal television.... Does anyone want to follow the same road?"

Martin M. Simecka, famous from the program "What the Week Brought," laments in a nostalgic monologue, "Secret Longings," the fate of the federation. "After two years," he says bitterly, "it looks gnawed down to the bare bone which not even a dog would pick up off the ground." The entire personal statement of this "Slovak publicist" is downright permeated with contempt for the leaders of the victorious HZDS, whom, in his opinion, Slovak citizens elected by mistake. Most of the insults are, of course, directed at Vaclav Meciar, who allegedly "can never understand Havel, because his intellectual and personal inadequacy prevents it." The author crowns his statement by "feeling ashamed of those who represent Slovakia, and therefore also me, on the stage closely watched by the entire world."

It is a pity that Petr Simecka does not even realize that on the television screen and the radio waves, instead of the defending national interests he has sold out his national consciousness for the sake of saving the expiring federation and the centrist goals of the Prague Castle.

And Petr Tatar became registered in the mind of the public as a voice in the parliament after all—as one vehemently opposed to the declaration of Slovakia's sovereignty.

Slovak TV Protests Pro-Meciar Interference

*AU1507143392 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech
13 Jul 92 p 2*

[CSTK report: "Slovak Television Issues a Strong Protest"]

[Text] Yesterday's "Slovak Television News" program described the presence of representatives from the Association of Slovak Journalists for a True Image of Slovakia during the editing of a report on the meeting between the association and Slovak Prime Minister Meciar recorded for the 9 June "Aktuality Plus" program as inadmissible interference in the jurisdiction of Slovak Television [STV].

Therefore, on 10 July Jan Fuelle, senior producer at the STV News and Sports Production Center, issued a strong protest to Jan Smolc, the association's chairman.

He wrote in his letter: "Judging by your course of action (...) I assume you do not trust in the professional ability of Slovak Television staff to edit a 20-minute program. Therefore, permit me to ask you to name another institution capable of implementing all your aims for presenting a true image of Slovakia."

By making its protest public, STV has reacted to the remarks made by Emilia Boldisova, an editor of *KORIDOR*—a daily close to the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]—on "The Week in Review" program. She stated that the recording of the meeting had been edited. "It annoys me; they cut out two-thirds of what I said, and I am unhappy with it," she said. She also said that she had favored the recording from STV being broadcast in its entirety.

This point of view came as a surprise to STV, said the "Slovak Television News" program's announcer. According to the "Slovak Television News" program, if she did not know, then Jozef Darmo, a member of the Association of Slovak Journalists for a True Image of Slovakia who also participated in "The Week in Review" program, must have known that members of this association were present during the editing of Vladimir Meciar's meeting with members of the Association of Slovak Journalists for a True Image of Slovakia.

Antall Letter to Goncz on Constitutional Rights
92CH0761A Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG
in Hungarian 24 Jun 92 p 4

[Text of 22 June letter from Prime Minister Jozsef Antall to President Arpad Goncz: "Letter From Jozsef Antall to the President of the Republic"]

[Text]

Budapest, 22 June 1992

Dear Mr. President,

As is well known, on my initiative the Constitutional Court has taken a stand on the matter of interpreting the Constitution in its ruling No. 36/1992 (10 June).

With all due respect and esteem, in consideration of certain statements and interpretations published in the press that are subject to misunderstanding, I must direct your attention, Mr. President, to the following:

The Constitutional Court in its ruling stated the following, among other matters:

"1. If the prerequisites for an appointment required by law have been met, the president can refuse the appointment if he has a well-founded belief that complying with the proposal would seriously disturb the democratic functioning of the state apparatus. From this point of view, the president of the Republic can reconsider the nomination of a specific individual alone. The interpretation of the conditions of this constitutional practice for appointments cannot be given a wider scope.

"In the course of exercising his right in respect to appointments, the president can declare that the functioning of the state apparatus would be seriously disturbed if he has a well-founded reason to believe that by confirming the nomination of a specific person, the institution in question would be unable to carry out its basic tasks, including the institutional protection of fundamental rights in connection with the functioning of the institution.

"The president can refuse an appointment if the appointment could with good reason be expected to lead to an immediate and imminent disturbance of the state apparatus that could not be averted in any other way. The refusal of an appointment cannot be used to avert abstract dangers resulting from loopholes in legislation concerning the democratic functioning of the state apparatus or from the lack of legal guarantees, which would exist apart from the nomination of a specific individual. The president of the Republic has other means at his disposal, guaranteed by the Constitution, to remedy such cases.

"2. The president of the Republic cannot stipulate conditions beyond the fulfillment of the legal prerequisites for an appointment or a dismissal.

"3. The president of the Republic is obliged to refuse the dismissal if the legal prerequisites have not been fulfilled. The conditions for refusing an appointment for reasons of substance can be applied as well to a dismissal if the rank or tasks of the person to be dismissed would be assumed, without a new act of appointment, by another person to whom the conditions of refusing the appointment would also apply.

"4. It must be evident from the president's decision refusing to comply with a nomination that a legal prerequisite was lacking, which led to his refusal, or the facts must be evident that led the president of the Republic to believe with good reason that complying with the nomination would lead to a serious disturbance of the democratic functioning of the state apparatus."

In its earlier decision the Constitutional Court stated that what was said in connection with appointments applies where appropriate to promotions, dismissals, confirmations in a position, and as well to the president's right of confirmation.

Thus, the ruling by the Constitutional Court confirmed the government's earlier point of view and conduct in the matter. For this reason I am forced to submit another proposal in the same matter.

I am informing you, Mr. President, that on my request the Parliamentary Committee on Culture, Education, Science, Sports, Television, and the Press has conducted a hearing of the director of the Hungarian Radio [MR], based on Article 1.1 of Law No. 57 of 1990. Following the hearing, the committee unanimously declared Csaba Gombar to be unsuitable to occupy the post of director of the Hungarian Radio in the future, and it considered its initiation of his dismissal with you, Mr. President, as justified.

In compliance with the committee's proposal, I again propose with my present letter that you, Mr. President, dismiss Csaba Gombar, director of the Hungarian Radio, from his position effective 1 July 1992, in accordance with Article 1.1 of Law No. 57 of 1990 on the procedure of the appointments of public media. In order to justify the fairly short deadline, I must note that Csaba Gombar's behavior makes it impossible for me to abstain from initiating his dismissal.

Until the appointment of a new director, Deputy Director Dr. Laszlo Csucs is entitled to perform the function of heading the MR as a general substitute. Mr. President, recently you appointed the deputy director knowing that he would exercise the function of a general substitute as the only individual entitled to act as a substitute. In view of this, as well as of the fact that the appointment of the deputy director occurred in accordance with the prescribed legal form, the case described in point No. 3 of the ruling by the Constitutional Court cannot apply, which outlines the only constitutional reason for refusing to dismiss the director.

On my request, the Parliamentary Committee on Culture, Education, Science, Sports, Television, and the Press has also conducted a hearing on the director of the Hungarian Television [MTV], in compliance with Article 1.1 of Law No. 57 of 1990. As a result of the hearing, the committee, by a majority vote, proposed that I take steps to solve the question of a successor and to initiate "with the president of the Republic the dismissal of Dr. Elemer Hankiss from his appointment as director for an unspecified time."

In compliance with Article 1.1 of Law No. 57 of 1990, which I have referred to several times, and in accordance with the committee's proposal, I herewith initiate the dismissal of Elemer Hankiss, director of the Hungarian Television, from his office, effective only 15 September 1992, because the question of a successor has not yet been resolved. By the time of the fall session of parliament, I will make proposals for nominations to the head of both the MR and the MTV.

In connection with the nominations, I would especially like to emphasize, Mr. President, the following paragraphs of justification appended to the ruling by the Constitutional Court:

"In a constitutional state, there are legal guarantees for the democratic functioning of the state apparatus as well as for the protection of fundamental rights, which are operational without reference to specific individuals. In a constitutional state, constitutionality is not guaranteed by persons. If, in the course of an appointment, it is discovered that the legal regulation has loopholes and the guarantees are insufficient, then one must not take action against the person involved, but rather one must make the legal regulations functional. The president of the Republic has other means at his disposal, guaranteed by the Constitution, to correct errors in the legal regulations."

"When refusing an appointment for reasons of substance, the president of the Republic can only review the nomination of the specific individual, i.e., a negative decision can only apply to the selection of this person...." "If the president has grounds, founded on facts, to suspect that the appointment of the nominated person would seriously disturb the democratic functioning of the state apparatus for a reason inherent in the person, then he must ascertain that his suspicion is well founded...." "In particular, the refusal of an appointment cannot be used for a hidden correction of legal regulations concerning the appointment, or a hidden review of the Constitution. In such cases the president would overstep his authority."

"The constitutional prerequisite for the refusal of an appointment for reasons of substance, i.e., that compliance with the nomination would seriously disturb the democratic functioning of the state apparatus, cannot be applied to this dismissal because in the case of an appointment, the president can only review the proposal concerning a specific individual from the above-mentioned point of view. This personal criterion could

be applied to a dismissal if it were possible to say that the present occupant of that position is exclusively qualified to carry out its tasks, while the appointment of anyone else would have to be denied for the same reasons as were mentioned above...." "The criteria for appointment cannot be applied to the person designated to be dismissed, but they can be applied to filling the position that has thus become vacant. If, namely, as a consequence of regulations concerning the vacancy of the position in question, the rank or tasks of the person to be dismissed were to be assumed, without a new act of appointment by the president, by another person to whom the conditions of refusing the appointment would apply, then the president can exercise his authority without overstepping his bounds in appointments. An overstepping of his authority would occur if the president suspected a grave danger might ensue from not filling the position, and refused the dismissal for this reason."

Concerning the stipulation of further conditions, the Constitutional Court declared (in its ruling No. 37/1992 [10 June] concerning the cabinet ruling No. 1047/1974 [18 September]) that a consensus by all the parties is not fitting to provide a constitutional guarantee for the totality of freedom of speech, and even less so a consensus by only the parties in parliament (I must add that, concerning the appointments of the present directors of the MR and the MTV, there has never been a consensus between all six parties). Thus, in view of the fact that the refusal of an appointment cannot be used as a hidden correction of legal regulations concerning the appointment, or as a way to demand a law that has not yet been passed—such as the so-called media law—in my opinion, you, Mr. President, acting in conformance with the above, can have no objection against making a decision in accordance with my petition.

With its ruling No. 37/1992 (10 June), the Constitutional Court suspended its procedures until 30 November 1992, and thus retained Article 6 of the cabinet ruling No. 1047/1974 (18 September), according to which "the MR and the MTV are under the government's supervision. In view of this, the cabinet confirms the constitutions of the MR and of the MTV."

Complying with and enforcing the compliance of others with legal regulations in force is not only a constitutional right, but also a constitutional duty of the government. As a consequence, the government, based on legal regulations in force, will most decidedly make use of its legal authority to establish and supervise the public media. In this framework, the government will do its utmost to bring about a situation in which both the MR and the MTV have a constitution complying with legal regulations and authorized by the government.

Surely you, Mr. President, can have no doubt about the fact that a democratic government functions on the principle of parliamentary majority, which has been created as a result of free elections, but as a matter of course, it also guarantees respect for the rights of minorities.

