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Popov, Danov Attend Ethnic Issues Conference

AU1307123491 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Today Prime Minister Dimitur Popov is making a working visit to Khaskovo, accompanied by Interior Minister Khristo Danov. Our correspondent Vladimir Belchev has sent the following report.

[Begin Belchev recording] The prime minister's program began with him attending a scientific conference on national security and the nationality issue, organized by the Coordinating Council of the Georgi Rakovski Bulgarian Officers Legion. Deputies of the Grand National Assembly also attended the conference.

A greetings message was read to the participants in the conference from Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic of Bulgaria and commander in chief of the Armed Forces. The message stated that a historic chance is opening up for Bulgaria to make its choice in foreign and domestic policy; to allow the future democracy to have its say; to build up its image of a modern democratic state based on the rule of law; and to forget the burdens of past history, nihilism, and the feeling of inadequacy in the understanding of the nationality issue, all of which have caused much suffering to our people.

Academician Ilcho Dimitrov spoke about the topical problems connected with the nationality issue, paying special attention to the idea that our nationality policy should not be guided by concepts forced on us from outside and stressing that at the same time a long-term policy of defending Bulgaria's interests must be developed.

Metropolitan Arseniy of Plovdiv also offered a greetings message to the conference.

At the conference the viewpoint was expressed that a strategy should be developed for our nationality policy and national security. At the moment the discussion is continuing. [end recording]

Independent Public Committee Declaration on SFRY

AU1107115391 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK
in Bulgarian 8 July 91 p 1

["Text" of "Declaration of Independent Public Committee on National Problems on Events in Yugoslavia"—place and date not given]

[Text] The Independent Public Committee on National Problems, incorporating Bulgarian academics, church representatives, community and political activists, expresses its grave concern over:

- The use of armed force to resolve the interethnic problems in Yugoslavia. This is a serious setback to the implementation of the all-European process with which all European nations, including Bulgaria, link their future development.

- The aggressive actions of retrograde, chauvinistic, and militaristic circles, who have resorted to a crude and massive violation of human rights, and also to the spilling of blood of innocent victims.
- The danger of an escalation of the crisis to cover the whole of Yugoslavia, leading from there to a serious destabilization of the Balkans and Europe.
- The fate of Bulgarians in the Republic of Macedonia and the western outlying districts in the face of an increase in the conflicts and internecine strife between the republics, and pressure and threats from the chauvinists advocating a great Serbia.

Bearing in mind all these things, we insist on:

- An immediate and conclusive suspension of all military actions against the peoples who have declared their independence in a lawful manner.
- A peaceful solution to the inter-Yugoslav conflicts and problems in accordance with the principles of the Paris Charter.
- Bulgaria's active cooperation in the efforts of the countries participating in the all-European process for a peaceful and democratic solution to the Yugoslav crisis, while consistently defending our country's interests.

Trade Agreement Signed With Belorussian Republic

AU1207081191 Sofia BTA in English 2031 GMT
11 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 11 (BTA)—Today's agreement on trade and economic cooperation and payments between Bulgaria and Belorussia is the first intergovernmental agreement between this country and a Soviet republic.

Mr. Aleksandur Tomov, deputy prime minister, said that the agreement is a substantial step towards establishing direct relations with the individual Soviet republics. For Belorussia the agreement was signed by Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Zolomay. [name as received] The agreement envisages that trade between Bulgaria and Belorussia reaches 180 million dollars by the end of the year. The countries will supply each other with goods according to a special list which will be constantly updated by the economic organizations.

Today Bulgaria's Prime Minister Dimitur Popov received a governmental delegation of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The sides agreed that the two countries are confronted with similar problems on the way to market economy that the promotion of bilateral relations on the basis of mutual interest and equality will help solve these problems. The signing of the agreement on trade and economic cooperation will mark the establishment of a new type of relations which are desired by both countries.

Thermoelectric Station Cannot Replace Kozloduy

AU1607075591 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 12 Jul 91 p 4

[Article by Vanyo Stoilov: "Maritsa-East Is Not Ready To Compensate for the Reactors Turned Off in Kozloduy"]

[Text] If the power of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant reactors were reduced, the Maritsa-East thermoelectric power plant would certainly face the task of increasing production and we would be asked to decide whether we can cope with the situation, Pasko Ilchev, deputy chairman of the Maritsa East Economic Association stated. The answer could be expected to be negative because coal reserves are limited and the necessary planning of repair works should not be disregarded.

On last Wednesday, 10 July, Maritsa-East was capable of providing 1,100 megawatts of power with some power units being kept in reserve or in the process of being repaired, but specialists say that Maritsa-East as a whole is not ready to make up for the reactors switched off in the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant.

The state of the Maritsa-East mines is such that the initial plans for coal production are being minimized. Within the upcoming 1-2 years no new plants are expected to be commissioned, while the financial backing for the repair of the existing ones has not been provided for. Such is the case of the "2250" five conveyor belt system [petlentova sistema] of the Troyanovo-3 ore mine.

The question whether the stored coal reserves should be used for additional peak times of power consumption in summer or in winter, when a new power shortage is expected, is very topical.

In the central mines the planned annual repairs are not fully covered by the necessary materials and according to Yanko Angelov, manager of the Dimo Dichev Central Heating Plant, only as much as 70-80 percent of the envisaged repair works can be accomplished.

As a result of the increasing electric power prices the financial situation of the economic association hardly improved, because the production costs are also going up. The losses of the Dimo Dichev Central Heating Plant for the first half of 1991 amount to approximately 140 million leva. The country's budget has not yet been adopted by parliament, which represents an additional factor of insecurity for the power supply sphere.

The structural reorganization of the power supply branch, which has been discussed for a long time and is keeping people in a state of suspense, has also been delayed. The workers and employees of the Maritsa-East Economic Association are asking for economic independence of the presently existing branches of the association, but they insist that relations between the branches that have already been established should not be disrupted. The association in its present form cannot be accepted by the workers but they still demand that an organ for coordination, investments, and advance planning should continue to exist in the area.

We should take into consideration the fact that the local coal deposits can be used only by the local heating plants and we should also keep in mind that the structural division of the two Maritsa-East branches would be artificial. The officials from the Energy Committee, however, talk about transferring the coal output and the electric power supply to separate companies, which makes many people suspicious that those "at the top" are trying to save their skins at the expense of Maritsa-East.

In the meantime everything shows that personnel problems are turning into political power struggles. After the resignation of the Maritsa-East Economic Association's chairman, Rusi Danev, the working atmosphere deteriorated to such an extent that Yordan Dimov and Zhivkov Stoyanov also resigned from the post. Despite the fact that Podkrepa has stopped asking for 58 resignations, Yordan Momukov and Stefan Stefanov, respectively directors of the enterprise for construction and assembling, and of the social everyday life complex, are threatened by Article 330 of the Labor Code, but in a strange manner, because Podkrepa demands their dismissal without submitting any evidence of the offenses they are supposed to have committed.

Yordan Momukov, who is chairman of the Employers' Union in the association, only a month ago was given a very positive evaluation at a meeting and was reelected to the director's post. He is already thinking about the proposal that all directors of the Maritsa-East Economic Association should collectively resign so that certain people's ambitions to change the system through resignations may be fulfilled.

Under such circumstances work is not the most important thing that occupies the minds of the 22,000-men strong collective. Therefore no one should expect miracles from Maritsa-East.

Deputy Minister on Internal, External Security

AU1507113791 Prague CESKE A
MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY
in Czech 13 Jul 91 p 3

[Interview with Jan Ruml, Federal First Deputy Interior Minister, by Jan Subert; place and date not given: "The CSFR Is Not Under Threat"—first paragraph is CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] "A Scorching July?" was the title of a commentary in which on 27 June we referred to the existence of a scenario whose midsummer enactment could lead to destabilizing social unrest. In view of the fact that these events are normally played out when a state's security situation is unstable, we asked Federal First Deputy Interior Minister Jan Ruml for a short interview.

[Subert] What is the current situation regarding our state's internal security?

[Ruml] According to the reports we have at our disposal, it is very good. It was very favorably influenced by the recent departure of the last Soviet soldier. I know that you have referred to the possibility of an agreement involving certain enterprises which would, at a given time, release a large number of people all at once. Such an event—which would transfer tension from the economic sphere to the social sphere—would certainly provoke unrest and cause many complications. However, I personally believe that destabilizing events of this nature cannot substantially influence the security situation within the state.

[Subert] However, it is known that the Soviet KGB and GRU [State Intelligence Directorate], which cooperated completely openly with the State Security in our country until 1989, have today begun to operate in our territory as in a hostile environment. Do you have a realistic evaluation of this risk at your disposal?

[Ruml] Of course, we are aware of increased activity by Soviet intelligence services. For example, we know of an attempt to establish new resident agents in our country. This is absolutely understandable and I cannot imagine that an imperialistic empire which has lost its colonies would abandon its previously satellite territories without intelligence supervision. Nevertheless, it is necessary to say that, at the moment, Soviet intelligence activity does not present a threat that would endanger our internal security.

I am also convinced that the recently approved law will make it possible for the Federal Security and Information Service to quickly transform itself into an efficient counterintelligence service capable of effectively confronting—with our citizens' understanding and support—all possible risks.

[Subert] When considering the state's security, the external aspect is, of course, equally essential and perhaps even more important. Our new intelligence

agency—the Interior Ministry Office for Foreign Relations and Information—is involved in analyzing and evaluating this aspect. What kind of information do you have and what are your findings?

[Ruml] It is apparent from our foreign intelligence reports, oriented toward the risks endangering the CSFR's security and democratic system, that our state is not immediately endangered from abroad. We did not register any signals indicating that the republic is threatened by any outside danger.

The situation is rather the opposite. We are integrating ourselves into the European security system—for example, a state treaty on good neighborly relations with the FRG is under preparation—and, together with the other states, we are helping to create security guarantees for the entire European region. At the same time, it is clear to all our foreign partners that Europe can no longer be just a region for intellect and culture, as it was in the past, but—first and foremost—it must be a region of certain and reliable security.

Presidential Adviser on Slovakia's Prospects

91CH0661A Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES
(supplement) in Czech 7 Jun 91 pp 7-8

[Interview with Martin Butora, adviser to the president of the Republic and Head of the Department of Human Rights, by MLADA FRONTA DNES; place and date not given: "A Chance for Czechoslovakia"]

[Text] [MLADA FRONTA DNES] In Bohemia and Moravia one sometimes hears the view that we are paying dearly for Slovakia, and that the possible separation of Slovakia may ultimately be better than remaining in a joint state.

[Butora] Lately I have noticed a remarkable phenomenon. It seems that some Czech politicians have come a lot closer to understanding the Slovak situation. Those who regularly come in contact with the Slovak political scene, in particular, are gradually beginning to comprehend the Slovak problems, expectations, and demands. Other politicians seem to have an eye on the next elections: They behave extremely inflexibly toward the Slovaks. And finally, a stereotype of Slovakia, which is not exactly positive, is spreading among the Czech public. Therefore I can imagine a situation where the majority of politicians will ultimately be able to agree on something, which we have been calling an equal partnership for some time now. However, once we have reached the point when we are on the threshold of an agreement, after expending great effort, we may run up against the "obstinacy" of some political powers, which will not be the majority but will be numerically significant, as well as some lack of understanding or rejection on the part of the public, I mean primarily the Czech public.

A potential separation, even with an appropriate "divorce procedure," would necessarily use up a large amount of energy. It is just as well to remember that it

would mean a loss for both sides—not only may the independence of some future independent Slovakia be threatened, but also the other part of the present state, whose future as an independent entity neighboring on a strong Germany could provide food for thought. The disintegration of the state as the culmination of the 72-year history of Czechoslovakia would, in my judgment, be considered to be not only the defeat of all past generations' efforts, but also the political failure of the present administration, including the opposition. We would convince the West that we are not exactly brimming over with political wisdom founded on the principles of agreement, tolerance, and compromise, from which the threads of supranational relations in an integrated Europe are woven. Our representatives would thus prove themselves to be leaders who are incapable of managing this elementary political multiplication table even on a basic level. Therefore, how can one expect them to become partners in the larger European chess game and work toward European aims, if they are incapable of coming to an agreement among themselves?

On the other hand, I am convinced that an undivided Czechoslovakia has a very good chance of surviving with dignity in this complex area, which has been so unstable in the past. We merely need time, we need a decade during which we can gradually get closer to West Europe and join it in various ways. If our shift toward Western Europe is successful, the mutual hypersensitivity in Czecho-Slovak relations will undoubtedly lose its present urgency and mutual distrust will be able to dissolve into newly created networks of cooperation. However, the loss of hypersensitivity need not mean the loss of sensitivity to national, cultural, and regional elements. A Europe in the process of unification does not have to repress the nations and regions of Europe—to the contrary, the strength of Europe, apart from its ability for sharp self-criticism and the ability to resolve continuous crises, has always been its cultural and spiritual diversity; therefore it should be a matter of unity despite differences and diversity.

In fact, I see an internal agreement as a challenge. A challenge that Czechoslovakia, made up of two nations and several nationalities, furthermore affected by the emerging self-confidence of Moravia, possibly of Silesia, and a large Rom ethnic group—that this Czechoslovakia will triumph in the general postcommunist confusion. I will state it another way: The primary challenge embodied in the slogan “back to Europe” is, in my view, the ability to come to an agreement with the nations and nationalities that live in Czechoslovakia.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Okay, that's what you say. But do the people in Slovakia and others, especially the nationally oriented parties, think the same way, too?

[Butora] Total independence is part of the program especially of some of the extraparlimentary parties in Slovakia. In fact, what the Slovak National Party, which is represented in parliament, advocates will also lead to independence. As far as the separatists are concerned,

everything centers on the theory that it is natural for every nation to have its own state. An independent state is considered to be the epitome of national history and, on the whole—without more profound analyses—it is presumed that in time such a state will receive a positive international response. At the same time, little thought is given to what the nature of such a state would really be. Some things can be surmised from the political profiles of the protagonists who paint such pictures and from the press which propagates them. I can also see a gradual change in the “picture of the enemy”: Today the enemies are the “Pragocentrists,” and their alleged Slovak collaborators are the so-called “extended hand of Prague.” However, if an independent state were created, other undesirables could come “under fire” to a greater degree: the Hungarian minority, the Ruthenians, the Jews.... Already now the more aggressive part of the nationalist press is not choosy—for example, the formerly latent antisemitism is often blatant.

Nationalist-minded economists, above all those from NEZES—but others, too—represent an independent group. They are convinced that an economically independent Slovakia, “having thrown off the external dictatorship,” would prosper even in a world of markets. Irrespective of the dubiousness of some ideas, which confer undue significance to “national peculiarities,” these people often do not see, or do not want to see, the political contexts and they do not perceive the threat to democracy or the threat of authoritarian paternalism, which form the backdrop on more than one occasion. They do not admit the political dangers of an exaggerated, internally-directed economic independence, or the danger of isolationism, autarky, and xenophobia.

The suggestion of the KDH [Christian Democratic Movement] of a potential independent “little boat,” “chair,” or “little star” of Slovakia in the future unified Europe caused rather an exaggerated uproar in the Czech press. Basically, I do not consider this to be disastrous, and I do not think that it is merely a matter of some self-seeking or even deceptive speculation. The way I understand this alternative is that at some time, in some years or more likely decades, we could have a place in an integrated Europe as two more independent, more loosely joined units. If the general principle of confederation were to be implemented, less emphasis may be laid on state units. It is not my suggestion, it is not even the approach of the VPN [Public Against Violence], but it does have its own legitimate logic.

One should also mention that some Slovak groups are not striving for a totally independent state; rather they feel the need for Slovak identity and sovereignty, the confirmation of the fact that Slovak citizens can make their own decisions about themselves. If we look closely, we often discover that many of their desires can be fulfilled within the framework of a joint federation. As long as we believe that such a union will not only be mutually beneficial, but that Czechoslovakia makes sense as a legacy of our forefathers, repeatedly confirmed by history, as a region where thousands of fates unite,

where hundreds of structures, alliances, and networks can exist, and as a Czechoslovakia that is a tangible reality and a spiritual and emotional bond. I mean a Czechoslovakia that is just to all those who create it.

The national question has a personal significance for young people. For many of them, the "well of nationality" has an intoxicating quality, which it is sweet to experience. In this case, it is not easy to distinguish what is a part of a healthy conscious patriotism, of a feeling of harmony stemming from the fact that a person in this world feels not only like a citizen and a human being, but also—sometimes primarily—like a subject of a nation, a Slovak who loves his or her country, and that this sensation makes him feel good—but this already tends toward more militant patriotism and nationalism. Possibly the distinguishing feature is the degree to which one needs an enemy in order to feel in harmony with one's nation, to find solace in one's flag or in one's colors. A further, though smaller portion of the young people latch onto some controversial national symbols, dates, or events in history as an act of rebellion, often without knowing what they really represent.

I should also make the comment that "marching to the national drummer," whether conscious or involuntary, is sometimes a certain kind of opportunism. Some people see the appearance of the "nationalists" as the emergence of a new power. And they then subject themselves to this power, adapt to it, and sometimes downright subordinate themselves to it. These people include individuals with a weakened, or totally emptied, egos, who through a kind of shift, replaced the communist superego, which dominated until recently, with a different "overseer." If this new power should, in fact, prove not to be very powerful, but merely very loud, these people will quickly come to their senses. But it is very sad when something like this is picked up by a reporter.

In conclusion, I would like to mention the category of individuals who—I don't know how otherwise to express it—got sick, caught the bug of militant nationalism and intolerance. Nothing will be able to convince them, no argument will ever be valid for them. Like the Chinese commissars under Mao-Tse-Tung, they repeat ad nauseam various "national teachings," empty phrases, and distorted statements, which they believe unquestioningly and zealously. All these instructions, which are "guaranteed to be correct" for liberating the Slovak nation are the same—both in the description of the enemies (the Prague clique, Castle mafia, Freemasons, and Jews, Budapest, international capital, etc.), and in the simplicity of the prescriptions: to declare an independent state—and that's that ("it's for the birds" as they say over a beer in the bar).

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Why do you think that Meciar and the ZDS [For a Democratic Slovakia] platform have so much support? Surely there must be a special sociopsychological atmosphere for it....

[Butora] Generally speaking, the citizens of Slovakia are more conservative than those of Bohemia-Moravia—in relation to adapting to changes. But it is not only a more conservative approach to life, it is also caution about any kind of radical creation of barriers. Although such caution may sometimes be appropriate—it is not necessarily negative. For instance, let us remember the postwar year, 1946, when the elections in Slovakia turned out rather differently than in Czechoslovakia.

One also has to remember that Slovak society as a whole was less affected by the fall of real socialism. Apparently the former regime was not found as guilty of dysfunctioning and of evil. There were probably few people in Bohemia-Moravia who doubted that in comparison with the opportunities of the First Republic the last forty years were a period of decline and deterioration. The Czech society itself issued a merciless diagnosis of the period when "the bolsheviks reigned"—and that is the first prerequisite for recovery. In Slovakia they are struggling to arrive at this diagnosis, and there is the mandatory dose of demagogic moaning about the extent to which people have been robbed by the new conditions. And now I come to the popularity of the former prime minister: It is linked to abandoning the state-socialist stable. Feelings of uncertainty, often a lack of faith in one's own strength, and the number of obstacles in one's path—all of these are relatively widespread in Slovakia. The people are more likely to notice the negative aspects of the commencement of the market and, above all, they feel that what is intrinsically, archetypically Slovak is being threatened—having some bread, having some foundations, "enduring," as we say. It is probably similar to what a person feels when he decides to abstain after years of hard drinking: He suddenly finds himself in a different world. And he desperately needs some support in this new, strange world. Now, with this picture in mind, try to imagine that a person appears like a knight from Sitna or Blanik and gives the impression that he can provide such support, that he has the solution to all problems, that he has the cure for all ills, and not only that: He can also identify the person who does not wish to see such a just resolution.... It is a kind of sublimation of a one-time, all-powerful, protective state—"Father Meciar."

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] You have the opportunity to observe things both from Prague and Slovakia. What is the relationship between the two views—do they contradict each other, are they at cross-purposes, or do they complement each other?

[Butora] I would like to say something a little personal. One does not have to live in Prague to perceive the huge, though hardly perceptible, flourishing toward which this country is striding. But in Prague it downright hits me in the eye: The entire political, cultural, and entrepreneurial world, which is seriously interested in the fate of central and eastern Europe, is meeting here. We have almost reached the point where many world organizations would like to hold their world congresses in Prague.

For the time being, we naturally see the present desolation and shabbiness of the city's soul; but that will pass in time. As long as Prague picks up speed, within five to seven years—not to mention the end of the century, it will flourish magnificently, especially in the spiritual and cultural sphere. And one cannot ignore the phenomenon of President Vaclav Havel. Although he is criticized at home on various matters, the citizens of Prague, and the Czechs as a whole, know deep in their souls what moral support this man provides for rebuilding the state; they know and they see the sensitivity with which the West, and in fact the whole civilized world, perceives Havel's personal charisma and his ethical views. There is probably only a handful of people who are truly world-famous, whom everyone would like to meet, and who have any significance in politics, culture, and the realm of the spirit. That is why Prague Castle is so incredibly attractive for people at home and abroad—and this is why the public can observe every step the president makes so critically, and judge the acts of his associates so severely

Now, if all of this is added together, *summa summarum*, it is possible that a Czech may feel that the Slovak part of the state, in fact, represents some kind of encumbrance, a burden, which is preventing the Czechs from quicker and more profound cosmopolitanism.

Naturally this is nonsense, it is a dangerous distortion, which ignores the genesis of the "Slovak question," and the manner in which it was "resolved," that is to say not resolved, in the past. The task the Czechs have, stated figuratively, is to "sell" Prague to the Slovaks—and not only to them, but also to the people from Brno, Ostrava, Hungary, and Southern Slovakia, in other words to all the citizens of the Czechoslovak union. To achieve this, they must accept Prague's boom as their own success, as a benefit for them all. It will certainly be an advantage to Prague, if it were to open up not only toward the world but also toward home, including the Slovak and Moravian homes. It would be advisable to remember that present Czech politics will certainly some day be measured according to how well they succeeded in dealing with the task and preserving a joint state. No one will exempt Czech society from co-responsibility for the past 72 years, from the fact that during most of these decades it primarily interpreted the Czechoslovak state to be a Czech state, so to speak, to be its "rightful property." It is obvious that this could not satisfy the Slovak side.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] What can satisfy it now?

[Butora] Up to the next elections—apart from more significant practical jurisdiction—Slovakia will try to attain visible symbols of its statehood, which primarily means a constitution—a constitution for the Slovak Republic and a federal constitution that is linked with it. But I am convinced that a further phase is starting simultaneously and will diverge ever further, which will mean Slovakia's greater participation in shaping the federation, and its more aggressive role in the mutual task.

I suspect that the need for an "incubation period," which will benefit Slovak maturity has been realized even by the Christian Democratic Movement. The leaders of the KDH are inclined to preserve the federation; especially J. Carnogursky, possibly because he intrinsically feels the lack of well-qualified people, who could guarantee Slovakia's active participation in Europe. Slovakia's potential is considerable, including the qualification and human levels; nevertheless, it will need some time to develop this potential. Slovakia urgently needs cultured and educated personalities who can speak languages, are oriented toward Europe, and have a natural affinity toward parliamentary democracy, it needs people with some fundamental political culture. Of course, there is a lack of such people in Bohemia-Moravia, too, but a realistic estimate indicates that Slovakia needs them even more in the interest of "opening the floodgates" and invigorating its own promising potential.