The government, as a result of its duties also prescribed by the Constitution, respects the freedom of the press and guarantees that it prevail unconditionally. The government is as wholeheartedly for it as you, Mr. President. In Hungary, freedom of the press is complete and outstanding in comparison with any democracy. To doubt this is something I consider entirely incorrect and contrary to the facts.

Sincerely,
Dr. Jozsef Antall

Smallholders 35 Press To Renegotiate Coalition

*92CH0696A Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG
in Hungarian 13 Jun 92 pp 110-111*

[Article by Bela Weyer: "The '35' and the Coalition; Wish List"]

[Text] "We must not lose our edge in the coalition." The Smallholders 35 succeeded in putting this realization, which they themselves had formulated, into practice with a vengeance. Namely, after they had first voted to put on the agenda a debate about the reminder to be sent to President Goncz, they quickly changed their minds, and the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] had no choice but to follow them and ask for a postponement. However, this is only the beginning: The 35, having become aware of their strength, want nothing less than to renegotiate the coalition.

The Smallholders 35 have hardly let themselves be heard from since last December. At that time they provided a memorable and fairly important service to their constituents, actual or potential alike, by pushing parliament to raise the limit of tax-free income from sales by agricultural small producers from 500,000 forints to 750,000. However, since then, as spokesman Miklos Omolnar put it, "We cannot claim any achievements." This feeling of deficiency must be in the background of their newly felt "animation."

The realization by the 35 just mentioned can be explained as a simple matter of arithmetic. Namely, if we add the 159 mandates of the MDF to the 21 mandates of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], the result is not even enough representatives for a simple majority (which would require at least 193 votes). However, having thus acquired a pivotal position, the 35 representatives, who are without a party at the moment (like it or not, today the "official" Smallholders party is Torgyan's) have up to now voted for the coalition's proposals without much return. Perhaps they have even had a premonition of the end of their political careers: Their candidacy for the Smallholders is uncertain in the next election, and in other parties they might hope for "leftover" nominations at most.

Thus, they have to show that the faction of the 35 is an individual political force, even if, as Sandor Olah thinks, absolute unity exists exclusively in their opposition to Jozsef Torgyan, and in every other question one must

speak of "an assembly of independent individuals." It must have been a manifestation of this independence that led a majority of this group of representatives to be the first to support the motion to put on the parliament's agenda the draft of a statement, signed, among others, by Gyula Pasztor, the leader of the faction, concerning the constitutional practice of Arpad Goncz's sphere of authority. Shortly thereafter, however, they must have realized that it would be out of place for parliament to express an opinion on the president of the Republic, for however it might be formulated, it would still be an act of constitutional law. After all, the president himself was at one time a Smallholder. The other two representatives who submitted the draft—and their parties—had no choice but to grin and bear it, and they can be happy to have found a somewhat acceptable way out in referring to an action by the Constitutional Court.

The showdown, whether it was intended by the 35 or not, was a great success. Now is the appropriate moment to demonstrate the differences between the Smallholders 35 and the two coalition partners. According to Sandor Olah, who replied to our inquiry, this is important because during the next election "our present allies will be our strongest rivals." For instance, the 35 have fundamental differences of opinion with the MDF-KDNP duo on the matter of the media. "We would like a truly public radio and television, and we really imagine their future as neutral in respect to political parties," Sandor Olah stated, adding that the Smallholders 35 disagree in particular with the attempts of the KDNP, hardly in conformance with Christian tolerance, to drive radio and television journalists, editors and directors from these institutions.

Incidentally, the ideology of the Smallholders, the embodiment of which, according to Sandor Olah, is the responsibility of the 35, is more tolerant in other respects, as well. For instance, concerning its moral foundations, it considers not a Christian, but a religious moral basis as its point of departure, openly admitting that in its historical past it has counted on the sympathy, and, of course, the votes of the Jewish middle class. "In many respects, our views are similar to those of socialist democracy, but nowadays it is dangerous to mention this, because being a leftist has become dishonorable," said Sandor Olah, referring to the 1940's, when the two parties almost merged.

Concerning the more pragmatic side of the matter, the 35 want to clarify a few issues in which, they say, they should "carry the ball," although they have hardly any influence on the events. "We have the feeling that the minister of agriculture is suffering in solitary confinement in his MDF environment," they assert, and as they say, they would not like it if the Smallholders were to carry the blame for the consequences of the unavoidable and imminent bankruptcies of large companies, for those

of compensation matters, and for the consequences of the drought. At the same time, contrary to all earlier reports, "they have complete trust in the Smallholder members of the government," which means that in the opinion of the 35, Elemer Gergatz is not the one who should leave the Ministry of Agriculture [FM]. "If there are exclusively MDF ministries, much less energy would be spent on partisan discussions in an exclusively Smallholder FM."

These considerations, as well as the concept that "dealing with" unemployment should not be the sole responsibility of the Smallholder minister of labor, but also the responsibility of the minister of industry and of the minister of international economic relations, led the faction of the 35 to set up a committee consisting of five members with the task of preparing the professional and personal agreements to be arrived at with their coalition partners. "We will put the wish list together by 15 June," informs Miklos Omolnar, himself a member of the committee, "and then the negotiations can begin."

It is a question, of course, whether the negotiations will be to the liking of the other two parties. Last week's statement by the press office of the prime minister on the Antall-Pasztor meeting, formulated in the vein of the best agitprop tradition, firmly denied the truth content of "rumors concerning persons"; thus, we can be almost certain that there will be personnel changes. To a statement by the president of the KDNP, namely that the Party of Smallholders should first take care of its internal matters and make itself, as it were, presentable, Sandor Olah gave an unequivocal answer: "If we are only presentable when we have to vote, and not presentable when we have to negotiate, then there is no coalition."

This is precisely what is at stake here: the coalition. The Smallholders 35, having become aware of their strength, and at the same time of their fairly precarious position, want nothing less than to renegotiate and redefine the coalition. To be more precise, in their opinion "the" coalition agreement must yet be entered into, because the earlier, fairly vague agreements do not meet the criteria of a contract. The parties signing the document would be the MDF, the KDNP, and the Historical Section of the Independent Party of Smallholders, Laborers, and the Middle Class. With this act, "incidentally," they would take an important step towards being legitimized subsequently as an independent party.

Cluj Teachers Answer Mayor Funar's Accusations

Funar's Statement

92BA1137A Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO
in Hungarian 20-21 Jun 92 p 1

[Statement issued by Cluj Mayor Gheorghe Funar]

[Text] On 12 June of this year, the mayor and deputy mayor of Kolozsvar [Cluj]-Napoca municipality were invited by the graduates of the 13th grade of that part of the evening school at the Samuel Brassai secondary

school, in which the language of instruction is Romanian, to attend the closing ceremony of the school year. The school's director, Mr. Attila Balint Kelemen, refused to take his seat among the presiding dignitaries and to shake hands with the leaders of the mayoral office of Kolozsvar-Napoca municipality. A conversation with a group of Romanian and Hungarian teachers and with the graduates revealed the following: The director occupies his position as the result of a doubtful election held during the 1989-90 school year; Hungarian language classes have been created in an underhanded way; several Romanian classes were discontinued, and approximately 500 students and 30 teachers were forced to leave the school; Romanian teachers have been and still are being harassed and threatened; Romanian teachers were excluded from last summer's entrance examinations; so-called living chains were organized in the school in order to bar final examinations from being held and to deter Romanian students from registering for the entrance examinations; organized patrols have kept students from entering classrooms in which the language of instruction is Romanian; the classes of that part of the evening school in which the language of instruction is Romanian were forced to function under unacceptable circumstances, in the basement of the building (one of the classrooms has no possibility for heating); the group photographs of Romanian graduates have been removed from the school; both graduation ceremonies and teacher conferences are organized on an ethnic basis; the floors of the school building and the attendance registers have been separated by ethnic criteria; Romanian students cannot use the school's computers; the Romanian deputy director cannot participate in leading the school and cannot even use the telephone there; Hungarian teachers teaching in the Romanian classes are not entitled to teach in Hungarian classes as well; the teachers are classified on the basis of ethnic criteria; Hungarian organizations are politically active in the school; the director asked the Romanian teachers (at a teacher conference) to learn Hungarian so they would understand what is being discussed by the leadership; the director writes the Romanian teachers' duties on the blackboard in Hungarian; etc....

The county Board of School Inspectors did not participate in the teacher conferences at the school, which were held in Hungarian, for lack of an interpreter.

In view of the above, the mayor of Kolozsvar-Napoca municipality has submitted the following request to the council of Kolozs County, the prefect of the county, the county Board of School Inspectors, and the public prosecutor's office:

1. Mr. Attila Balint Kelemen should be suspended from his position as director and a committee should be formed to control and analyze the activity of the secondary school's leaders.
2. Mr. Attila Balint Kelemen should be dismissed from his position as a councilman of Kolozsvar-Napoca municipality because he violated the Constitution and

other laws of the Romanian state and maliciously compromised the city's interests.

3. Criminal proceedings should be initiated against Mr. Attila Balint Kelemen.

We will publish the measures to be taken.

Teachers' Response

92BA1137B Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO
in Hungarian 20-21 Jun 92 p 1

[Statement issued by 68 teachers at the Samuel Brassai secondary school: "Protest Against a Statement by Cluj Mayor Mr. Gheorghe Funar Published in the Local Press on 16 June 1992"]

[Text] An extraordinary teacher conference was held at the Samuel Brassai secondary school to discuss the statement signed by the mayor of our city.

We protest that Mr. Gheorghe Funar extended an invitation for a television conversation to "a group of Romanian and Hungarian teachers" without at the same time inviting the director of the school and representatives of the day school. In our secondary school there are 60 classes, and the group mentioned above only represented 13 classes. Every teacher who participated in the meeting in question was present at the teacher conference as well, but they did not bring up one single argument that would have supported the contents of the statement. In the course of the conference the staff of the school marshaled clear and positive arguments to counter the unfounded accusations brought against the director and the school.

In the following we enumerate only a few important views among the ones put down in the minutes of the meeting:

1. Mr. Attila Balint Kelemen, a former teacher, occupied the position of director of the Samuel Brassai secondary school following a democratic election in January 1990. He was confirmed in his position by regulations No. 880/26 January 1990 and No. 15415/5 February 1991 of the Kolozs County Board of School Inspectors.

2. The Romanian classes, and not the Hungarian ones, were created in an underhanded way, starting in 1986, based on certain measures by the Romanian Communist Party. The majority of the classes in which the language of instruction is Romanian were made up from students of Hungarian nationality who had little chance to be admitted into the reduced number of places in the small number of classes in which Hungarian is the language of instruction.

3. Following the February 1990 ruling by the Ministry of Education and Science, the Avram Iancu secondary school was founded, as is well known, with the purpose of absorbing the classes in question from the city's two secondary schools. Following this ruling, 87 students and six teachers left the Brassai secondary school.

Not a single Romanian class was discontinued; rather, the Hungarian students exercised their right to choose the language of instruction, and thus five new classes were formed in our school.