Incidentally, a stay in Prague can undoubtedly contribute to such an education, and this can clearly be seen at least in some of the present Slovak delegates to the National Assembly.

All the talk about "renegades" living in Prague is unfortunate, insulting, and actually very stupid: After all, every so-called "federalist Slovak" can bring a relatively specific benefit for Slovakia, he can sow seeds, which will then be harvested at home. The Slovak experience reminds us that even the economy of that rather unhappy Slovak state benefitted from the Slovak experts who studied in Prague, who took full advantage of 20 years of living together, like the macroeconomist, Professor Imrich Karvas, to give but one example. [MLADA FRONTA DNES] I would like to return to the situation in the VPN. Wouldn't this movement be more popular today if Fedor Gal had resigned sooner?

[Butora] This is not a question of popularity! Without the direct, personal participation of Fedor Gal, the battle that took place in Slovakia would hardly have been fought. Once the gauntlet had been thrown down by the ZDS, no one could walk away from the battlefield.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Although Josef Kucerak is judged rather positively, especially from the perspective of the appearance of new faces and new thoughts—isn't his "negative side" that he is closely connected with the radical version of the economic reform?

[Butora] I have no doubt that the credibility of the VPN will slowly begin to revive, and that the VPN will regain its attractiveness. In the past, we were used to people losing favor, especially when we had to deal with difficult societal problems. But it is easy to see that at least one-third of the Slovak population is not inclined toward the "national bloc," nor toward the KDH, nor the ZDS, not even toward the Christian model of Slovak society (today, especially in the economy, it is rather the Christian-social model), nor toward extreme nationalism, nor toward reformed socialism, as Meciar's ZDS is—or will—represent in one form or another. This third, made

up primarily of nonideological people, does not like authoritarians of any kind. They have an affinity for material, pragmatic solutions and action, they are open to the world, they are essentially pro-reform in the economic sector, almost to the point of liberalism. More than others, they also support a united, though improved, federation. These people now make up the future electoral potential for a movement or party like the VPN which, through the recent completion of the Slovak government, once again demonstrated that it has a large pool of able people. Therefore, unlike some observers, especially in Slovakia, I do not believe that the VPN has played out its role, and that its ability to influence the political scene will remain weakened for long. Traditionally, the VPN does not shout, it acts. Meciar's popularity is not permanent, in fact, it is already beginning to wane. The people themselves will slowly realize that he is not a person who thinks systematically and consistently, and that, in fact, he adapts his views a little too frequently ... and I believe that the 51 percent he longs to get in the next elections are mere wishful thinking.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] You are one of the main authors who compiled the VPN program "A Chance for Slovakia," which was discussed so often, especially during the rupture in the VPN, and which everyone later seemed to adopt as his own. How would you modify this program now, a year later?

[Butora] The outlines of a more detailed program are already being drafted. For the time being I am sure of only one thing: If I were to write this program again now, I would call it "A Chance for Czechoslovakia."

Miklosko on Commission for Drafting Constitution

AU1307113491 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 10 Jul 91 p 1

[Interview with Frantisek Miklosko, Slovak National Council chairman, by Ivo Slavik; place and date not given: "TODAY?!"]

[Text] [Slavik] Did Monday's session of the Commission for Drafting the CSFR Constitution bring about any new results?

[Miklosko] We closed three chapters: executive authority, legislative authority, and the jurisdiction of the president. Since we are a young democracy, some offices (that of chancellor, president) must grow in a structured manner, and not all at once. We took the maintenance of parliamentary democracy as our point of departure. The too great powers of the government that appeared in the constitution draft were criticized, as were some presidential authorities. Despite parliamentary democracy being our point of departure, a balance of the executive, legislative, and presidential authorities must be sought. If the president's authority had more of an executive nature, such that he became head of government, the danger of an excessive reinforcement of

executive authority would then arise; above all, because he could dissolve parliament—if he were unable to express his confidence in the government within six months. The form of the future federal assembly was also discussed. One of the proposals preserved the status quo, another asked for a single chamber parliament with a federal council consisting of the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council deputies, a third one required the creation of one chamber and a senate composed of more than 30 deputies. The senate would be based on the Italian model and it would adopt only selected laws, while routine laws would be approved by the first chamber. The election of the president was also discussed. A majority favored the election by a federal parliament.

Socialist Party Fears Hungarian Border Claims

LD1207103491 Prague CTK in English 2121 GMT 11 Jul 91

[Text] Prague July 11 (CTK)—The Executive Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSS] issued a statement today condemning the fighting in Yugoslavia and expressing fears that the conflict could lead to attempts to revise international borders. The CSS refers to what it calls a Hungarian suggestion that if Yugoslavia breaks up, the territorial provisions of the 1920 Treaty of Trianon should be called into question. "What was taken by Slovak separatists as a hollow threat may become a reality," the statement warns. Under the treaty, two-thirds of the territory of the historic state of Hungary was assigned to the new neighboring states of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Romania.

Democratic Party Concerned Over Home Guard Setup

LD1407165291 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1300 GMT 14 Jul 91

[Text] Jan Holcik, chairman of the Democratic Party, has expressed deep concern over the proposal put forward by Slovak National Council Deputy Chairman Jan Klepac to set up the so-called Slovak Home Guard. He voiced regret over the fact that the radical streams in the Christian Democratic Movement decided to further destabilize the already unstable and fragile political scene. Jan Holcik stressed that the Democratic Party considers any sabre rattling an expression of the totalitarian system, and will demand an explanation from its coalition partner.

Carnogursky Responds to Criticism on Politics

LD1207104191 Prague CTK in English 0723 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Bratislava July 12 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky said today that he sees Czechoslovakia as a nucleus of a future broader constellation of nations and states of this part of Europe, and Slovakia as a specific part of future integrated Europe.

In an interview for today's Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] daily SLOVENSKY DENNIK, Carnogursky responded to criticisms by member of the KHD Council Tibor Boehm that the Slovak premier's attitude to the state setup is flexible as rubber, playing into the hands of supporters of the federation, and that he often changes it and formulates his line vaguely. Carnogursky said he has held his line for several years. He added that no one can predict developments of the political situation in Czechoslovakia and therefore a chance must be left to specify one's ideas according to concrete conditions.

Carnogursky said he thinks KDH's line does not create any danger of civil war and of isolating Slovakia but offers it a prospect of achieving a fully equal position among all European states.

DL Asks Communist Party To Renounce Communism

AU1207161491 Prague CTK in English 1619 GMT 10 Jul 91

[Text] Prague July 10 (CTK)—The Democratic Left [DL] faction within the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM] aims at turning the KSCM into a noncommunist political force, the faction's leader, Czech parliament Deputy Michal Kraus, said at a press conference today.

He said barriers have to be removed between Communists and Social Democrats.

That the DL takes a positive view of the November 1989 revolution was stressed repeatedly at the press conference. Executive Committee member Hana Matyasova went even further and said [the overthrow of the Communist regime] came as a greater relief for many Communists than for many dissidents. She explained that party members who could think rationally were aware of the wrongheadedness of the then Communist Party policies.

Meciar's Movement Backs Farmers' Protest

AU1207154691 Prague CTK in English 1653 GMT 10 Jul 91

[Text] Bratislava July 10 (CTK)—A protest planned for tomorrow by Slovak farmers, including delivery stoppages and road blockades, is intended to serve as a warning to the Federal and Slovak Governments that Slovak agriculture is threatened with collapse, Peter Baco of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] Farmers' Club told a press conference today.

Baco said the protest is a reaction to the inability of Slovak authorities to solve the current crisis in agriculture, which he described as above all a political problem.

He noted that Slovak farmers receive fewer subsidies than their Czech counterparts, despite the fact that

Slovak soil and climatic conditions have been evaluated as being 12 percent worse than in the Czech Republic.

Vladimir Meciar founded HZDS as a breakaway faction of the Slovak movement Public Against Violence [VPN] in April, shortly after his dismissal from the post of Slovak premier.

[Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 11 July on page 2 carries a 300-word report on the HZDS briefing. According to the report, Meciar commented, among other issues, on Alexander Dubcek's recent dissociation from the HZDS. The report states: "Vladimir Meciar said that Alexander Dubcek had supported him, not the HZDS. If Dubcek were to go over to the HZDS, it would cost him the post of Federal Assembly chairman, according to Meciar."]

Klaus' Party, Conservatives Plan September Merger

AU1507165891 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 13 Jul 91 p 2

[Text] Prague—Representatives from the Conservative Party-Free Bloc and the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] have agreed on preparations for their future merger.

Delegations, led by Jiri V. Kotas and Vaclav Klaus, held a joint meeting and discussed the course of action that should lead to their merger at the ODS congress in September. In reply to our question, Free Bloc Deputy Chairman Milan Kalina said that there are no great differences between both parties' aims. It is necessary to integrate political forces in the interests of stabilization and making the political spectrum clearer.

Havel Questions Slusovice Move to Slovakia

AU1507180291 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 12 Jul 91 p 1

[CTK report: "Registration of DAK MOVA Slusovice; The President Checks Legality"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)—CSFR President Vaclav Havel invited CSFR Prosecutor General Ivan Gasparovic, LL.D., to Prague Castle yesterday. The president asked the prosecutor general for information concerning the registration of the DAK MOVA Slusovice company with the Bratislava Municipal District Court after the Regional Court in Brno turned down its registration. The prosecutor general promised to deal with the case energetically and to submit a report soon on the legality of the course of action by the two courts.

Protestant Clergyman on Slovak-Czech Relations

91CH0694A Bratislava KULTURNY ZIVOT in Slovak 25 Jun 91 p 13

["Excerpts" from interview with Bishop of the Slovak Lutheran Church Pavel Uhorskai by Peter Stolicny; place and date not given: "A Christian Cannot Be

Antagonistic to People"—first paragraph is KULTURNY ZIVOT introduction]

[Text] It was in 1951. After eight months of brutal pre-trial detention, Pavel Uhorskai, a Lutheran clergyman, was charged with anti-Marxist instruction to young people and sentenced to three years in prison, confiscation of property, and loss of civil rights and privileges for five years. It was precisely that loss, which ceased to have only formal application, that was the most painful. He had to wait until November 1989 for the return of his real civil rights. Pavel Uhorskai, current bishop of the Slovak Evangelical Church of Augsburg Confession, was born as the ninth of eleven children of a farmer's family in Tomasovce near Lucenec in 1919. He graduated from academic high school and from the Lutheran theological seminary in Bratislava, and served as assistant pastor in Uhrovce, Bardejov, Strba, Velka, Poprad, Ruzomberok and Martin, and as minister in Haj near Turcianske Teplice. (....)

[Stolicny] The Evangelical Lutheran Church survived the hostile period of the Slovak State as well as the era of the "victorious building of socialism." Has that left any impressions on the church?

[Uhorskai] It survived by having unavoidably collaborated with the system. By that I do not mean the church as such but its highest representatives. Therefore, after November 1989 the church leadership had to be replaced. You know, perhaps there was no other alternative than to turn to a pastor who for a long time could not serve as a minister. Of our three hundred Lutheran ministers eighty were persecuted but our leadership preferred to ignore that.

[Stolicny] There is much talk today about past injustices, and when dissidents are mentioned, it is always the Catholics. Is it because of your modesty or your inability to assert yourselves at this time?