4. In the summer of last year Romanian teachers were not excluded from the entrance examinations, as evidenced by the fact that the committees were appointed by the Board of School Inspectors, and the teachers supervising the examinations were drawn by lot.

5. The so-called living chain was organized by the Hungarian population, mostly parents, who contribute to the maintenance of state institutions as taxpayers as well as with their work. They demanded their lawful right to their own school, which was reestablished after the events of 1989. However, they did not hinder anyone from entering the school.

6. In the distribution of classrooms the interests of Romanian classes were not violated; classrooms of both branches can be found in the entire building, from the basement to the top floor.

7. Since 1990 the school celebrations and teacher conferences have been organized on the basis of an agreement on record.

8. In connection with the classification of teachers, we note that, for instance, Racasan Almira was the home-room teacher of the graduating Hungarian class, while she taught both branches.

In view of the fact that the source of the mayor's information was a narrow group of teachers who did not represent the entire school, the lawful procedure would have been for the mayor to first appeal to the board of teachers, and if he entertained further doubts, to the county Board of School Inspectors. Only after the results of the examination beginning on 17 June 1992 would it be appropriate to appeal to the council of Kolozs County, the prefect of the county, and the public prosecutor's office, and subsequently submit a statement to the press.

(Followed by 68 teachers' signatures)

We note that after the teachers' conference, we requested that our colleagues who did not agree with our protest submit their own opinion in writing. However, the group that maligned the director at the mayoral office left the room without a word.

Opposition Demands Access to Television

92BA1197H Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 19 Jun 92
p 3

[Article by Ivanka Mihelcic: "Against the Parties' TV Tyranny"]

[Text] *Will we Slovenes really deal only with politics? The opposition is demanding two political programs, two television daily news reports....*

Ljubljana, 19 Jun—The Slovene parliamentary opposition has recently been raising a considerable fuss over the parties' unequal representation in the media. In this regard they are talking about discrimination and the information ghetto into which they have been pushed, and they have also established their own group, which is supposed to prepare a proposal for party representation, especially in the electronic media. A particular target is Slovene television, which the opposition thinks ought to be modeled after Italian television, and should consequently be designed as two political programs, a government one and an opposition one, two daily news reports, etc. And what does Minister of Information Jelko Kacin say about this?

When we asked him immediately after the opposition parties' press conference, at which they raised this issue, Minister Kacin did not want to answer it in his capacity as minister. In this regard he pointed out that in planning and verifying a television program there are several successive phases, in which the RTV Council, with a party composition, is also involved, and the opposition also has its own representatives in that council. Furthermore, there is also the Slovene parliament, which plays the role of founder of an institution like television, and thus certainly has not only an obligation, but also certain rights. These are thus the bodies to which such questions should be addressed.

We did not let him get off that easily, however, since questions about a program with a party slant are nothing new. "That is true, but I see the problem differently. It is true that man is a political animal, and it is likewise true that the Slovene citizen is a political citizen. With 2 million people, however, we cannot expect all of them to deal only with politics. I myself do not watch a television program solely in order to become acquainted with the positions of political parties, although I agree that every party has a right to exist. I am resolutely against the tyranny of political programs that would be set up through television!" Minister Kacin said. "If we insist on having two political programs, what happened in Albanian will soon happen to us; we will only talk about politics and not at all anymore about other normal aspects of life," he added, and warned that from this standpoint the opposition's idea is unacceptable at this time. In his opinion, the proposal for two political programs and two daily news reports is also unacceptable. "We have to agree on what a daily news report even is. Is it a news broadcast or a propaganda broadcast? If it is a news broadcast, one daily news report must be

enough, and we will have to make sure that it gives viewers the key information. If it is a propaganda broadcast, however, two daily news reports will by no means be enough for all the expectations of the parties in Slovenia," Jelko Kacin said.

We also wanted to ask Dr. Janez Drnovsek [as published], the general director of RTV, for an opinion about this, but at this stage he declined to talk. He said that we should wait for a meeting of the RTV Council, when individual matters should be clarified. He briefly stated, however, that attempts to introduce two more more competing political programs had failed everywhere in the world; it simply had not worked out. We were finally also informed about this by RTV correspondents from Vienna, London, Brussels, Rome, Jerusalem, and New York, when in one of the central television daily news reports they reported on how political parties are represented, particularly in the electronic media, throughout the world. What all the centers have in common is that television viewers are only rarely informed about party activities, and they are even more rarely shown in pictures. Uros Lipusek ended his New York report with the very eloquent thought that parties' political penetration and representation in the electronic media are envisioned "differently" only by new democracies....

The opinion of the news program's editor, Lado Ambrozic, is also similar; he supports news and not party propaganda. Consequently, in his opinion, the parties' demands for the introduction of political programs are complete nonsense. If the parties insist on this, they should consequently contact television marketing and buy individual slots for their broadcasts in accordance with the price list for advertising services. And, as he says, by no means at 1930.... "Since we are a young state, we also have to allow parties free rein. That is why so far we have set aside room for them in the third television daily news report. I emphasize, however, that this is for information and by no means for propaganda. And if we are already talking about propaganda, television also has to have a certain opportunity for censorship in that regard: for instance, we will not offer fascist ideology through the screens at any price!" Ambrozic categorically stated.

The parties' representation during political campaigns is another matter, however. It is regulated by law throughout the world. Such a law is also being prepared here. The one responsible for this difficult coordination task is the Ministry of Information, which also invited the Ministries of Internal Affairs, Justice, Legislation, and Finance to participate. According to Jelko Kacin, it only involves ideas; the law will be sent to the Assembly in the form of a draft or a bill only when it is finally clear what the other electoral legislation will be like. The law on the preelection campaign is to designate the rules of the game that will have to be observed during the period before the elections by both the political parties and the press and electronic media. "A specific matter, for example: So that it would not happen by accident that

some party, with its own gigantic sign, also occupied other parties' space in the area for signs. Or if someone hung a 10 meter by 10 meter picture of Kim Il Sung, the future great leader here, on a balloon...." Kacin warned, and added that this by no means involved the preparation of a law that would regulate matters in detail, but rather the legalization of a certain normal agreement on political conduct before elections. The world is familiar with various models of rules for election campaigns, and the Ministry of Information is also studying these now. Jelko Kacin mentioned very interesting models. Right now, for instance, a campaign is going on in Israel; the

rule there is that the candidates and those who are now in parliament cannot appear on television. It is actually a sort of censorship of personality, since television can show candidates' hands or broadcast their voices, and only cannot show their faces. This is only an example of a practice that is perhaps absurd for us, but has been instituted in some places. It is an example of democracy in the Israeli manner, which we will certainly not copy in Slovenia. It is good to know that it exists, however, just in case, so that we do not end up at such an extreme, by some chance, at the demand of this or that political party.

Vucovic Discusses Sanctions, Blame in War

92AE0465A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
21 Jun 92 p 6

[Unattributed interview with Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoman Vucovic; place and date not given]

[Text] This is the text of an interview with the prime minister of the new Yugoslavia, presented by AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT to Arab readers who are following every moment of news of the dozens of Muslim casualties, dead and wounded, from the persistent Serbian attacks on Bosnia-Herzegovina, and world broadcasts of pictures of both living and dead Muslims. AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT presents this interview, containing other encounters with Muslim, Serb, and Croat leaders of the crisis, without comment. We know that the reader can understand all the contradictions between the stated policies in Belgrade and the actual reality in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Who is chiefly responsible, in your view, who bears the blame for the tragedy of the war now going on in Yugoslavia?

[Vucovic] It is certain that the lack of readiness of the nationalist leaderships in the secessionist republics to start a dialogue on restructuring Yugoslavia—including a possible formula for secession from Yugoslavia on the part of the republics that want to—is chiefly responsible for the war going on. In place of that, a completely different mentality has developed. Slovenia, instead of achieving secession by peaceful means, sought it through war and clashing with the Yugoslav Army, which had received orders to be ready to defend Yugoslavia's borders. Croatia resorted to creating its own special army, and war began with its Serb citizens who had chosen to remain and live within Yugoslavia.

Unfortunately, the same model made its way into Bosnia-Herzegovina. Instead of the representatives of the three peoples of Bosnia-Herzegovina agreeing among themselves, and instead of determining an answer to the question "Should Bosnia-Herzegovina be reorganized as an independent state, or an independent republic within the Yugoslav state?" and instead of a dialogue about that, a civil war and nationalist war began. I say that each of them was chiefly responsible for this war. Fortunately there will be no winner or victor in this war. How can that be, in light of the fact that says that there are more than one hundred municipalities in which Serbs and Muslims live, mingled together. Hence the only solution is the agreement of the three national groups in the form of a reorganized, independent Bosnia-Herzegovina.

I can say, in all simplicity, that the reason for the outbreak of the war is the destruction by force of a state whose people lived together for dozens of years. Responding to your question, who started the war, and who bears the chief responsibility, I say, for instance, that the war going on now in Bosnia-Herzegovina, everyone is responsible for it at the same time. Because

each side organized its armed army, even more than one army, and the natural result was war and instability, and the suffering and pain of the people. Thus my government finds it necessary to stop the war unconditionally, and ensure the return of thousands of people of all nationalities who were forced to leave their homes. Tens of thousands of Muslims are now heading, with hundreds of thousands of Serbs, as refugees, into Serbia. Pressure must be applied, at the international level, and any other form of pressure on the representatives of the three national groups to negotiate in a special conference to bring peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What are your future plans to confront the international isolation now imposed on Belgrade?

[Vucovic] We consider this unjust. It was the result of erroneous information and mistaken steps taken by the European Community, and, regrettably, in recent days, the United States of America, as well as a number of countries of the Islamic world. It was necessary in the beginning, before the outbreak of belligerent disputes, for representatives of the three national groups to agree upon a legal status for Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, Bosnia-Herzegovina was recognized as an international legal entity without having done that. Premature recognition of the international legal entity of that Yugoslav republic, without prior agreement among representatives of the three peoples who live there, led to the outbreak of national conflicts. Surely you agree with me that there is no peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina if the solution is at the expense of the Muslims, the Serbs, or the Croats? If the democratic sphere of public opinion is desirous of peace and a peaceful solution to the crisis faced by Bosnia-Herzegovina, then pressure must be applied for the three national groups to stop the fighting in their region, and to start negotiations to bring peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Blaming Serbia for the existing situation now actually means a lack of readiness to confront the facts in Bosnia-Herzegovina: the facts that say that the Serbs formed their private army, the Muslims formed their army, and the Croats, too, formed their army, with the participation of certain forces from the republic of Croatia, and that there is now fighting between these three armies, putting aside one army fighting against another or two armies against one. Thus, we maintain that the global family should, with all the diplomatic and economic means at its disposal, and through the institutions of the United Nations, apply pressure to stop the three armies from fighting, surrender their arms under the supervision of the European Community, and for the representatives of the three nationalities to negotiate the desired solution to the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis.