[Uhorskai] I would not call it inability to assert ourselves. We do not consider it necessary to brag about our past virtues. Excessive publicity of endured sufferings denigrates our past experience. I would not want to turn our true faith and courage, which many of us had kept, into some kind of propaganda. Less is more.

[Stolicny] We have touched on the issue of Catholics and Protestants. Could we talk about those problems?

[Uhorskai] Why not? That issue should be discussed but if we want to find the roots of certain—alas—animosities, we must briefly go back in history. In the 17th century, after the Reformation, 90 percent of Slovakia's population was Protestant. One of the main reasons was certainly the fact that, unlike in the Catholic Church, the Word of God was preached in the mother tongue. In the second half of the 17th century Leopold I introduced harsh anti-Reformation. (....)

[Stolicny] Can it be exactly determined since when religious services were conducted in the language the people could understand?

[Uhorskai] That exactly is so interesting. There are assertions, let us say, that the specificity of the Slovak nation dates back to 1778 when Anton Bernolak published his work and that it was the foundation on which our language was established. However, a Slovak bishop had been appointed for our believers as early as in 1610. In other words, that was when genuine Slovak national life began showing its signs.

[Stolicny] Should we view from this distance the difference between the Protestant and Catholic intellectuals who left their impression on our nation?

[Uhorskai] Not really, as far as it concerns the development of the young republic. The Catholics promoted education and engaged in politics as much as did the Protestants, such as Vavro Srobar, Stefanik, Hodza. They were our intelligentsia who studied in Prague. Under the Hapsburgs, the Magyarization of Slovakia was far more intensive than the Germanization of the Czech lands. For that reason, they could broaden education in their own language. Under the conditions of the young Czechoslovak Republic there was scarcity of officials for Slovakia, and there were few teachers and personnel to fill higher posts. The handful of Slovaks who had studied in Prague did not suffice and so the Czechs began to assume higher positions in Slovakia where powerful Magyarization efforts had been underway until 1918. In fact, all Slovak schools had been gradually closed. If it were not for the founding of the first Republic, none of us today would speak Slovak. However, our liberation came, thanks to Masaryk, Stefanik, Benes and many others. In that I see the work of the living God in history.

[Stolicny] Some groups allege that the Czechs only exploited us in the first Republic.

[Uhorskai] Leave out "only." Of course, many injustices were committed, but we must not forget the enormous intellectual potential that came to Slovakia. After all, schools, for instance, are very important institutions for national progress. And the fact can neither be denied nor deleted from history that Czech teachers introduced here education. Slovakia did have sufficient spiritual potential but it needed to be awakened. That was the accomplishment of the Czech intelligentsia.

[Stolicny] So where are the roots of the animosity—the roots of the nationalist passions with such demands as "Czechs, scram to Prague"?

[Uhorskai] You see, I was taught by Czech teachers in the first Republic and yet, as you can hear, I am able to speak Slovak. But you asked about the animosity toward Czechs. Look, the old and sick empire had left the first Republic a present—very unevenly developed industry whose share in Slovakia was negligible. Therefore, the managers came from the Czech lands. They were given the so-called Slovak premiums; they received higher

salaries than what they would be paid had they stayed home. That was the root of the evil which occurred in the 1930's. It may be somewhat simplified, but economic differences were of major importance. And when world crises occurred, it appeared to Slovak eyes that the Czech were taking away jobs from those Slovaks who meanwhile had completed their studies and in many instances were quite capable of serving in various offices of the state administration. Ideas of autonomy were spread, often for good reason, from Hlinka's Catholic Populist Party as well as from the Protestant Slovak National Party. At that time Martin Razus in his collection *Kamen na medzi* [*A Stone on the Boundary Line*] wrote: "Let us plow but each his own land." Hence the effort to put a border, a divider, between us. Unfortunately, very unsensitive forces assumed that task. The crassness of nationalism is evil.

[Stolicny] And its result was the fascist Slovak State, don't you agree?

[Uhorskai] The nature of the Slovak State is so well documented that there is no need to argue about it. It is quite obvious. However, now there are forces which view it in a distorted way. The Slovak State was not created by the will of the Slovak nation. It was a product of political circumstances of that particular time. It was created by Hitler's will and not by the will of the Slovaks. Those people who regard the Slovak State as their model are very much mistaken.

[Stolicny] Nevertheless, slogans appear in our town squares now and then, and on display there are pictures of President Tiso who was condemned as a war criminal. The Slovak State is being rehabilitated. How can one understand people who are trying to reclaim that past?

[Uhorskai] Such an approach cannot stand the test of reason, let alone hold up in the light of God's Word. A Christian cannot be against people. By its nature separatism is anti-Christian and has nothing in common with the spirit of the Gospel. We cannot cut ourselves from other people if we are to serve them and if we are to bring God's message of love and peace to them. Of course, man must depart from evil and above all, he must depart from sin so that he may determine with clear mind what he must support and what he must oppose. Please let me mention here my personal experience. When I was under investigation in 1951 I was accused of organizing anti-Marxist groups. My reply had to be unambiguous. I had guided young people in the spirit of the Gospel. After all, that cannot constitute a criminal act. That is the first and foremost duty of the church and the church had not been outlawed nor had the Bible been outlawed. At the court hearing on 2 November 1951 the prosecutor blamed me that while other clergymen had adapted to the teaching of Marxism, I failed to adapt and moreover, that I had obviously counterposed the Christian position to the Marxist position. At that time there was no answer to the question who departed from evil, from sin—those who had put me in prison or I? Today we know the answer.

[Stolicny] If we continue the chronology we shall go back to the Slovak State and to the Slovak National Uprising. What was the attitude of the Protestants toward the Uprising?

[Uhorskai] According to allegations the revolt against fascism had been organized primarily by the communists. That is nonsense. Or by the Protestants. Nonsense. They could not manage anything all by themselves. The Uprising was a feat accomplished by all of them, including many Catholics who had recognized the nature of the Slovak State. Our whole nation and in addition, anti-fascists from other countries took part in the Uprising. The communists distorted our history. No need to talk about that, after all, it is known that Mach collaborated with the communists. At that time we used to ask a sarcastic question: "Communists, where are you? In Hlinka's Guard." Later we could ask: "Members of Hlinka's Guard, where are you? In the Communist Party."

[Stolicny] And now? The Christian movement was organized on an ecumenical basis. How do you feel about that...?

[Uhorskai] Look, Protestants were persecuted in the Slovak State. All our bishops were in prison. The hostility toward Catholics was great. In the 40 years of the communist system all churches were persecuted and many of their leaders were collaborators. Thus, after the gentle revolution we shared common interests—renewal of normal church life. We voted for the Christian Democratic Movement, although I did not approve at all that political campaigns were conducted even in churches! I do not want any clergyman who is a political campaigner! The Christian Democratic Movement initially intended to bring together all Slovaks of Christian conviction. However, gradually I would characterize the situation as follows: I respect every Catholic believer because he believes in the same Jesus Christ as I, but I keep distance from political Catholicism because it has nothing in common with our Lord. I shall gladly support Christian efforts but I think that faith should not interfere with politics. The church has the duty to spread the Word of God, to teach believers, and to give such religious guidance to those who will get involved in politics that they may live a Christian life and that their political activity conform to the spirit of Christian love.

[Stolicny] Let us go back once more to Slovakia's town squares and to the nationalist groups whose mood is separatist, anti-Semite, anti-Hungarian, who accuse everyone of being Freemasons and jingoists, and who regard the Czechs as neocolonists. Nevertheless, they promote Christianity in the same breath. How can one explain that connection?

[Uhorskai] As something extremely stupid. Fascism has already demonstrated here in Slovakia what was alien and not Slovak. You know, a Slovak is quite hospitable, friendly, approachable. Why should he be turned into a hateful savage who takes a weapon in hand to accost his

fellow man? It is enough that no one can wash away from us our sin for Tiso who knowingly sent tens of thousands of Jews to their death. Priests and then the members of Hlinka's Guard enriched themselves with Jewish property! Just think of that! How unethical it was! That was the consequence of a terrible era. I am certain that it is not typical for our nation. Fascism was inhuman, un-Christian, non-Slovak. People who today defend that period are acting as anti-Christians and also anti-Slovaks!

[Stolicny] Should one oppose those "anti"? Or is it enough to watch and criticize?

[Uhorskai] I believe that Christian love will prevail. But after the long years during we were forced to be silent and live in semi-illegality under the communist regime, we are entering a world that has advanced further than in 1918 or 1945. Our full integration in Europe may also benefit Europe in a unique way provided that we are mature and cultured. The way to that begins with each one of us.

[Stolicny] Christian love and tolerance are in complete contradiction to the way some of our "also-Christians" are acting. This is an unploughed field, a space for Christian enlightenment. What is the Lutheran Church making of it?

[Uhorskai] You are right, the lack of education for more than 40 years has left its marks. For that reason we now are trying to organize first of all a Protestant school system. As soon as this September we shall open a preparatory high school in Bratislava with instruction also in the English language and later in Presov with instruction in German. Our intelligentsia must learn languages so that we may go educated out in the world and not as in the past, with empty hands, as tinkers or farm workers.

[Stolicny] It is not an inexpensive endeavor to establish an educational system. Can you afford it?

[Uhorskai] Thus far our state has supported all schools, even ours, but I am a realist; in a few years church and state will be separated. Churches will be left without means if our congregations fail to support them the way it is done elsewhere in the world. But for that we need well-to-do believers. You know, in the past we had the gentry, such as the Zajos, the Stancics and others. Now the times are different but I believe that we shall have believers who are entrepreneurs and that faith will also work through them. We have great hopes for the development of the church school system. We always were an intellectual church. Our church is not yet awakened as we would want it to be but I believe in the victory of good will.

[Stolicny] However, then we would have to stop looking forever for an enemy. Alas, even our Matica Slovenska is not above such politicking.

[Uhorskai] I have been a member of Matica since 1940. As students we were enthusiastic participants in Matica's programs. We used to hold regular meetings devoted to literature. One must realize Matica's impact before the first CSR, during the Slovak State, and during the era of the communist regime. One must take history into account and admit that, for instance, in the last-mentioned period Matica ceased to exist as a cultural organization and turned into nothing more than a regular library. Today I keep again warning all Matica representatives against letting themselves to be dragged into political waters.

[Stolicny] I am afraid, that has already happened.

[Uhorskai] But Matica's mission is completely different. It is supposed to promote culture in Slovakia. I have a far more interesting suggestion than politics for Matica Slovenska. In 1992 will be the centenary of Stefan Krčmery, Matica's secretary who, I think, was in his day he was the most educated man in our country. Matica should make a correct reassessment of history of that period; today it should expand the horizons of knowledge and education, remind us of our cultural history, and build on everything that was good in it. This should be Matica's concern today.

[Stolicny] All you have said thus far is permeated with your enormous faith in the future...

[Uhorskai] As general bishop, I have the duty of conducting a mission, a program of evangelization. A nation rooted in the Word of God can rest assured that God will bless it. I am truly confident about our future.

Writer on Historical Roots of Slovak Nationalism

*91CH0689A Prague REPORTER (supplement)
in Czech 26 Jun 91 pp I-V*

[Article by Ladislav Mnacko: "Slovakia—Does Something Like This Exist at All?"]