The authorizing of economic sanctions against Serbia does not solve any problem, but will only increase the suffering of the Serbian people, resolving nothing. Serbia is not embarking on war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The ones taking part in the military conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina are the Serbians and Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and its Croat people. We are facing the

problem of evacuating thousands of our citizens who are students of the military colleges from their barracks in besieged Sarajevo. The Serbian government decided to send food aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina, and now we need to ensure the delivery of the food to Bosnia. Yes, we can ensure that to the borders between Serbia and Bosnia, but starting from those borders and inside Bosnia it is subject to the three armies' means of transport. Thus we deem the help of the United Nations necessary to ensure it in case of the possibility of using Sarajevo Airport as well as the major means of transport by which the aid will be transported.

There is big problem in the failure to understand Serbia's position on the situation in Bosnia. Because when it is said that the struggle going on now in Bosnia between the Serbs and Muslims, there is no reference to the fact that they are the Serbs of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We have recognized the sovereignty of its borders and stated that we have no regional designs on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We think what is needed now is for the three national groups to put down their weapons and negotiate speedily. The accusation has been made against us that armed military groups moved from Serbia into Bosnia-Herzegovina, whereas this was not mentioned except partially through some individuals and groups in view of the nonexistence of borders and crossing points, so some armed elements were able to slip in. According to the new Yugoslav constitution, we now have borders with Bosnia-Herzegovina protected by the army, the police, and customs. We have taken upon ourselves, before world public opinion, the responsibility of prohibiting the movement of any armed groups to take part in the ongoing war, and we hope Croatia will be the next to take this step, but unfortunately tens of thousands of armed soldiers and tanks in western Herzegovina moved from Croatia and are fighting there now. I repeat that pressure applied to Serbia, regardless of its severity, will bring injustice to it and its people, but it will not solve the problem of this horrible war and the calamity going on now in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] On the occasion of the elections recently held in Kosovo, did your position change on the demands for secession and independence repeated in Kosovo, in Sandzak, and Vojvodina?

[Vucovic] Two weeks ago, I was in this part of the republic in the company of some aides, and made a call for a political dialogue to all the political parties, including the parties of what is called the Alternative Albanian Movement; a dialogue covering all issues, including the issue of defining a constitution and laws in the section dealing with the setting out of the rights of national minorities. But unfortunately the Albanian opposition parties did not accept this call. Secondly, we announced the holding of elections at the end of May for local and federal administration, and we called upon all citizens of Serbia, especially the Albanians, to participate in the elections and thus benefit from their right to have the majority of Kosovo's municipalities and to take part in the federal state to the extent of the votes they get.

This is a democratic right in any state. But instead of that, they organized their own elections. This is incompatible with the constitution and will not yield one legal measure. The invitation to hold a dialogue is still open, and I repeated this invitation a few days ago. But I announced clearly that secession from Serbia's territories would prohibit the official state from using all available means to resolve the issue. We have great interest in the Albanian children going back to their closed schools, for workers of Albanian nationality to go back to the companies, and for citizens of Albanian nationality to share power at the local, republic, and federal levels.

With regard to our Muslims citizens in Sandzak, I am certain that the overwhelming majority of citizens in this part of our republic will peacefully and democratically take part in democratic and constitutional institutions. They are, as you know, represented by a number of deputies in parliament, and in the coming local elections, they will assuredly get a significant number of parliamentary seats. I intend to visit Sandzak soon, and my program will include holding talks with representatives of all the political parties pursuing their activities in this part of our republic, as the constitution of the republic of Serbia mandates equal rights for all the peoples inhabiting the republic.

Yes, it is difficult at present to look at the war in Bosnia to maintain a balance at the level of the various intercommunal relations in Serbia itself. But we are doing all we can to maintain the stability of those relations, and for reason and tolerance to triumph. Serbs and Muslims have lived in these areas for long centuries, and will coexist in the future, too. All that can be done should be done for them to live in tolerance and peace; otherwise there will be factional strife.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Does your call for dialogue with Kosovo mean that you are ready to restore its right to self-determination?

[Vucovic] According to the Serbian constitution, Kosovo enjoys regional autonomy and cultural autonomy, and no one can deny that right. That right is legal and must be in effect, and we must point out that the Albanian secessionist movement, instead of demanding autonomy, proclaimed the independent republic of Kosovo, including the right to secede from Serbia and Yugoslavia, which is an entirely different matter.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Do you think government policies in managing the crisis conform with the wishes of the citizens of Serbia?

[Vucovic] It is natural for there to be opposition, and there is a whole series of opposition parties. I think the local and federal elections will provide the opportunity for voters to voice their opinion of the policy the government is currently following. As you know, the confidence granted to any government is tested through

democratic, pluralistic elections. I am certain that my government enjoys the confidence of the majority of the voters, but we shall see.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What is the point of difference dividing you and the opposition?

[Vucovic] The major point of difference is the degree of radicalism. The opposition thinks the most important thing is casting off the existing regime—for the nationalist problems, and the Yugoslav economic problems, they'll solve themselves. Part of the opposition thinks that all non-Serbian people should be expelled, and part thinks that the solution of the crisis is possible through the return of the monarchial system. So the position of the government and the regime on these issues is considered a factor for stability, and this is the reason that, despite the war going on in Croatia and Bosnia, there is peace in Serbia. Yes, there are problems, but peace prevails, and there must be a dialogue to seek out the best way of satisfying all the concerns at the highest level of European ideas.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Is the present war nationalist or religious?

[Vucovic] I believe the war now going on in Bosnia-Herzegovina has both a religious element and a nationalist element. What is driving this war is the extremists on both sides, and I am convinced that most of the people were dragged into this struggle, and therefore I do not consider it a wide-ranging religious war, because the people, the individuals of the two sects have lived in these areas for centuries. But the problem is different in Croatia. The problem there is an attempt to wipe out the Serbs twice in fifty years, on a racist basis. In 1941, thousands of women and children in what was called the independent Republic of Croatia were slaughtered or killed or thrown into the fire. The time difference is not long, and this greatly influences the incompatibility between the Serbs and the Croats on a communal basis. The start of the armed struggle in Croatia led to the total break between the two peoples, and there is no peace, though there is an agreement on a minimum break between them, since there is no Serbian family in Croatia that did not have a family member killed, slaughtered or hanged by the Croats in 1941 or 1991.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] How do you expect this war and this crisis will end?

[Vucovic] I am optimistic. In my view, an agreement in Bosnia must be reached on the basis of reformulating the three nationalities, and that the United Nations act to start negotiations between Serbs and Croats in Croatia. The talks will be long and difficult. As to the Albanians' representatives in Kosovo, there must be a dialogue on the substance of the rights of national minorities. With Macedonia, its total independence was achieved peacefully; of course, saying that is much easier than implementing it, but if we want peace, it is natural for us to make efforts on this level.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Who exactly is responsible for the mass slaughters of Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Vucovic] The slaughter in Bosnia-Herzegovina is not limited to Muslims, but includes Serbs and Croats. It goes back to the clash that occurred between the three armies. Every casualty is a big thing, regardless of nationality. I have seen films of the slaughter of Serbs in some parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This war will not achieve victory anywhere in Bosnia-Herzegovina; all it will lead to is pain and suffering. Therefore, I call for an immediate halt to the war and for the leaders of the groups to negotiate a settlement to the problem, because I am convinced that ordinary people in Bosnia, whether Muslim or Serbian, want that.

I want to express my satisfaction that the Serbs and Muslims in Yugoslavia are not in a state of hostility as peoples, and so I am convinced that this extremism in mutual conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina will end relatively quickly.

Prospects for Dialogue Between Albania, Serbia

AU2107140892 *Zofingen RILINDJA in Albanian*
20 Jul 92 p 2

[Article by B. Stavileci: "New Accusations in Place of Evidence"]

[Text] Albanian-Serbian dialogue has begun and is continuing, but only in the form of letters and communiques. It might be said of developments in this direction so far that the probability of the writers of these letters soon sitting down at a common table is very small, even though Europe is insisting on the problem of Kosovo being examined and solved through dialogue in the presence of an international third party. However, it is utterly clear that Serbia finds such a dialogue inconvenient and undesirable. The only chance of Albanian-Serbian talks taking place this year is at the international conference on Yugoslavia that French President Francois Mitterrand recently proposed, while British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd is presently exploring the ground for this. Meanwhile, there is little chance of Lord Carrington's Peace Conference continuing its proceedings, although it too was supposed to solve the question of Kosovo. Because of this conference's failure, its chairman is now thinking of resigning.

If we cast our eyes back and analyze Albanian-Serbian relations in the period since the advent of multiparty pluralism, it is evident that the Serbian side has persistently ignored the Albanian side's request for the establishment of dialogue. Kosovo Democratic Alliance chairman Ibrahim Rugova and other officials of this large Kosovo party have stated the need to start dialogue at every news conference every Friday for two and a half years. However, no Serbian reply came.

Meanwhile, the first invitation to dialogue arrived from the Serbian Government more than two years later, i.e.

three months ago, and only after powerful international pressure over the need to solve the Kosovo question in a peaceful way. The Serbian invitation has been repeated three times in the last three months, but still contains unacceptable conditions, has been sent late (one or two days before the date assigned for the meeting), and only in order to create a public impression that Serbia favors dialogue with the Albanians, and that the latter have refused. In order to avoid such a possible impression among the public, the Coordinating Council of Albanian Political Parties in Kosovo took the initiative into its own hands again last week and sent an invitation for dialogue to the Serbian Government. Of course, as expected, the Serbian Government did not accept this invitation, but replied with a communique repeating baseless accusations and unfounded remarks about the Albanian political parties. It is not difficult to conclude from this behavior which side is genuinely interested in real and effective dialogue and which side wants only a formal dialogue to meet the demands and conditions of the international community.

Kosovo Is Not a Part of Serbian Territory

The most recent Serbian Government communique states, "As is well known, Kosovo has been an inseparable part of the territory of Serbia since the end of the Turkish occupation." It states later that "the allegations of systematic terror against the Albanians, the suspension and abolition of all legal institutions in Kosovo, and the forced dismissal of 100,000 Albanians from their jobs are groundless," and finally that "the greatest exodus of Serbs from this region has taken place in the last 50 years, under the pressure of Albanian separatists." One can see here the efforts of the Serbian Government to challenge the assertions of the Albanian side, but there is no evidence, because the evidence tells a different story.

As is well known and as Serbian historians themselves admit, Serbia was admitted into the international community as a state in 1878. However, its territory then was significantly smaller and did not include Albanian-inhabited areas, which were then more extensive than today's territory of Kosovo. After the Balkan Wars, Serbia occupied these territories by force. The suffering and pain that the Albanian people experienced during the two world wars are well known. The hopes of 50,000 Kosovar Albanian fighters during the National Liberation War of being joined to their mother state after being freed from the Fascist occupier (as was promised) were dashed by the guns and artillery of the military rule that Serbia and Yugoslavia imposed here. The great injustice done to the Albanians was not significantly redressed by constitutional amendments, but the 1974 Constitution gave new wings to the hitherto suppressed aspirations of the Albanians and Kosovo. However, this affirmation seriously upset the Greater Serbian nationalists, to the point that in 1989 Serbia again sent its army and police, occupying Kosovo and suspending its autonomy.

How Many Serbs Migrated From Kosovo and Why?

As for the systematic terror and the dismissal from work of more than 110,000 Albanian workers, there are plenty of data; the Serbian Government's efforts to deny tons of facts with the statement that "they do not exist" is utterly absurd, while, as for the "greatest exodus of Serbs," nobody denies that there has been migration and that it continues, but the numbers involved have never been as great as the Serbian side claims. The assertions that 300,000-400,000 Serbs have migrated since the liberation can be disproved very simply with statistical data from censuses, which show that there have never been so many Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, in spite of colonization, and that such a large number could therefore never have emigrated. Data on population movements in the former territories of Yugoslavia even show that more Serbs emigrated from Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina than from Kosovo. "Migration under the pressure of Albanian separatists" has in fact been "migration under the pressure of the enormous sums in dollars, marks, and francs that the Albanians earned by the sweat of their brows in Western countries," while it is also true that, besides migrations for economic and family reasons, there have also been a number of emigrations of Serbs under "pressure" because they have been unable to tolerate the national affirmation of the Albanians, have been unable to imagine an Albanian as their manager or boss, as a professor or a minister, or in a leading position in any field of work and life.

Because this regime suspended Kosovo's autonomy and committed or allowed to be committed many crimes against the Albanian people in Kosovo, it is illusory to expect that it will be ready for dialogue with the Albanians. The hope therefore remains that it will be possible to bring a fair solution to the present contradictions only at an international peace conference on former Yugoslavia, or that radical changes will take place in Serbia and that people will come to power who will be ready to talk to the Albanians about their right to self-determination.

Macedonian Parties React to EC Decision on Name

VMRO-DPMNE

*92BA1175A Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA
in Macedonian 30 Jun 92 p 5*

[Article by Lj. P.: "Defeat of Macedonian International Policy"]

[Text] *The VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] considers the announced resignation of the foreign minister a new act of political manipulation aimed at protecting the main culprit, Kiro Gligorov.*

The latest declaration by the heads of state of the members of the European Community definitively proved that the "wise" international policy of the Macedonian leadership is experiencing total defeat. We are forced to note with great regret that no one in Macedonia wanted to hear that the political evaluations the VMRO-DPMNE had been providing for more than a half-year have become tragic reality for Macedonia. This was stressed by, among others, Ljupco Georgievski, the chairman of the VMRO-DPMNE, at yesterday's public conference held on the subject of the latest EC summit in Lisbon. On that occasion, Georgievski challenged Kiro Gligorov, the president of the Republic, to a television duel to discuss the reasons for Macedonia's not being recognized. In a democratic world, it is most normal for such an event to take place between the ruling power and the opposition.

The policy of a lasting compromise and constant defense of national and state interests of the "noncommunist and pro-Yugoslav"-oriented Macedonian leadership, Georgievski said, led Macedonia to a hopeless situation not only domestically but also internationally. As a result of such anti-Macedonian policy, Macedonia today finds itself shamed, denigrated, struck, and with insulted dignity, Georgievski said.

As its chairman stated, the VMRO-DPMNE believes that the atmosphere of anti-Macedonian persecution in Europe and throughout the world is based on a prescription, Georgievski said, by the president's ideological supporter Slobodan Milosevic, which is that all of Europe is to be blamed while only we are right, we the people who have developed the present regime, thereby converting their own inability and lack of ideas into a heroic deed. In his view, it was in that sense that Denko Maleski, the foreign minister, announced his resignation. He is someone who, throughout this time, conscientiously blocked Macedonian foreign policy, thus displaying a new level of political manipulation aimed at protecting the main culprit, who is Mr. Gligorov!

The declaration that, as Georgievski said, closes the file of the Macedonian request for a long and unknown period into the future is to the VMRO-DPMNE nothing but an excellently performed task by the Belgrade instructors, which is to systematically destroy the Macedonian economy and national security, and to prepare the international public for the final objective of implementing the second part of the referendum and involving Macedonia in Serbo-slavia, aided by a military scenario. To the VMRO-DPMNE, Georgievski stressed, the struggle for international recognition of Macedonia will not only continue but will also intensify. In this view, as of today, it is only the truly nationally defined and democratic forces in Macedonia that have the moral right to wage this struggle. The VMRO-DPMNE some time ago drafted a platform for Macedonian international efforts, and, if the Macedonian leadership had implemented at least part of it, we would not find ourselves today in this kind of situation, Georgievski concluded.

As he did in his public statement, he attacked the information media as owned by the regime, stating that once again all of the demands submitted to the leadership will be subject to censorship. However, Georgievski failed to provide even a single specific example of an effort to prevent him from making public statements.

Party of Democratic Action

*92BA1175B Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA
in Macedonian 30 Jun 92 p 5*

[Statement by the Party of Democratic Action of Macedonia: "Changing the Name Means Deletion From the Geopolitical Map"]

[Text] The Democratic Action Party [PDA] of Macedonia expressed its profound disappointment at the way in which the European Community ministers would like to resolve the problems related to international recognition of the Republic of Macedonia, insisting that we agree with one part of the declaration, specifically the one in which the EC ministers guarantee the sovereignty of the Republic of Macedonia and its borders.

The PDA asks what kind of sovereignty and what borders are being discussed if a change in the name of the Republic of Macedonia deletes it from the European sociopolitical map.

The party reminds the ministers of the EC as well as the entire democratic public in Europe that Macedonia did not appear on the basis of any kind of legal act, such as the declaration of the EC, but is an expression of the will of its citizens and the peoples of Macedonia, Albanians, Muslims, Turks, Gypsies, Wallachians, and so forth. It calls upon the political leadership of the Republic of Macedonia to accept the reality of the existence of the Muslim people as part of the national collective and an equal subject in the formulation of the policies of the Macedonian State.

The party fully supports the president of the Republic of Macedonia and his fellow workers in their efforts in the foreign political field aimed at recognition of the Republic of Macedonia.

Workers Party

*92BA1175C Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA
in Macedonian 30 Jun 92 p 5*

[Workers Party appeal for a public protest on the main city square]

[Text] The Workers Party appealed to Denko Maleski, the minister of foreign affairs, to withdraw his resignation because the nonrecognition of the Republic of Macedonia by the EC is in no way the result of his insufficient efforts.

Conversely, in the most dignified manner of a most modern diplomat, Maleski supported and defended with dignity the interests of the Republic of Macedonia.

The Workers Party asks Minister Maleski to continue acquainting the world and international institutions with the truth about Macedonia, particularly the historical injustices inflicted upon it precisely by those who are now speculating about its recognition.

That party publicly protests today's session of the Macedonian parliament at which the declaration of the European Community will be considered and from which the nonparliamentary parties and other groups within the Republic's social life have been excluded.

Furthermore, the Workers Party will speak on the implementation of the vital national interests of the Macedonian people and the Macedonian State under the slogan "We have something to tell the rulers" at the meeting scheduled to take place today at 1900 on the main city square in Skopje.

MAAK

*92BA1175D Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA
in Macedonian 30 Jun 92 p 5*

[Announcement by the Movement for All-Macedonian Action: "The Idea of the Division of Macedonia Activated"]

[Text] The Movement for All-Macedonian Action [MAAK] rejects the declaration of the European Community on the international recognition of the Republic of Macedonia as an act that worsens the political situation in the Balkans and creates a tremendous threat to peace in that part of Europe. The purpose of this diplomatic-political ultimatum, which deletes the name of Macedonia, is to deprive of its historical and political space a nation that has made a major contribution to European civilization, the MAAK public announcement states.

That declaration revives and activates the darkest pages of the Bucharest Treaty on the division of Macedonia and of the Yalta agreement, with a view to providing a militant resolution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, which would conclude with a new division of Macedonia. Such a division would be historically definitive and aimed at the final occupation of Macedonia by its neighbors.

MAAK believes that the stereotyped, ivory tower, and closed foreign policy pursued by Macedonia, which stems from various unrelated reasons rather than on a national strategy and program, has contributed to this answer to the request for international recognition of Macedonia. On a parallel basis, our foreign policy did not take into consideration the public view on Macedonia but was based on rigidity, with compromises and omissions. Considering the dangers facing Macedonia, the only lesson that can be drawn is that of the need for internal unity among the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia because any further division in public thinking would worsen domestic conflicts.

The question of the international recognition of Macedonia and the active efforts must shift to the United Nations in New York, while the resignation of the foreign minister is the logical consequence of the previous principles pursued in foreign policy by him as one of the few makers of that policy.

MAAK appeals to all of the leaderships of all political parties in Macedonia to organize an all-Macedonian public protest to the European games played with the destinies of the Republic of Macedonia.

Social Democratic Alliance

*92BA1175E Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA
in Macedonian 30 Jun 92 p 5*

[Statement by the Macedonian Social Democratic Union: "Wrong Action by the EC"]

[Text] The latest declaration of the European Community on Macedonia is a wrong action on the part of those in whose truth and principles we believed, the SDSM [Social Democratic Union of Macedonia] stressed in its public announcement.

With its decision to recognize us as an independent state only if we adopt a new name, without mentioning the word Macedonia, it is clearly telling us that it has completely taken the side of Greece in this dispute and that, at its latest meeting, the Republic of Macedonia was only a bargaining item. In such bargaining, Greece was offered solidarity instead of money in the denationalization of the Macedonians.

Essentially, the declaration means a request to accept the nonexistence of Macedonia as a separate nation and an effort to erase, with a single action, the existence of a Macedonian national minority in neighboring countries. No one can expect such a demand to be accepted by us.

The SDSM believes that henceforth the acts of international recognition of the Republic of Macedonia is nothing but a question of the will and the preparedness of the international community to defend the principles it proclaimed because, in that area, the Republic of Macedonia did everything within its possibilities.

Without abandoning the demand for its own international recognition, the Republic of Macedonia must now concentrate on the further strengthening of stability and peace in the Republic and on resolving domestic problems through intensifying the economic reform, developing democracy, improving international relations, and ensuring the overall prosperity of all of its citizens.

League for Democracy

*92BA1175F Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA
in Macedonian 30 Jun 92 p 5*

[Unattributed article: "Hurd Has Nothing To Look for in Macedonia"]

[Text] The League for Democracy has appealed to the president of the Republic to put an end to the unseemly farce played by Europe concerning the recognition of Macedonia in this manner and refuse to meet with Douglas Hurd, the new president of the European Community, and allow him to "spend a few hours" in Skopje on 18 July. "With his letter of yesterday, Mr. Hurd shamelessly and openly let it be known that he will not come here as an intermediary or to hold discussions but as a godfather (uninvited and undesired). Under those circumstances, any new discussion with gentlemen would mean a new denigration of our land, which must be avoided."

Opposing the resignation of Denko Maleski, Gjorgje Marjanovic, the president of the League for Democracy, suggested to President Gligorov that he refuse the request to meet with British Minister Douglas Hurd, stating that "since the leader of the Republic of Macedonia does not have the courage to say 'no' to the EC and its new president, I take the liberty of warning that I intend to organize mass protest demonstrations the day the British minister arrives."

Democratic Christian Party

*92BA1175G Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA
in Macedonian 30 Jun 92 p 5*

[Unattributed article: "Formation of Provisional Government Demanded"]

[Text] Okhrid, 29 Jun—Today the Macedonian Democratic Christian Party [DKhP] held a press conference in Okhrid at which it announced its views on the subject of the EC declaration and its attitude toward international recognition of Macedonia.