[Text] If we were to choose the shortest, the most ideal line in the air running between London and Bucharest, Rome and Moscow, Hamburg and Istanbul, Rome and Gdansk, Venice and Warsaw, Paris and Odessa, Oslo and Athens, Berlin and Belgrade, etc., we would intersect a country halfway which—no matter how peculiar it may sound—is among the least well-known regions of Europe: Slovakia. Have you heard that name before? Have you already found out that this geographic as well as geopolitical center of our old continent, which is incorrectly referred to as Bohemia, existed and continues to exist? Bordered in the west, the north, and the east by the protective Carpathian Crescent, separated toward the south by the Danube River, and changing into the Pannonian Plain, populated by more than five million inhabitants, this territory, which covers 49,000 km², is among those countries of Europe on which many civilizations have left their imprint. The Celts were here, as were the Germanic people and the Romans, the Slavs, the Avars, the Magyars, the Mongols, the Ukrainians, the

Wallachians, the Jews, the German and Italian colonists. They settled this historic and dramatic territory or passed through it and left behind more or less of the traces of their civilizational activities and culture which combined to forge the character and the ethnicity of the Slovak people. Here, the conflicting interests of various societies clashed—and frequently came to an end; some from the west and others from the east and south, as well as some from the north—even though these were not as significant.

Here, the expansionist ambitions of the German people ended, as did the conquering campaigns, with a few exceptions, of the Asiatic equestrian tribes such as the Avars, the Huns, the Magyars, the Mongols, and the Turks, who attacked from the south. This was territory which saw fateful battles which influenced the history of the entire continent. Slovakia became the transit region for conquering armies, a battlefield, the central region of repeated Kurdish rebellions, the Russians campaigned through the area so as to put down the rebellion by the Magyars against the Hapsburgs (during World War I, they got as far as eastern Slovakia whence they were displaced by the army of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy). The Russians also passed through Slovakia, pursued by the Nazi Wehrmacht. For Germany, this became a staging area; during the Polish and subsequently the Russian campaign, a portion of Napoleon's armies passed through Slovakia; Slovakia was not even spared during the conflict between the kaiser and Austria; the Turks repeatedly penetrated deeply into Slovak territory which they even partially occupied for a long time.

Is there another such country anywhere in Europe which has been similarly vexed and devastated by war action, invasion, and rebellion? A country which, having barely recovered, was once more exposed to dreadful tests? With the exception of the short-lived barely 100-year Great Moravian Empire, it was never free and sovereign—always only degraded to an object of history. Even the founders of modern Slovak nationalism themselves characterized it as a country without a history. Slovak nationalists consider this characterization to be degrading and insulting, they erroneously ascribe its authorship to the president of the first Czechoslovak Republic Masaryk and in their limitation do not even know that the author of this "historylessness" is Ludovít Štúr—a rebel against the oppression of Slovaks as a result of the original epochal Hungarian nationalism during the middle of the last century—a person who is among the most important historical personalities of modern Slovak history.

This country was never without a history, just as a result of the dramatic nature of its fate. The Slovaks cannot boast of any famous kings, they also did not engage in any conquering campaigns, they did not fight in famous battles, and even the designation "Slovak nation" is of recent origin, being unknown during the Middle Ages; in the antiquity of their history, Slovaks were referred to as Slovenes, something which was generally applicable to Slavs in Pannonia. The concept "Slovak" did not

become generalized until the birth of modern nationalism and—to a limited extent—entered Europe in this manner.

Nevertheless, Slovaks were here. Since the times of the migration of nations, they have lived in a region circumscribed by the Carpathian Crescent and the Danube River. They have defied the adversities of fate, they have insisted on the right to exist, they defended their unique life-style, they have made this infertile mountain region fertile, they have modified their culture and defended it against all efforts to eliminate it. Not only that. Despite the brutal methods of denationalization on the part of Hungarian chauvinist policies, they even proved themselves capable of retaining the ethnic minorities of the German and Italian enclaves—to slovakicize them—obviously on the voluntary foundation of historic development and to enrich their own ethnology with the productive influences of the "guests," as they called the foreign colonists who were predominantly German. And so, over the course of the centuries, a broad multifaceted, predominantly popular culture came into being, such as we find in other European countries only with great difficulty. The drama of history and the hard times befalling this agricultural and pastoral people, conditioned by constant devastation, did not facilitate the blossoming of a high culture; here, neither a Florence nor a Prague could come into being; the few modest splendid structures, be they of a religious or secular nature, can be more readily designated as art in Slovakia rather than Slovak art. The Slovak carried the gallery of creative arts on his own body; his concert hall was the valleys, meadows, and forests, his search for beauty found its expression in the esthetically graceful urbanistic creation of settlements which consisted, for the most part, of wooden houses—in other words, they were made of building materials which were most accessible in Slovakia. The rich commercial and mining towns were, for the most part, established and populated by German colonists.

However, it would be wrong to claim—and this is frequently the case—that Slovakia is a country of sheepherders and small mountain farmers. The importance of "Upper Hungary," as the rest of the world generally referred to Slovakia, was not only in the importance of its geostrategic position as a country of battlefields and an area for armies to pass through, as a barrier against the west and east and south. In the European context, Slovakia played an important role which far exceeded its own borders, as a reservoir of raw materials, rich in timber and nonferrous metals. (Before America was discovered, Slovakia was among the most important producers of gold, silver, and copper, for an entire century the Fugger family owned the monopoly for extracting nonferrous metals in central Slovakia.) Subsequently, the deposits of iron ore in the Slovak Rudohori Mountains were part of the backbone of the Hungarian metallurgical industry. These riches led to the origin of blossoming commercial towns along through-highways in the north-south direction and in the east-west direction.

The Slovak people themselves, oppressed politically, economically, and culturally, deprived of their rights and exploited, profited the least of all from the treasures of its land. Although Upper Hungary was rich in raw materials, they were processed outside of the country. The Hungarians, who, for entire millennia, considered Slovakia to be a peripheral without rights and also treated it as such, carried their superiority so far that, until the end of their hegemony over Slovakia, they only referred to the Slovak people with the pejorative term of "tot." (This word is of Turkish origin and means subject or serf, one without rights.) But even this was not enough for them in their contacts with the Slovaks; they further expanded the pejorative nature of this designation by talking of "butatots"—stupid people without rights. In Hungarian historical writings, the cultural and civilizational superiority of the Magyars over the Slovaks was accentuated—and here and there the same thing is happening even today—without regard to the fact that, as a nomadic equestrian people they conquered and brutally disrupted and oppressed this blossoming realm which was at the pinnacle of European civilization at that time. The haughtiness of Hungarian nationalism did not pause in the face of any falsification of history, nor even in the face of the fact that the Hungarians considered the Great Moravian Empire to be nonexistent and, to the extent to which they admitted its existence at all, they located it only in the watershed of the south Slavonic Morava River. And they did so totally ignoring the fact that the majority of the Hungarian appellations for objects and tools which are necessary in the construction of houses or in agriculture are of Slovak origin to this day and of German origin when it comes to the artisan trades.

Hungarian chauvinist politicians of the last century denied the right to national self-determination not only to the Slovak people, but also to the minority nationalities. They dreamed of a nation of 30 million Magyars and did everything to achieve this goal through brutal magyarization. To admit to being part of the Slovak society in the 19th century was a risky proposition; it was even dangerous. Formerly Slovak names of towns, villages, and regions were magyarized, Hungarian was the exclusive official language, and even shingles bearing the titles of businesses and workshops had to be in the Hungarian language. Anyone who dared do so in the Slovak language risked the loss of his artisan license. There were no Slovak schools, no cultural institutions, no political, cultural, or economic representation, no Slovak press worthy of mention, no right of assembly, virtually no opportunity to educate a Slovak intelligentsia; and what for, after all, in expressing interest in holding public office of any kind, the applicant was obliged to declare that he was a member of the Hungarian people.

Only some clerics, some poets, and only a few scientists dared nurture the ever more modestly flickering flame of Slovak consciousness with rebel patriotism. Rebel, indicting, beautiful popular songs—there are some

10,000 of them in Slovak folklore—literature as well as preachments by parish priests tended to maintain the constantly threatened national consciousness with difficulty. The world knew nothing of this drama, and how should it because not even the concept of Slovakia had penetrated into its consciousness. Instead of being called "Upper Hungary," Slovakia was designated by West Europe with angelic ignorance as Bohemia.

Toward the end of the 19th century, matters had progressed to the point where the teaching language in elementary schools was exclusively Hungarian, which was also the customarily spoken language of the middle class and, according to statistics, there were not quite 3,000 daring men with an academic education who dared say that they were Slovaks. The decline of a European nation appeared to be at hand. Hypothetically—if the dissolution of the Austrian Empire had not occurred—a contiguous Slovak language area would not exist today, some 63 years after the separation of the Slovaks from Greater Hungary; the Slovaks would have declined to the level of a disappearing minority. The remains of the Slovak people would have become the Kurds of Europe. And this is more than just mere conjecture.

The remaining Hungary retained a strong Slovak majority, the number of its members was estimated to be 300,000. In the course of six decades, this minority then virtually completely disappeared. Today, not more than 10,000 Slovaks live in Hungary; the majority were magyarized.

For purposes of comparison: The south of Slovakia is populated by strong Hungarian minorities, there are also mixed regions here, but also communities which are virtually exclusively Hungarian. According to the most recent population census, 500,000 Hungarians live in Czechoslovakia. This number is growing, their cultural institutions, their basic and middle schools, specialized schools, journals, publishing activities, theaters, folklore, music, and amateur groups are receiving excessive generous support from the state and are being subsidized, even today, after the velvet revolution, when Slovak journals and cultural facilities must fight for their existence without state support. The subsidizing of Hungarian educational and cultural organizations continues, even in the knowledge that in the coming system of the market economy they would have no opportunity for survival. The Hungarian minority is adequately well-represented in the Slovak and federal parliament so as to be able to protect the rights of its Hungarian voters, the majority of the communities in the regions of southern Slovakia, which are populated by Hungarians, are led and administered by newly elected Hungarian mayors and community elders, not only in communities where Hungarians are in the majority. Certainly, everything is not going without friction, nationality-sponsored tensions are coming into being which extend as far as separatist tendencies, but, in general, Slovaks and Hungarians are living side by side in peace in southern Slovakia. It frequently happens that Slovak voters give

their votes to a Hungarian candidate for mayor—and vice versa. People already know each other, they respect and tolerate each other's problems and the positions of the other person. If such tolerance had existed in the opposite direction—purely hypothetically—it would not have been necessary to break up the state formation of the Hapsburg Empire.

The shortsightedness of the Viennese and Budapest policy, the inability to change the structure of the state from the nationalities standpoint, on the basis of equality among equals, had to naturally lead to the total breaking away from the original multinational state. From the Slovak viewpoint, the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic, the splitting off from the Hungarian Crown, was the only and last chance for survival.

This separation did not occur without tension. As a result of it, the Hungarians lost—not only in Slovakia—important territories populated by non-Hungarian nationalities which they had held, oppressed, and exploited for centuries. For a long time, they did not want to come to terms with this (to this day, they are not completely reconciled to it). In 1919, the Red Guard of Bela Kun attacked Slovakia, penetrated deep into Slovak territory with the intention of reclaiming this land. After the Munich Accords, in agreement with Hitler, Budapest annexed the territory of southern Slovakia populated by Hungarians for the duration of the war—but they also annexed areas where Slovaks were in the majority. The Hungarians then brutally expelled those Slovaks who refused to become part of the Hungarian nation from these areas.

After World War II, the attempt to exchange the Hungarian minority for Slovaks living in Hungary failed in southern Slovakia. This campaign was unjustly dubbed "reslovakization." It, more likely, reflected the ambitions of revanchism. For a brief period, Hungarians who had remained in Slovakia lost some civil rights, the pendulum swung in the opposite direction, Slovaks fell prey to nationalism and gave themselves over to revenge against the "1,000-year enemy." For several years, there were no Hungarian schools, Hungarian names of communities were "slovakicized" in a relatively clumsy manner, and people in the south of Slovakia behaved toward those Hungarians who remained there in a manner similar to the manner in which the Hungarians had behaved toward the Slovak nation.

It is interesting that it was precisely the victory of the Communists in both countries which led to settling down things on the south Slovak border. On both sides, people began practicing "proletarian internationalism." This was one of the few positive factors which communism contributed to both nations. Chauvinist hatred on both sides gave way to the recognition of political reality. People understood the necessity of getting along together as best as possible.