Having stated that the EC declaration is "assimilationist and genocidal," Vasil Ristevski, the chairman of the DKhP, raised several questions relative to those European decisions. In his view, the parliament should have met in extraordinary session to inform the public of its work and to assess the economic, political, and security situation of the country; the president of the Republic should have called for elections ahead of time; and the parliament should "clarify its position on confidence in the government and ask the government to resign." Furthermore, the DKhP calls for the "formation of a provisional government" by all parties that participated in the first multiparty elections, excluding the parties of minorities, with a mandate of holding extraordinary elections. Once again he called for striking off the list of political organizations the parties of national minorities and parties "that question the identity of the Macedonian people." According to Ristevski, if the responsible public authorities do not meet these requests, "they will themselves assume and will be unable to avoid the responsibility for any eventual consequences, which are, unfortunately, imminent."

VMRO-DP

*92BA1175H Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA
in Macedonian 30 Jun 92 p 5*

[Statement by the Democratic Party: "The Call for Unity Means Shared Responsibility"]

[Text] On the occasion of the impasse that has occurred in the process of official recognition of the Republic of Macedonia, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party [VMRO-DP] has made a public announcement, stressing that the Macedonian people must ask those in charge of Macedonian policy to explain the reasons for the problems they face.

The appeal for unity by the president of the Republic, in which he makes no distinction between the majority of the Macedonian people and minorities such as the Albanians, and which has been made repeatedly, is directly aimed against the recognition of the Republic of Macedonia and, according to the VMRO-DP, cannot be interpreted in any way other than as a demand that his responsibility be shared with others who have been excluded from political partnership throughout this entire process.

According to that party, the Macedonian position could be improved by amending the Macedonian Constitution, in the part that states that the Republic of Macedonia is the national state of the Macedonian people.

Reaction of Macedonian Parties to EC Decision

Republican Party

*92BA1188A Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA
in Macedonian 1 Jul 92 p 4*

[Statement by the Republican Party of Macedonia: "The Name Must Not Be a Bargaining Item"]

[Text] In connection with the announcement by the president of the Republic, the Macedonian Assembly, and the government, the Republican Party of Macedonia stated the following: The name of the Republic of Macedonia and the Macedonian people is not debatable or a bargaining item; the views of the members of the European Economic Community must be sought singly and in their entirety; a new strategy must be formulated and new ways and means be found to promote the process of the recognition of the Republic of Macedonia; all of the forces must be concentrated on the United Nations and on becoming a member of the United Nations; all state, economic, cultural, historical, and other organizations and their authorities must make an effort to gain membership in the corresponding world and European associations and organizations, and their authorities and bodies.

The Republican Party of Macedonia also calls upon all political parties and associations of citizens in the Republic of Macedonia, regardless of their statutory and programmatic stipulations, to rally and draft a unified

platform, with a single strategy, the ways and means of action, and the making of demands addressed not only to their members but also to the international community, requesting the recognition of the Republic of Macedonia.

The Republican Party calls on the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia and Macedonian emigres throughout the world, regardless of their religious or ethnic affiliation, to rally and apply pressure on the international public and on the governments and institutions in the countries where they live, and to present on an organized and mass basis the truth about Macedonia and demand the recognition of their fatherland, the Republic of Macedonia.

Ex-Prisoners, VMRO-Goceva

*92BA1188B Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA
in Macedonian 1 Jul 92 p 4*

[Statement by the All-Macedonian Association of Political Prisoners and Individuals Persecuted for the Ideas of the VMRO-Goceva: "Europe Recalls Ghosts of the Past"]

[Text] Remembering the historical past, the All-Macedonian Association of Political Prisoners and Individuals Sentenced for the Ideas of the VMRO-Goceva [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Goceva] most sharply condemns the action of the EC and the declaration concerning Macedonia, with which it resurrects the ghosts of the past.

As its announcement states, the association also calls upon its brothers, fellow sufferers, and supporters of that idea to earnestly tighten up their ranks and strongly oppose the EC declaration and all those who want to deliberately eliminate the historical name of the Macedonians and Macedonia.

At the same time, the VMRO-Goceva draws attention to the domestic and foreign Macedonian policy, which, according to it, was sluggish in promoting Macedonian statehood. The impression is gained, the announcement further states, that tactical approaches were adopted and that there was a lack of the necessary courage to openly raise the question of the recognition of Macedonia by virtue of which "it seems to us that such a policy led to the statement by the EC."

Democratic Party of Turks

*92BA1188C Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA
in Macedonian 1 Jul 92 p 4*

[Statement by the Democratic Party of Turks: "The Citizens of Macedonia Have the Age-Old Right to Their Name"]

[Text] The EC declaration is unacceptable not only to the Democratic Party of Turks but also to the Turks in the Republic of Macedonia, yesterday's communication of the DPT [Democratic Party of Turks] reads. Depriving a sovereign and independent state of its name cannot be

considered consistent with the lofty principles of international law and justice, the DPT announces, adding that any international recognition of the principle of self-determination cannot exclude the right to have its own name. The age-old right of the peoples and citizens who live in this area may not be denied with bargaining and in a manner detrimental to them.

Hence, the DPT announces that it joins in the protest of all citizens of the Republic in objecting to the impropriety and immorality of the declaration. This sets a precedent that could lead to new threats in that area, threats that are being ignored by the EC with its resolution.

Social Democratic Party

*92BA1188D Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA
in Macedonian 1 Jul 92 p 4*

[Article by J.M.: "Social Democratic Party Press Conference: Violation of Human Rights and European Principles"]

[Text] We could have expected anything from the European Community other than a resolution that strikes at the heart, an act of degradation from the highest level. This was stressed at yesterday's press conference held by the Social Democratic Party of Macedonia.

Party chairman Dr. Tikhomir Jovanovski said that the EC decision actually means disrespect for and violation of human rights and of the standards drafted by the EC itself. He said that "the EC is going back to the positions of before 1912. Then, however, it was Macedonia that was being divided, and it was called 'Macedonia.' Today even this is being questioned." The need for reaching a consensus on this question was stressed.

Jovanovski said, "There are other small nations that have not been recognized but nonetheless continue to exist." He called upon the social democratic parties in Europe and throughout the world and on all progressive forces and intellectuals in Europe to help in the recognition of Macedonia.

He also stressed the need for further discussions with the EC but "with more facts and more energetically." No one has the moral right to make a decision about the name of Macedonia, and any solution other than that would be fatal to the citizens of Macedonia. Dr. Aleksandar Donev, chairman of the party's executive committee, stressed that no one has the right to deprive the people of holding a referendum on its name. Neither the president nor the government, whatever the circumstances, would dare to prevent this.

The Social Democratic Party [SDP] also believes that the economy continues to be given second priority and has been unjustifiably neglected and that the situation in that area is worsening. Referring to the Law on Privatization, he said that that party believes we need total privatization except for public services. Studies have

indicated that state ownership is less profitable than private ownership. The very fact that the Macedonian Constitutional Court voided 24 laws indicates that we must undertake the resolution of vital problems in a better organized and more analytical fashion. The SDP also noted the inconsistency and the irresponsible attitude concerning savings.

VMRO-Goce Delceva RDP

92BA1188E Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA
in Macedonian 1 Jul 92 p 4

[Unattributed report:: "Appeal for Unity"]

[Text] In a communique yesterday to the public on the occasion of the nonrecognition of Macedonia by the European Community, the administrative council of the VMRO-Goce Delceva-RDP [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Goce Delceva-Radical Democratic Party], headquartered in Stip, stated that the Macedonian people are rebellious by nature.

We, the announcement further states, honor Goce's thought that "I view the world exclusively as a field for cultural competition among nations..." Pointing out that Macedonia is the powder keg of the Balkans and Europe and even the rest of the world, the RDP appealed to the Macedonian leadership within the national front to rally immediately and for the Macedonian people to unite "now as it has in past centuries."

National Democratic Party

92BA1188F Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA
in Macedonian 1 Jul 92 p 4

[Statement by the National Democratic Party: "The Nonrecognition of Macedonia Is a Dangerous Game"]

[Text] The administrative council of the NDP [National Democratic Party] assesses the act of nonrecognition of the Republic of Macedonia by the European Community as a dangerous game that threatens the peace in that part of the Balkans and enhances the aspirations of Macedonia's southern and northern neighbors to divide the Republic of Macedonia, aspirations that will not leave Bulgaria and Albania indifferent, as well as the fact that the Albanian people in Macedonia demand that the territorial integrity of the Republic of Macedonia should be respected and not threatened.

The charges made by the political parties within the Macedonian bloc, addressed exclusively to the president of the Republic and the foreign minister, are groundless, unjustified, and malicious. The greatest fault is precisely that of those parties that, over the past two years, both institutionally and noninstitutionally, have ignored the Albanian people and their demands for equality, thus creating a division within the Republic and, on the other hand, whose regressive views do not promise anything good in this respect.

The administrative council of the NDP believes that all those who rely on that situation in order to come to power, by creating an international conflict, should realize the dangerous situation in which they plunge themselves and understand, once and for all, that Albanians must be equal subjects in that country, thus opening new ways to international recognition of the Republic of Macedonia.

Albanian Democratic Union-LP

92BA1188G Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA
in Macedonian 1 Jul 92 p 4

[Statement by the Albanian Democratic Union-Liberal Party: "Betrayal of the Principles of European Integration"]

[Text] The Albanian Democratic Union-Liberal Party [ADS-LP] considers the Lisbon resolution of the European Community a betrayal of the principles on which European integration must be built and a betrayal of our peaceful domestic and foreign policy and of the wishes and expectations of Macedonians, Albanians, Turks, Wallachians, Gypsies, and other citizens of the Republic, as well as a threat to their peace and quiet.

According to that party, instead of energizing the integration processes of the Europe of the future, by denying a state and a nation its very name, the European Community yielded to the pressure of the present interests of one member of the Community.

According to the ADS-LP, this precedent not only threatens the interests of the Macedonian people but also violates the interests of Albanians and other citizens of Macedonia, preventing a possible definitive resolution of the political crisis in the countries within the former Yugoslavia, encouraging expansionist aspirations in the Balkans, and threatening the process of the liberation of the Kosovo people and, in general, the process of peace and stability in the area.

Macedonian Reaction to EC Decision on Name

Maleski Speech

92BA1171A Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA
in Macedonian 2 Jul 92 p 3

[Article by Denko Maleski: "Europe Broke Its Word"]

[Text] *What the Badinter Commission considered a simple view on recognition has become "the need for all interested countries to agree on the name," so that, in the final account, it may be dictated to us that the word "Macedonia" must not be included in the name of our state.*

This is not an introductory presentation but a personal position taken during a dramatic time. I call upon you to stand up in defense of the principles of the new Europe. We can accomplish this particularly now, when the representatives of the countries that were among the first

to include such principles in their laws, do not find it possible to observe them. By taking up the defense of such principles, we take up the defense of values that enable us, the small nations, to live in peace and dignity with those that are bigger and stronger than we are.

Today, as was the case the first time I addressed this Assembly, I believe that the 10 principles included in the 1975 Helsinki Final Act are the foundations of the European building within which we have our place. Let me remind you that this deals with the principles of (1) sovereign equality of states; (2) abstaining from the threat of force or the use of force; (3) the inviolability of borders; (4) territorial integrity; (5) peaceful resolution of disputes through talks, investigations, mediation, reconciliation, arbitration, and court rulings; (6) noninterference in internal affairs; (7) respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; (8) the equality and right of nations to self-determination; (9) cooperation among countries for the sake of improving the well-being of all nations; and (10) conscientious use of commitments based on international law.

Unresponsive to Our Arguments

Therefore, the problem is not that of the principles of Europe but of the leadership of the European Community, which, in that case, was not on the level of these principles, yielding to the pressure applied by one of its members, which spared neither money nor time. Nor did the Community try to hear the arguments pertaining to the other truth about Macedonia. Whatever the case, both sides, both the EC and Greece, in choosing between the living Macedonians and other people in the Republic of Macedonia and the ancient masks on the basis of which Greece claims its rights, chose the latter. They remained deaf to our arguments that there is more than one truth about Macedonia, one of which is ours, the truth of the people who are today inhabiting the territory of Macedonia—the Macedonians. Unable to oppose chauvinism within its own ranks, the Community kept making concessions to the Republic of Greece in one meeting after another. What was a clear view on recognition expressed by the Badinter Commission has been converted into "the need for all interested parties to agree on the subject of the name," so that, in the final account, they will dictate to us that the word "Macedonia" must not be included in the name of our state.

The fact that no one was particularly impressed by the Greek arguments in the course of that entire process, when the Community was still demanding arguments, is confirmed by the fact that, in the final period of this entire matter, "arguments" were presented that were totally unrelated to the principles of truth and legality. I was recently told by a representative of the Twelve that he was amazed at the realization that, to Greece, Macedonia is what Gazi Mestan [site of battle in Kosovo in 1389] is to Serbia. This comparison may not be accidental, yet it merely confirms the fact that, faced with nationalism within its ranks, the Community did not

find sufficient strength to oppose it. Nationalism, chauvinism, and xenophobia prevailed in the struggle among the Twelve, who, I believe, are still not aware of the fact that "he who lies down with dogs must get up with fleas."

I have no intention of emphasizing what we did because that is known. Let me say a few words about those who find major defects in our foreign political orientation and in the methods used by our diplomacy, if one can use that word in the case of a very imperfect system.

Yes to Compromise, No to Ultimatum

To those who criticize the naivete and idealism of our foreign policy, which has favored a dialogue and respect for democratic principles, avoiding some "other means," I shall answer: Naive is he who fails to understand that the other countries are better than we are in the use of "other means"; this is confirmed by the latest "victory" won within the EC. As to the critics who claim that we have wrongly based all of our activities on the Community, I shall answer as follows: While criticizing the Community, we must not, even for a moment, forget that the key to the problems of Europe lies in Europe and that the centers of economic and political power in the world are found today in the EC and the United States. I only regret that we do not have adequate artillery power—I am referring to diplomacy—to allow us to better "attack" these two fortresses. However, if that means anything to you, let me tell you that all of the countries outside the EC with which we discussed our recognition have told us that they are waiting for the decision of the EC. Let me say the following to those critics who claim that such a diplomatic orientation indicated a lack of cooperation and was intransigent in terms of our relations with Greece, particularly as far as the name is concerned: From the very start of the crisis, we have believed that all controversial matters should be laid on the table and that the arguments of both sides be heard. Yet we have the Greek ultimatum of deleting the word "Macedonia" from the name of the state before any talks have been started, which made impossible the mediation of the Portuguese in terms of opening and, even less so, holding face-to-face meetings, on which we insist. I favor a compromise but reject an ultimatum.

To the critics who say that the Lisbon declaration is a defeat inflicted on Macedonian international policy, I answer: So what? Did you perhaps expect clear-cut victories?! I learned one thing from this difficult experience: It is always a victory when, after a defeat, one can rally enough strength to stand up again on his own two feet. That is what the best people of Macedonia can do under such circumstances.

What Now?

The first thing, on the basis of this and future battles for survival and dignity, is that we must learn how to lose. We must learn how to live with defeats and emerge from them stronger and smarter. To start with, it would be good to take a look at what we actually are and to make

an effort to become even better, whenever possible. We live in times when truth alone can help us. This is a small state with slightly more than 2 million people. Our economy is weak and so are our traditions; our inter-ethnic relations are not entirely in order; we are only at the start of the development of our democratic institutions, and we have neighbors whose attitude toward us ranges from not entirely friendly to openly hostile. We have no outlet to the sea. We have no great friend to back us up. Therefore, our specific weight in international relations is such that we must learn how to withstand defeats even when we are right. Actually, I believe that our chance for survival lies in the ability to withstand adversity peacefully, with dignity, and with a great deal of effort and wisdom on the part of every one of us. These are not empty words. We must dig out what is best in every one of us in order to survive. If we fail to do this and if we do not remain in control, we could find ourselves plunged into chaos and war, which would threaten the physical survival of this nation. We saw the extent of the killing and resettlement in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Should anything of this nature happen here, this small nation would be unable to survive. If, for someone else's sake, recognition is delayed, this will be yet another substantial argument in favor of speeding it up.

In thinking of the future of Macedonia, it is my impression that this entire problem has become aggravated over the past few months. The result is a simple and clear message that those who lived in this country before us clearly realized. The message is that we can survive only by preserving our autonomy. "Macedonia for the Macedonians" is a message of symbolic significance that today, as in the past, has united the citizens of this territory, regardless of ethnic affiliation. This message, which is very timely, also means that we cannot expect to be rescued by outsiders. Is this because our neighbors are bad people? No. It is simply because they are pursuing their own state interests, which are stronger than any love they may have for Macedonia. It is precisely the security and the political and economic consequences of the state interests of the neighboring countries that could lead to an effort to change the "geography" and to a military confrontation.

Therefore, the recognition of permanent borders of the Republic by the EC and the United States is also a commitment for the existence of Macedonia! This commitment stems from the view that any changes in the border could trigger military clashes throughout the area. That is why we must rally around anything that could unite us. What could unite the various political forces in this land today? Someone may think I am idealizing matters or that I am dreaming. However, let me say this: There is nothing more pleasant to look at than children who are healthy, happy, well-dressed, well-fed, and properly raised. Also beautiful is the view of dignified old people whom we respect. Can all of us unite in an effort to create a free society of happy youngsters and dignified adults? Do we have the necessary wisdom, patience, and will to work

toward such an objective, regardless of today's and tomorrow's difficulties, or shall we surrender to despair and to the chauvinism triggered by nonrecognition?

Understandably, recognition is of exceptional importance to our survival. We need the European as well as the global political and financial institutions in order to undertake more daringly the modernization and privatization of our economy and to develop our democratic institutions. However, above everything else, all of this depends on ourselves. That is why, although we have the right to expect the aid of those institutions, we must nonetheless realize that no one can rescue us from ourselves, from our errors and our traditional commotion and the hatred we sometimes feel toward people of different religious beliefs and nationality; no one can help us at all if the forces of war and demagoguery prevail at home.

I have submitted my resignation as a mark of protest to the decision of the EC, which caused a great injustice to the Republic of Macedonia. The people of the Community with whom I was in touch and with whom I established personal relations did not keep their word that they would not make a decision about the name without our agreement. They claimed this until the very last moment before they broke their promise. That is why we need a new person in this position, to continue the struggle for democratic relations within a new Europe, relations that will give the small nations a chance to live in peace, prosperity, and dignity.

MAAK's Position

92BA1171B Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA
in *Macedonian* 2 Jul 92 p 5

[Article by J.K.: "Macedonian Diplomacy With Imperial Autocracy"]

[Text] MAAK [Movement for All-Macedonian Action] calls for immediate acceptance of Maleski's resignation, for the "fall of the government," and for "Macedonia to think about a new confederative union with other countries."

At yesterday's press conference, Ante Popovski, president of MAAK—Movement for All-Macedonian Action—in his address to the newsmen, put the blame for Macedonian nonrecognition exclusively on Macedonian diplomacy and its ideas. He qualified this concept as a "copy of the school of the former Yugoslav diplomacy." The chairman of MAAK said that the concept of Macedonian diplomacy is a "concept without any national or governmental strategy, consisting of a gross Cabinet game," thus confirming the "great egotism inherent in imperial autocracy."

The leader of MAAK added that Macedonian diplomacy allowed a compromise and engaged in a "somewhat fine act of treason by amending the Constitution, as ordered, instead of issuing a white paper and saying that Macedonia has the historical right to the occupied territories."

According to MAAK, the next step following the nonrecognition of Macedonia is the escalation of social disturbances, the economic blockade of Macedonia, and increased international tension because, as Popovski said, "Depriving Macedonia of its name lays the political groundwork for Macedonia to become one of those small sacrificed territories of interest to the great powers and, perhaps, compensation for the losses suffered by the Greater Serbian strategy during the wars." The resignation of Denko Maleski, the minister of foreign affairs, was assessed by the chairman of MAAK as the logical consequence of the "confusion in Macedonian diplomacy," which is why the resignation must be accepted immediately, and, at the same time, MAAK believes that it is necessary "for the government to resign."

The views displayed by Macedonian diplomacy were rigid. Various platforms without any mention of the words "Slavic Macedonia" or "North Macedonia" were offered to out diplomats, said the MAAK chairman yesterday, adding that this does not mean that MAAK agrees with having a changed name. Asked specifically for MAAK's view, Popovski said, "Europe has heard from both Gligorov and Maleski that Macedonia has had its name for the past 50 years, which would mean the legalization of the Bucharest Treaty and the division of Macedonia." According to Popovski, rigidity was manifested also in the use of the term "former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" because, according to the chairman of MAAK, "it was necessary to hold discussions behind that diplomatic closed door and not firmly reject any discussions." Asked whether MAAK will also demand the resignation of Kiro Gligorov, the president of the Republic, Popovski said: "I used the term 'imperial autocracy,' and we know what that means. I would not like to make an ad hoc comment on this question. However, MAAK will issue a firm statement on this question tomorrow."

At the conclusion of the press conference, the view was expressed that the most important thing is to maintain the peace and rational thinking in Macedonia and that it is necessary to immediately develop a concept of national orientation in foreign policy and that, "as of yesterday, Macedonia must consider the idea of a new confederated union with other countries," Popovski said. He did not provide any specifics concerning such concepts of MAAK, saying that "this will be discussed more specifically tomorrow, during the Macedonian Independence Evening, which will be held at the Continental Hotel."

PDP's Position

92BA1171C Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA
in Macedonian 2 Jul 92 p 5

[Article by A.D.: "A Counterproductive EC Decision"]

[Text] *The demand that the name of the Republic of Macedonia be changed is clear pressure applied on the*

Republic and the Macedonian people, which objectively cannot be accepted, the party's spokesman said.