We are seeing the first attempts to critically examine the 1,000-year history of both nations, the contemptible

appellation of "tot" gave way to a tolerance for the existence of the Slovak people, national extremism on both sides is limited only to a nonrepresentative minority. We are neighbors, we should and must attempt to cultivate and create mutual relationships by civilized methods. Naturally, tensions exist and will continue to exist, but they can be mastered through sensible policies and tolerant conduct. No great love rules here, and why should it after such inauspicious historical experiences, people still do not completely trust each other, but bilateral hatred, fanned by extreme nationalism, has given way to bipolar respect and tolerance. Today, no one among the Hungarians would dare to claim out loud that the "tots" originate from hogs, as it was stated even in the Hungarian parliament during the last century. And, similarly, Slovak schools are no longer disseminating the disgraceful antithesis that the Hungarians are "tenderizing" raw meat under the saddles of their horses.... There is less emotional activity, and more substantial activity....

After separation from the Hungarian crown, the Slovaks were at year zero: Everything which was undertaken, which had to be undertaken in order for the people to be raised up a little and in order for a modern nation to be established, was new, something which had never been there before. With the exception of the "Slovak Cultural Fund," the activities of which the Budapest government had prohibited during the last century, with the exception of this singular cultural institution which was established as a protective bulwark against brutal magyarization, and with the exception of a surprisingly mature literature, there was nothing here. No schools, no theaters, no teachers, no policemen, no officialdom, not even any basic infrastructure. Agriculture was neglected, industry, no matter how modest, was in crisis.

At the beginning of all these things, there stood the Czechs. For the most part, there were Czech volunteers, soldiers and officers of exile armies, made up of deserters, members of the Sokol militant combat organization, who paid a high tax in blood in the fight to expel the red hordes of Bela Kun, in other words, for the definitive liberation of Slovakia. It was Czech middle school professors as well as those at the newly established university who significantly participated in the beginning of educating the Slovak intelligentsia. It was Czech technicians, directors, businessmen, gendarmes, administrative officials, judges, artists, actors, who assisted in creating the modern Slovakia. Of course, everything would have occurred even without their assistance, but it would have taken a lot of extra time. And that is one thing of which this backward country did not have enough in all respects.

It did not all go smoothly. Czech nationalists were looking at Slovakia from above and also handled them that way. Prague regarded Slovakia as a type of colony, saw the opportunity for expanding its economic opportunities and its markets, saw it as part of a larger state territory and an expanded influence not only within the state itself.

Many Czechs resisted considering the Slovaks as equals, as a nation with equal rights. Among politicians, there even existed an expanded tendency to fail to afford the Slovaks even the right to self-determination. Slovaks were allegedly simply not a nation, but a differently speaking offshoot of a Greater Bohemian tribe, a country and a people without history with whom it is necessary to deal with understanding and with increased tolerance. In all of this, the Czechs took on the role of an older, more experienced noncertifiable brother. There was not much that linked both of these nations historically. The Czechs were exposed to the strong influence of the Germans, surrounded by the German element they frequently had to assert themselves again and again under very difficult circumstances so as not to be subjugated. The Slovaks had lived in 1,000 years of bondage under the Magyars. For the last 400 years, there had existed close ties between the Czechs and Slovaks, between two nations quaking in fear of their nationality and fighting for it, but virtually exclusively only on the cultural level. And this level was not sufficiently strong to bring both nations, the Slovaks more than the Czechs, toward a common approach and toward unification, with the goal of changing their sad conditions. Bohemia and Moravia were industrially and economically the most developed territories of the monarchy; Slovakia, in contrast, was the most backward over the past two centuries. The religious bigotry of Slovak Catholicism had to collide with the religious halfheartedness and indifference of the Czechs, who had been brought back to this faith by force. Soon, tensions of the most varied kinds grew. The Slovaks had the feeling that Prague was ordering them about, they, therefore, perceived their dream of self-determination to be incomplete and even as unfulfilled. Their vacillation between national superiority and a feeling of inferiority of a small people, virtually not respected by the world, had to lead to the alienation of both national entities. The Czechs criticized the Slovaks for being ungrateful; the Slovaks criticized the Czechs for failing to keep their word and for insulting behavior. The call for cultural, economic, and political autonomy for Slovakia, as it was contained in the Pittsburgh Agreement between the Czech and Slovak representation in exile, fell on deaf ears in Prague. According to Prague, the Slovaks were not yet sufficiently "ripe" to formulate and handle their own affairs.

That which, in the beginning, was considered and recognized by the Slovak side as being assistance, turned out, over the course of time, to be an impediment to Slovak national efforts. Tens of thousands of Czechs—specialists, intellectuals, teachers—created new careers for themselves in Slovakia and even found a new country there. But the dynamic growth of the Slovak intelligentsia, supported precisely by the Czechs, created a situation in which this assistance became ever more superfluous. After a mere 10 years of joint operations, Slovak professors, advanced school teachers, technicians, judicial officials, artists, academicians of all persuasions were operating on their own. At the time of the great worldwide economic depression, they stood with their

diplomas confronting the question as to where they could assert their specialized knowledge. Czechs, who had, in the meantime, established themselves in many offices and sectors, stood in the way of Slovak academicians and specialists trying to establish their existence. But what should the Czechs, who had, in the meantime, felt themselves to be at home in Slovakia, do otherwise? Where should they go? Back to Bohemia where they were condemned to a life without an existence? And what was to become then of the new Slovak specialized intelligentsia, which was the first educated in so many areas? What was it to do with its diplomas and degrees and its knowledge if all jobs for which it was striving were still encumbered for a long period of time? On the Slovak side, a national radicalism began to grow; not always justified, but also with justification. Matters did not yet progress to the point where there were calls for "away from Prague," people were, for the time being, only striving to get the administration and the development of the country into their own hands.

With the dynamic increase in the intellectual potential, there occurred also a frequently exaggerated self-awareness among the Slovaks. They would, it was alleged, manage even without the guardianship of their older brother, they would become a modern nation capable of existing. There were no thanks for the commitment on the part of the fraternal nation, it had to yield to the rejected perception of being the one to order people around—which was not always just.

The crisis which led to the disaster came from outside. Following Prague's capitulation to the Munich dictate and following the annexation of the Sudetenland by Hitler, there occurred the so-called arbitration which resulted in the annexation of the region of southern Slovakia inhabited by the Hungarian minority to Hungary. The Slovaks perceived this amputation to be treason committed by the Czechs. The slogan "Away From Prague," which was benevolently supported by Hitler, who wanted to swallow up Bohemia and Moravia, became explosive. In actual fact, Slovak nationalist extremists turned to Hitler several times in their efforts to gain independence, not sensing in their political limitations and inexperience that they were thus actively contributing to the outbreak of the catastrophic World War II. Hitler heard their "call for assistance" with great pleasure; among other factors, he justified the annexation of Bohemia by referring to the calls of the Slovaks for self-determination. He alleged that he could not tolerate any focus of unrest on the borders of his Greater German Empire.

The euphoria experienced by the Slovaks over the fulfillment of the dream of a sovereign Slovak state was virtually complete. It passed and the circumstances under which this occurred were forgotten. Slovakia, the Slovak state, was transformed into a fascist state formation with all of the attributes which accompany this characterization. A Catholic-fascist party, a leader who was approved by parliament, a Jewish code fashioned in the image of the Nuremberg racist laws, which resulted

in the virtual wiping out of Judaism in Slovakia, the active participation of Slovak units in the Hitler campaign against Poland and later in the assault on the Soviet Union, the persecution of liberals, the persecution of people pursuing different ideals, of Gypsies, of the Ukrainian minority in the eastern part of the country, the espousal of Hitler's national socialism, the creation of paramilitary party units according to the example of the SS—all of this was part and parcel of the fascist ideological values and fascist practices. With its active participation in Hitler's war and as a result of its many crimes against humanity, the Slovak state exposed itself to the danger that, after the war, it would be counted among the defeated nations. The fact that this did not occur, in the final analysis, is necessarily thanks to not only the incursions of the victorious powers, but, primarily, on account of the Soviet Union.

Stalin perceived the renewal of Czechoslovakia as an opportunity to expand the sphere of his influence all the way to the Czech-German border. Toward this end, he needed a common border with Bohemia and Moravia, something with which the territory of Slovakia interfered. Consequently, obviously for this reason, Stalin strictly rejected all separatist efforts on the part of Slovak antifascists. Because he saw no opportunity to annex Slovakia—although Slovak antifascists had such desires and plans—he elected to follow this indirect path to get under the skin of West Europe. And this was done even in agreement with the notions of the Western allies, who had proclaimed their goal the restoration of borders as they had been prior to the accession of Hitler to power.

And there was yet another reason why Slovakia, as a faithful and even the most faithful of Hitler's allies to the end, managed to get out of this situation without suffering any harm: This was the attitude of the Slovaks themselves. After the emotion-loaded euphoria over the establishment of the first Slovak state in history (the Greater Moravian Empire could be counted as such only conditionally), the Slovaks soon recognized that this could be a way to extinction. Disillusionment hit the same portion of the population which, several years earlier, had welcomed the Slovak state with songs of praise. Antifascist movements—and there were several right away—began to be active even in the military sense in Slovakia very soon, several months after the assault on the Soviet Union. As early as 1942, the first partisan groups came into being, and what is peculiar is that they were in the western part of Slovakia. The partisan movement, the rapidly increasing popularity of the Communist Party, the dissatisfaction on the part of the Army with the policy of the government—all of this led to the outbreak of the popular insurrection, the organizers of which included Communists, partisans, and the leadership of the Army. For two months, the insurrection armies resisted the Germans. It was a spontaneous insurrection against Slovak clerico-fascism (all power in the country was vested in the hands of the Catholic Church and its representatives, the president of the state was Father Tiso, clerics had the principal roles in the

Council of State and in the parliament), against the German occupiers (who began to show up in the country only after the insurrection began), and for the restoration of the Czechoslovak Republic. Through this insurrection and through its fight for these values, the Slovak people more than adequately demonstrated their political maturity, their moral restoration, and their democratic awareness. It is necessary to realize that Slovakia did not directly experience war; on the contrary, it profited from the war: The economy prospered, in Hitler's power sphere there was hardly another nation where war had a more positive effect, even on the standard of living, foreign trade was lively, and the economic and even the cultural infrastructure showed progress. In their calls for a sovereign Slovak state, today's Slovak separatists harken back particularly to this boom period, while they forget the fact that this was precisely a wartime boom period and that, under different circumstances, Slovakia would have to pay dearly for its wartime well-being, for political and military-strategic reasons.

The insurrection, which even the allies considered to be an insurrection in support of Czechoslovakia, led to a special position for the victors over the Slovak fascist state. The case of Slovakia was separated out from the postwar conferences of the victorious powers. This state, which, after all, maintained diplomatic relations with many nations of the world, including the Soviet Union, was treated as though it did not exist; only Hitler-occupied Czechoslovakia existed. This led to the paradox that even the representatives of the Slovak people had their place at the table of the victors as members of a delegation of the restored Republic of Czechoslovakia.

The Slovaks, for whom the insurrection added a sense of self-awareness, expected the renewed state to balance their prestige vis-a-vis the Czechs, they demanded guarantees that they would be given the status of a part of the joint republic with equal rights. Instead, communist leader Gottwald—Bohemia was still occupied by the Germans at this time—promised the Slovak people a "Magna Charta."

And so, here was that superiority of the Czechs vis-a-vis the younger brother again, a younger brother who was not considered to have his own rights. Not equal rights, but a "Magna Charta"—which in straight talk meant: Prague will govern from Prague. A government subordinated to the Prague state and party leadership was to be dependent upon the benevolence of a centralistic government. And this is exactly what happened.

While the Communists emerged from the elections in Bohemia and in Moravia as the strongest political party, the Communist Party suffered a stunning defeat in Slovakia; the democratic bloc amassed virtually a two-thirds majority of the votes—in other words, communism here was clearly rejected.

February 1948 is evaluated today—on the basis of imprecise knowledge—as a communist coup. However, that was not the case; the Communists did not formally

violate the constitutional path to all power. The transfer of power took place by peaceful means, sanctioned by the president of the state, who confirmed Gottwald in his office. The Slovak political representation was condemned to play the socialist role of an extra during the fundamental structural changes involving the state in a republic governed by communist totalitarianism. The Slovak political representation—which, after 1948, was purely communist—was demoted to a group of order-takers and mindless yes-men. To the extent to which it then did not fit into the image of the class-conscious revolutionaries, it was liquidated, it was sentenced to long jail terms in the political monster trials, it was replaced by unqualified blockheads and even psychopaths—both terms were chosen after careful consideration. Slovakia again lived with the past of foreign rule. The totalitarian terror was first tested in Slovakia; the first political trials were held in Bratislava and it was precisely here that the first judicial murders took place. The result was—fear. Fear is what the rulers of both nations relied on; fear is what was used to strengthen and expand their power positions. Both nations will long feel the consequences of these dim years of insanity; moral disorganization was total.

But, nevertheless, it was Slovaks, intellectuals, for the most part Communists, who were the first to begin resisting the illegal outrages. At first, hesitatingly and unspecifically, subsequently ever more openly and brashly. Around the weekly KULTURNY ZIVOT, there formed a group of publicists and authors, willing to undertake risk, who ever more specifically pilloried the corrupted conditions in the country. They hammered away at the ossified structures of dogmatic totalitarianism, they demanded the complete democratization of political and public life, they criticized the arbitrariness of the party leadership, and revived old slogans regarding equal rights for both nations. They wanted more than autonomy; they were aiming at the transformation of the state into a federal republic. A dispute developed between intellectuals regarding the priority of restructuring. What was more important—democratization which should also deal with the question of federalization or federalization under conditions of the continued sufferance of the communist totalitarian power? And, one way or another, this “second Slovak insurrection” became the advance guard of the Prague Spring, the program for which contained even full constitutionally guaranteed federalization. The end of the dream came suddenly, one August night, when the sovereign state was overwhelmed by Soviet tanks. The federation of two nations with equal rights was preserved on paper, but did not emerge in practice. Under the totalitarian power conditions, when the legislator can simultaneously become a violator of laws without punishment, this is not even possible.

What is special and peculiar is the fact that the federalization of the state satisfied and pacified the Slovaks in their political efforts. After all, they had a state president, a collaborator with the Soviet occupying forces,

Gustav Husak. This time, the flame of rebellion was kindled in Prague. The passive resistance on the part of the population as well as the active resistance by numerous dissidents and by Charter 77 met only with a little response in Slovakia. And so it happened that the velvet revolution surprised the unprepared Slovaks and that, as was the case frequently before, they became the objects of history rushing through the country. Decisions were being made in Prague and Bratislava only limped into the picture after the decision was taken. And all this happened virtually without any concept.

Here lie the roots of the most recent conflicts between both nations. The slogan “Away From Prague” has again been dusted off by a nonrepresentative, but highly vocal minority of populists and political careerists. Negotiations concerning the new spirit and a new form of the federation are occurring in an atmosphere of unusual difficulty and, in part, also in an atmosphere of risk. The silent majority in the Czech Lands as well as in Slovakia is balancing between two fears in opposition to partition—the old fear has not yet been overcome, and the new fear in the immediate future looms as an unavoidable hardship, is omnipresent, and is manifested in the paralysis of public commitment and civic initiative. This attitude will hardly be of service to the absolutely essential stability required by the new democracy. Lagging behind events, be they in the joint federal state arrangement or within the framework of the slogan “Away From Prague,” on the part of Slovaks constitutes a threat in that, under certain circumstances, it can be of long duration.

But, nevertheless, the world has discovered a hitherto unknown country. The speeches of the political marketers in Bratislava have passed through the world, through the medium of television.

P.S. I recently read in the Vienna daily KURIER of the honors accorded the opposition “Czech” cleric—today’s Bishop Korec. Korec is a Slovak.

Lowest Customs Duties in Central Europe

AU1207171591 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY
in Czech 9 Jul 91 pp 1, 3

[Report by Marcela Doleckova: “One State Equals One Customs Policy; A New Customs Tariff As of 1 January 1992”]

[Excerpts] At the time when foreign exchange used to be allocated (or not allocated) to enterprises, customs charges did not play a role. The situation today is diametrically different. Customs charges have become an economic instrument just like in other advanced countries. This was the topic of our interview with Dr. Jiri Hronovsky, director of the Central Customs Administration.

The average rate of customs duty in Czechoslovakia is a mere 5 percent, compared with about 13 percent in Hungary and 11 percent in Poland, said Dr. Hronovsky

to illustrate Czechoslovakia's "customs" position in relation to our neighboring countries.

Yet customs duties cannot be raised through a one-sided step, if for no other reason than because Czechoslovakia is a member of GATT. [passage omitted] On the other hand, this does not mean that the customs tariff can remain as it is. [passage omitted] A new customs tariff is being drawn up, which the Federal Government will discuss toward the end of September. [passage omitted]

Asked about the increase of customs duties in the new customs tariff, which will go into force on 1 January 1992, Director Hronovsky said that the average rate of customs duty will not substantially change—the customs duty will be reduced for some items and increased for others. Director Hronovsky did not specify which types of goods in which individual categories will be affected because the whole matter is being discussed in nine special commissions that comprise not only government officials but also representatives of manufacturers. These commissions will present their final proposals by the end of July, which will then be submitted to the Federal Government for approval.

However, the customs tariff determines only the rates of customs duty, and only on the basis of these are the customs charges being calculated. The method of prescribing customs is set forth in the customs law. This law is to be revised in the course of the first half of next year so that it is compatible with Czechoslovakia's association agreement with the EC currently under preparation. The revised law should come into effect on 1 January 1993.

Director Hronovsky vigorously emphasized that issuing the customs tariff is within the exclusive jurisdiction of the federation. In his opinion, the issuing of republican tariffs must on no account be permitted because it is necessary to proceed from the principle of a single customs territory and single customs borders (identical with the borders of the CSFR) and from obligations toward GATT, which were not undertaken by Slovakia or by the Czech Republic but by Czechoslovakia. A single market economy can only have a single customs policy, which is part and parcel of the state's global foreign trade policy.

Concerns Over Danube Dam Gabčíkovo Persist

91WN0542A Vienna DIE PRESSE in German
10 Jun 91 p 18

[Article by Charlotte Grabner: "Will Schuett Island Become a Desert?—Concerns About Gabčíkovo"]

[Text] Bratislava—Margita Vrabelova is angry: Her young fruit trees have withered. The old trees survived and she was able to plant vegetables only thanks to the rains in May. For months Vrabelova, who is retired, was without water in her house and garden. The well had gone dry.

Vrabelova is convinced that "Gabčíkovo is to blame for this." She points to the dusty village street where the walnut trees were recently cut down. "Those were tall trees; they all died," she says.

More than one-third of the population of Schuett Island in the immediate vicinity of the Gabčíkovo dam get their water from their own wells. The one billion cubic meter ground water lake used to take good care of their needs. The water supply is not only getting shorter; water quality is also falling off due to pollution. Over the past two or three years the ground water level has been going down continuously. The inhabitants of Dunajská Lužná have already had to dig their wells four to six meters deeper. If the water level should continue to drop at the present rate, the region will soon become a disaster area.

The geologists of the Slovak environmental association predicted two years ago that at least 36,000 hectares would dry out. The dam strangles the rivulets; it keeps the inland delate from overflowing periodically; the marshland soil is devastated as a result.

At Hrusov, where the huge reservoir bulges out, only a few large tree stumps are left to remind one of the wetlands. Thousands of tall wetland trees were cut down; they can no longer draw and store the Danube's waters and regulate the climate. Now, in early June, the sun beats down mercilessly on the farmlands. Due to the lack of water harvests are getting smaller every passing year. But it is not only the flora which is suffering; many buildings in the vicinity of the dam have cracks or have become lopsided.

In February, the mayors and community leaders on Schuett Island addressed a petition to the Slovak government, asking that the Gabčíkovo project be dropped and that they be compensated for the losses already incurred. When construction began during the Husak era, no one cared about the views of the communities concerned. Now the mayors are manning the barricades and asking for money. Particularly clever ones among them are trying to use the despised power plant as a source of cash to be used to fill their town coffers.

The "velvet revolution" has not upset the Hydroconsult and Hydrostav power plant builders in the least. The mayors who are vociferously calling for a cancellation of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian agreement are merely doing so "at the instigation of Hungarian parliamentarians," it is said. In any event, Hungary has decided to tear down Nagymaros, the half-finished "twin" of Gabčíkovo.

The town elder of Dunajská Lužná scratches his head. Yes, he says, the soil has gone dry. Does Gabčíkovo have something to do with it? He tells us to speak to "village ecologist" Maria Kozova who knows what those living next to the power plant are thinking. The commuters who take the bus to Bratislava to get to work are grumbling. "Intuitively, everyone is against it." But the media only talk about the advantages such as potection

against flooding and about the money that would be lost if construction were halted. "The people are completely confused," Kozova says.

Our Skoda is bumping along the dirt road that leads to the dam. Total chaos reigns in the area to be inundated by the waters of the dam: there are puddles, craters, huge tree stumps, rock piles and mountains of sand. There is no sign of the Danube. Faroff somewhere, in the west, it is said to be flowing—still.

The experts on both sides of the Danube are arguing about the best possible solution to the dilemma. The construction costs already amount to almost 20 billion crowns; 4,600 hectares of wetlands and meadows have already been sacrificed. The choice is between seven different plans.

The Slovak government is in favor of "variation C." Gabcikovo must make do without Nagymaros; the Danube which forms the border at this point is rerouted onto Slovak territory. Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky is confronted with a dilemma for family reasons as well. His brother Ivan, the chairman of the Christian Democratic Party [KDH], also happens to be the director of Hydrostav. And according to Maria Kozova, Ivan "laughs" about the efforts of the environmentalists to save the last remaining biotope of the inland delta.

Kozova and her colleagues at the academy of sciences are not taken with "variation C" at all. They are in favor of "variation D," i.e., complete Gabcikovo without Nagymaros; reduce the size of the Hrusov reservoir and reactivate the wetlands. "That would restore prior conditions in 20 or 30 years—if we manage to find enough money." The primary goal is to prevent the destruction of the wetland biotope along the feeder canal which has been classified as "valuable" and "unique." Only a limited amount of water would be rerouted to the feeder canal so that the Danube would still be able to nourish the vegetation.

Kozova calls the environmentalists' demand to blow up the 17-kilometer canal "unrealistic." What would one do with the thousands of tons of dirt and where would one get the compost to recultivate the area?

Peter Tatar, a representative of the Greens in parliament, says the Soviet Union has started to blow up similar reservoirs which were 80 percent filled with mud and thus unusable. Years ago, Soviet experts came to Slovakia to see how the Slovaks proposed to solve this problem.

We are standing atop the wall of the reservoir near Samorin. Anton Uhnak remembers the old people crying when the bulldozers mowed down the wetland forest.

Committee Notes Crime Rate 'Skyrocketing'

LD1207082191 Prague CTK in English 2137 GMT
11 Jul 91

[Text] Prague July 11 (CTK)—Noting a 70-percent increase in the number of crimes committed in Czechoslovakia in 1990 compared with 1989, the Czechoslovak Helsinki Committee said today the skyrocketing crime rate since the November 1989 revolution is not just a passing phenomenon but is here to stay.