Announcing the view of the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] regarding the resolution of the EC about the nonrecognition of the Republic of Macedonia at yesterday's press conference, its representatives said that this decision sets a precedent in international relations. Europe has retreated from its principles, which it had been proclaiming for decades, on the way to resolve international disputes, Makhi Nesimi, the PDP spokesman said, adding that, with this step, the strong and "just" Europe has taken the side of the stronger country. According to the PDP, the demand that the name of the Republic of Macedonia be changed is clear pressure on Macedonia and the Macedonian people, pressure that, objectively, cannot be accepted. Furthermore, Makhi Nesimi said, the decision of the European Community is counterproductive and may trigger a conflict situation in Macedonia and over a broader area, which could threaten peace in the Balkans. The Macedonian people, Nesimi went on to say, must contribute to the peaceful resolution of this problem without yielding to any pressure. As to the resignation of the foreign affairs minister, the PDP believes that this is a high moral step taken by a diplomat who should continue in his position.

Discussing the latest developments in the village of Radolista and the detention, trial, and death of Arif Seferi, a member of the PDP Central Assembly, Nesimi said that such cases are nothing but one more proof of the fact that the judiciary, the prosecution, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs have still not abandoned their old work methods. At the end of the press conference, he expressed the views of that party on eliminating the need for exit visas for the Republic of Macedonia and creating the conditions for educational institutions that would enable all secondary school and university students to attend classes in their native language.

Macedonian Daily Critical of EC Decision

92BA1176A Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA
in Macedonian 30 Jun 92 p 2

[Article by Nevenka Mitrevska: "The EC Has Dropped Its Mask"]

[Text] *Greece is only one of the actors in the Balkan European game involving Macedonia, dominated by political intrigue, most despicable trade involving entire nations, and political protectionism. What is left of the beautiful dreams of a new, just, democratic international order? A clear-cut reaffirmation of the basic truths and objectives of Macedonian foreign policy.*

The EC struck a heavy blow at Macedonia, its citizens, and Macedonian diplomacy last weekend in Lisbon. This is a blow that makes us dizzy, that hurts, but from which, nonetheless, we shall not die! Conversely, due to the undeserved and unfair nature of this blow, it is one that, after the initial disbelief and shock, could and

should motivate a small and peace-loving nation such as Macedonia to continue with even greater resolve and persistence to struggle for its just cause. Perhaps this was a blow we needed in order to sober up from the euphoric belief that we were about to be recognized and, naturally, to realize the significance of the so frequently repeated words of President Kiro Gligorov to the effect that "there is a long and thorny path ahead of us" before we can achieve full international recognition.

In order not to intensify emotions, the easiest thing would be to identify and attack the culprit or culprits for the illusion in which we have been living so far, according to which we are on the threshold of recognition, and for the obviously unsatisfactory activities to acquaint the international community, the 11 partners of Greece, above all, within the EC, with the historical moral, democratic, civilizing, and all other rights of the Republic of Macedonia and the right of the Macedonian people to call themselves as they wish, or for the violation of the fundamental principles on which contemporary views on democracy and justice rest. However, nothing very useful would obtain from the condemnation of the culprits! Wasting energy for this type of investigation and punishment would merely lead us to the position to which the EC, with its obviously hasty latest resolution concerning the Republic of Macedonia, is directing us: to 100 years of solitude.

What Next?

Instead, now is the time to once again raise the question of what we did and what we must yet do in Macedonia's case.

What has been done "so far" we know: Despite the numerous critics who most frequently were motivated by narrow party ambitions over the past six months, ever since the Macedonian diplomatic battle for international recognition began, there have been so many meetings between Macedonian leaders and such a large number of foreign statesmen, diplomatic chiefs, and noted political and other figures from all continents that even the simple enumeration of all of them would take many pages of this newspaper. The result of all of this was the extensively affirmed peace-loving, democratic, and reasonable policy the Republic of Macedonia has pursued and is pursuing in terms of the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis and international relations, in general, which has been repeatedly acknowledged.

The impression that prevailed in the past, as well, that the range of people involved in telling the truth about Macedonia throughout the world is quite small, is now very clearly confirmed in Lisbon. An entire galaxy of skillful diplomats, who are today either retired or forgotten in the list of those "waiting for an assignment," remained outside this "battlefield." The same applies, with the exception of one or two persons, to the leaders of political parties, the parliament, and many cultural, scientific, and social units, institutions, organizations, and associations. How many among our "usual" people

picked up the phone or wrote letters to their acquaintances, friends, and relatives throughout the world to get them interested in our problem?

At this point, such remarks are less a criticism and more an answer to the question of what to do next. Naturally, the pertinent ministry will continue to bear the main burden, for which, actually, it is being paid. However, this ministry must as soon as possible be renamed the ministry of foreign affairs (and not of relations with foreign countries). This means that it must be reorganized, restructured, and developed as such, and, what is even more important, it must start functioning as such.

In other words, regular or even intensified diplomatic activity, as we saw, is not sufficient. We need a national or, in any case, a supranational and supraparty diplomatic offensive if we are to achieve our objective, in order to be able to speak more loudly than the Greeks throughout the world, whose shouts, at least for a while, were able to completely block the progress made by the Republic of Macedonia toward international recognition. We shall need to display not only our openness and presence in the world but also a great deal of skill because Greece, with its totally unjustified anti-Macedonianism, is only one of the participants in the Balkan European game dominated by political intrigue and the basest possible trade in entire nations, all of this to the benefit of the narrow interest of the EC or its individual members.

Inconsistency and Fraud

This short chronology of the key members of the EC who were in favor or against recognition of the Republic of Macedonia, starting in December 1991 and continuing until the Lisbon meeting, and the diplomatic complications that accompanied such resolutions quite clearly illustrate all of the inconsistencies and fraud committed by the EC toward Macedonia:

Brussels, 16 December 1991. The final clause of the then submitted declaration on Yugoslavia pertained to Macedonia, whose name was not mentioned. That entire section of the declaration states that "the Community and its member countries also ask any Yugoslav republic to commit itself, before it is granted recognition, to giving constitutional and political guarantees, according to which it has no territorial claims against any other neighboring member of the Community and that it will not engage in hostile propaganda activities against a neighboring country that is a member of the Community, which would also include the use of a name that would imply territorial claims."

In Guimaraes on 1 and 2 May 1992, to the EC Macedonia was no longer a nameless former Yugoslav republic but the "former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia." The informal ministerial group at that time issued a brief statement entirely dedicated to the Republic of Macedonia. Among other things, it stated that the EC "is ready to recognize this country as a

sovereign and independent state within the framework of its present borders and with a name acceptable to all interested countries."

Naturally, there was Lisbon on 26 and 27 May. To begin with, the Council of Ministers and, subsequently, the summit meeting of the Community definitively abandoned the concern of whether the name would be acceptable "to all interested parties" and completely took the side of Greece and supported its request that the Republic of Macedonia change its name if it wants to be recognized.

Dangerous Precedent

On the periphery of this big game surrounding Macedonia or parallel to it, another, smaller Balkan game was being played. Is it not astounding that Greece, as a member of the EC, despite its great lack of discipline, from the very beginning of the disintegration of Yugoslavia and up until the most critical moments for Belgrade, Greece has obviously maintained close and more than regular contacts with the Serbian leadership? In this context, could it be that Milosevic's idea about a Serbian-Greek confederation is indeed nothing but an "insane" effort on the part of a man who managed to destroy the Yugoslav Federation and opposes any kind of confederation with the former Yugoslav republics in order to save himself as well as Yugoslavia and formulate a number of other factors, saying that Europe has still not abandoned its intention of listening to "small Yugoslavia"?

Is this paranoia? It is not. It is only the knowledge that, however small and insignificant we are in terms of Europe, we feel in terms of ourselves that we are most important and that, in the course of our further advance on the path to international recognition, we must bear in mind all other possible available options and, respectively, the need for more skillful, faster, and diplomatically more aggressive insistence.

It is hard to ignore the impression that, so far in its insistence to gain a place in the international community of independent states, Macedonia and its diplomats have displayed excessive respect for the EC's democratic standards—standards that are now being violated by the Community itself at every turn. In this specific case, with the ultimatum the EC issued to Macedonia, it stripped its "political philosophy bare" and proved, through its actions, that, despite all of the dreams and assurances of a new, just, and democratic international order, it has remained loyal to the old policy of force, pressure, and open political protectionism, which excludes the interests of anyone who does not belong to the small circle of the select.

This kind of attitude is nothing new in international relations. Actually, Macedonia and the Macedonian people have been its victims both in the past and now. What is new in the European action is that it allowed, for the sake of Greek sensitivity, for Greece to virtually block the decision made by the entire community. It is

what President Kiro Gligorov described with restraint as "unparalleled precedent" in his statement on the declaration made by the EC in Lisbon, pertaining to the blockade by the EC and a "new phenomenon" in the functioning of international institutions. By allowing Greece to block the Macedonian question, the EC opened the way for any other member to do the same thing tomorrow on any other matter. Because the decisions of the Community are mandatory for its members who represent the Community in other international organizations, in practical terms this means that now Greece and, in the future, any other member of the Community can also block actions by the United Nations and the Security Council! The repercussions of this "new phenomenon" will not be felt by the Republic of Macedonia alone. It is a dangerous move that threatens the entire international community because it undermines the principles on which all existing international organizations and bodies have functioned so far. At the moment, there are no indications that the EC is aware of the dangerous precedent set in Lisbon. If it became aware of it and if Lisbon were to be the stage from which the "new relationship" were promoted, it would become all the worse for everyone and for the future of the EC.

Let There Be No Misunderstanding

Under such circumstances, the small and still unrecognized Republic of Macedonia will suddenly be unable to act from a position of strength, even if it had such strength. So far, the strength of Macedonia has been based on its consistently peaceful policy and the justice of its demand to be internationally recognized as an independent and sovereign state. In the future, these elements should be supplemented by an even stronger and more active resolve to persevere on the path to international recognition, and by an even greater willingness to take the initiative and submit arguments and platforms for discussion and dialogue, and even by a more careful handling of already existing relations and friendships throughout the world, and even by a more persistent formulation of new demands toward the EC and even toward Greece. Yes, toward Greece as well because, justifiably, the people say that "where there is illness, there is also medicine."

One remark. So far, the behavior of the Republic of Macedonia has been positively assessed as sensible, moderate, peace-loving, and democratic. However, there have also been a number of other interpretations in some domestic and foreign circles, particularly among those who would like to win points, one way or another, from the unsatisfactory situation in which Macedonia finds itself, according to whom such a policy of the Macedonian leadership is an expression of fear and indecision and of not entirely defined objectives and open options for leaning toward one side or another, depending on the case and the moment. There is a fresh example in this sense—the already mentioned proposal for a Serbian-Greek confederation about which, Milosevic thinks, "the Skopje

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leadership has nothing against it!" To avoid such accidental or deliberate misunderstandings, it may not be a bad idea in the future to once again, clearly and unequivocally, reassert the fundamental rules of Macedonian policy: Let the Republic of Macedonia live as an independent and sovereign state. Let it refuse to be a part of the

so-called small Yugoslavia and, without refusing to cooperate and engage in a dialogue with everyone, refuse to be either planned for or included in any other confederations or any other types of planned associations. May this be the path to be taken by the Macedonian people, a path that cannot be abandoned.

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5285 PORT ROYAL RD
SPRINGFIELD VA

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