In an extensive report entitled "Citizens' Right to Security in a Lawful State," the committee presents an analysis of the present crime wave and possible ways of reversing the trend.

The sharpest rise was registered in burglaries, which grew 305 percent in 1990 over 1989 (389 percent in the Czech Republic, 176 percent in Slovakia). In Prague alone 1,219 burglaries were committed in 1990, a 538-percent increase over the previous year.

Rape also increased: 56 percent in Czechoslovakia as a whole, 63 percent in the Czech Republic, 24 percent in Slovakia and 97 percent in Prague.

The first half of 1990 saw a steep jump in the murder rate, 70 percent more than in 1989, with a slight decline in the second half. The federal capital of Prague experienced a 121-percent rise in murders in the last six months of last year.

In seeking reasons for the growth in criminality, the Helsinki Committee notes the breakdown of public morality under the former communist regime, the dissolution of state mechanisms and institutions of control—especially the weakened role of the police—and the rise in social uncertainty since November 1989.

Many young people have lost a firm value system and are suffering from a lack of established authority, the report says. As a result, they create their own pseudo-morality, accompanied by crime in the case of skinheads and some punks. Another source of crime cited by the committee is "imported" and organized by professionals.

They also note a dangerous trend of citizens taking the law into their own hands and protecting themselves with firearms.

Recommendations made by the committee include debate of the problem in the federal and republic parliaments, and the creation of interdepartmental crime prevention councils or committees in all three governments, as well as in towns where public safety is most threatened.

Population Up 1.9 Percent Over Last Decade

AU0507111191 Prague CTK in English 1803 GMT
3 Jul 91

[Text] Prague July 3 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia's population rose 1.9 percent since 1980, to 15,567,666 as of

March 3, 1991, the Federal Office of Statistics told journalists today.

While the Czech Republic, with a population of 10,298,731, registered an increase of 0.1 percent, the rise in Slovakia, with a population of 5,268,935, was 5.6 percent, or one-half the increase in the 1970-80 period.

According to the preliminary results of the March census, women make up 51.3 percent of the population, and economically active people total 7,758,785 (49.8 percent). Nearly three million people (19.1 percent) are of post-productive age (men over 60 and women over 55).

Eleven nationalities were listed, most of which had not been named in previous censuses, including Moravian, Silesian, Ukrainian, Ruthenian, and Romany. A question on religious affiliation appeared for the first time since the 1950 census.

8,426,070 people declared Czech nationality (54.1 percent), 4,819,948 Slovak nationality (31 percent), while 8.7 percent declared Moravian nationality. One percent of Czechs (53,422) live in Slovakia and three percent Slovaks (308,269) live in the Czech Republic. Only about a quarter of the population of Moravia, a historical region within the Czech Republic, declared themselves Moravians (1,360,155 out of 4,010,000).

While representatives of Romany (Gypsy) organizations claim there are 720,000 Romanies in Czechoslovakia and the official federal estimate is 400,000, only 114,116 people declared Romany nationality, forming 0.7 percent of the population. Most Romanies thus declared Slovak, Czech or Hungarian nationality. According to the census, Hungarians form the largest ethnic minority group with a total of 586,884 people (3.8 percent of the Czechoslovak population).

A total of 7,217,921 people (46.4 percent) said they were Roman Catholic, and 4,598,810 (29.5 percent) were nonbelievers. While there were 4,087,625 (40 percent) nonbelievers in the Czech Republic, in Slovakia there were only 511,185 (9.7 percent).

[Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 4 July on page 2, under the headline "Czechoslovaks Do Not Live Here," carries a 400-word report on the census results. It includes the following table:

Population by Nationality as of 3 March 1991		
Czech and Slovak Federal Republic		
Nationality	Total	Percentage
Czech	8,426,070	54.1
Slovak	4,819,948	31
Moravian	1,360,155	8.7
Silesian	45,223	0.3
Hungarian	586,884	3.8

**Population by Nationality as of 3 March 1991
(Continued)**

Czech and Slovak Federal Republic		
Nationality	Total	Percentage
Romany	114,116	0.7
Polish	61,542	0.4
German	53,418	0.3
Ruthenian	18,648	0.1
Ukrainian	20,654	0.1
Russian	5,930	0.0
Other	24,306	0.3
Not established	30,772	0.2
Total	15,567,666	100.0
Czech Republic		
Nationality	Total	Percentage
Czech	8,372,648	81.3
Slovak	308,269	3.0
Moravian	1,356,267	13.2
Silesian	44,025	0.4
Hungarian	20,143	0.2
Romany	33,489	0.3
Polish	58,573	0.6
German	47,789	0.5
Ruthenian	1,711	0.0
Ukrainian	6,807	0.1
Russian	4,306	0.0
Other	19,245	0.2
Not established	25,459	0.2
Total	10,298,731	100.0
Slovak Republic		
Nationality	Total	Percentage
Czech	53,422	1.0
Slovak	4,511,679	85.6
Moravian	3,888	0.1
Silesian	1,198	0.0
Hungarian	566,741	10.8
Romany	80,627	1.5
Polish	2,969	0.0
German	5,629	0.1
Ruthenian	16,937	0.3
Ukrainian	13,847	0.3
Russian	1,624	0.0
Other	5,061	0.2
Not established	5,313	0.1
Total	5,268,935	100.0]

Prime Minister Antall Previews G-7 Summit

*LD1407165391 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 0630 GMT 14 Jul 91*

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by correspondent Jozsef P. Szabo; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Szabo] What does the prime minister of the Hungarian Republic think of the London summit? What does the Hungarian Republic expect from the G-7 summit?

[Antall] This London summit will indeed deal with the internal problems of the Soviet Union; the kind of assistance it can provide to the Soviet Union. Further, and this is a new element of the diplomatic and political talks of the past few weeks, the assistance it can provide to the entire East-Central European region, including the three participants of the Visegrad summit, and Hungary, too, of course.

I think the claims that the Soviet Union has submitted have been overly optimistic. The London summit will probably provide help to the Soviet Union. They will possibly be guaranteed credit conditions and other factors to facilitate investment. It is possible that it will mean the financing of certain projects. However, in order to get real and substantial aid, the Soviet Union should provide guarantees to the West, to the leading seven countries, that it is really going toward a market economy, that money will not just be put in a bag with holes in it, but that an appropriate structural change will follow the development of the next period.

It is clear that from the political point of view this means the reassurances by President Gorbachev that they want to continue the process he has started. The destabilization of the Soviet Union, or the entire region, worries the West. The purpose of Hungarian policy, Hungarian diplomacy, in accord with other East-Central European countries, is that assistance to the Soviet Union cannot take place at the expense of these countries. To make it simple, this means that Western exports are connected with Western credit support. It is obvious that we, and these countries, cannot immediately provide credit support to their exports. Therefore, inappropriate support for the Soviet Union would be misdirected and unjust for this region, especially because the Soviet Union owes Hungary \$ 1.5 million.

We did not oppose President Gorbachev's semiofficial invitation, since he was formally invited by British Prime Minister Major, and, thus, he is not a participant of the G-7 but a guest of the British Government. He will meet the participants at the G-7. I think, from the Hungarian point of view, we are concerned that the Soviet Union receives support in order to be able to pay its foreign trade debts, to place order and to purchase as much as possible from this region. If it happens, we will consider the G-7 summit in London a success. I am certain that they will work out certain arrangements,

they will lay down certain principles, they will provide some guidelines. Such a meeting between a head of state and a head of government, however, means the definition of a political, economic-political strategy, first of all, and it will outline connected problems. This will require more talks and further solutions in the future.

SZDSZ Supports Government's Foreign Policy

*LD1107140391 Budapest MTI in English 1251 GMT
11 Jul 91*

[Text] Budapest, 11 July (MTI)—The opposition Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) approves of the government's position concerning the Yugoslav crisis but it warns of making ambiguous statements. In the SZDSZ's view, the government has to state explicitly that it accepts the present borders of Hungary as they are, a resolution forwarded by the SZDSZ Executive Board to MTI says.

The SZDSZ approves of the Hungarian Government voting for a settlement of the Yugoslav conflict to be realized by the republics themselves through negotiations, rejecting all forms of violence and threats. As one way for settling the conflict, we are supporting the idea according to which Yugoslavia would become a confederation of sovereign republics, providing guarantees for the rights of minorities as well.

However, if the government backs the idea of such a transformation, it is to beware of making any ambiguous statements that could make our neighbours think that Hungary wants to use the Yugoslav crisis in order to raise territorial claims. Therefore, in our opinion, the Hungarian prime minister has made a misplaced remark when he said to the Italian president that the Trianon and Paris peace treaties settling the status of the Vojvodina had been concluded not with Serbia but with the Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian monarchy and Yugoslavia.

The international prestige of the Republic of Hungary is endangered by statements like that made by the president of the Independent Smallholders Party (FKP), who openly called for the revision of the peace treaties. The FKP being a part of the governing coalition, the government must officially reject such statements before Hungary gets involved in undesirable international conflicts.

It is a moral obligation and a right stemming from international conventions of Hungary to protect the human and minority rights of Hungarians beyond its borders. The country, however, can only fulfil its obligation if it firmly states that it accepts the present borders of Hungary as they are. Toying with the idea of revising the borders may put the minorities in danger and threatens Hungary with becoming isolated from the democratic community of Europe, the SZDSZ statement says.

MDF Rejects Proposal on New Six-Party Talks*LD1307194591 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1400 GMT 13 Jul 91*

[Text] The national leadership of the Hungarian Democratic Forum rejects the proposal that basic economic policy questions should be discussed at the six-party talks. The statement issued after the closed session of the board today justifies this by saying that the National Assembly has already passed the basic laws on compensation, church property, and self-government assets. The parliament has already decided on the staging of the World Expo. The government has discussed the agricultural policy concept. Therefore, the national board of the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] does not see a possibility for new six-party talks with the aim of a comprehensive agreement. The talks could lead to such results as if a great coalition government was being formed, but the three-party coalition is responsible exclusively.

Another statement by the MDF holds out the prospect of compiling so-called white books which would name those responsible for law violations in past decades. The MDF also made a decision that it supports the bill according to which the serious crimes that deeply offend society's sense of justice and that were committed between 21 December 1944 and 2 May 1990 cannot be discounted.

Romanian Officers Study Army Reorganization*LD1607023191 Budapest MTI in English 1556 GMT
15 Jul 91*

[Text] Budapest, 15 July (MTI)—Meetings held so far by representatives from the military have been helpful in building a bridge between the Hungarian and the Romanian Armies, but for these meetings to become a regular feature, the border units should also intensify their cooperation, Romanian Colonel Constantin Degeratu and Lieutenant-Colonel Mircea Catarig pointed out during their two-day visit to the Miklos Bercsenyi Brigade of Hodmezovasarhely.

The guests said that in view of the current reorganization of the Romanian Army, they were gathering experience at the Hungarian Army concerning technical development, changes in organization and personal adjustments. They said particular attention was to be paid in the course of complex restructuring to humanitarian considerations, as well as to modern military technology and training.

Kupa Program, SZDSZ Economic Plan Compared*91CH0674A Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG
in Hungarian 15 Jun 91 p 9*

[Article by Gyorgyi Kocsis: "Alliance of Free Democrats: Crisis Management Arguments"]

[Text] There is no really persuasive explanation for why the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ), according to

last Friday's press conference, wants to release its arguments for an economic crisis-management program this very week—except for the deservedly practical reason that it is ready right now.

It should be recalled that the SZDSZ exhibited a willingness to assume the helm of government at the very moment last February when the Antall cabinet, gone astray in utter economic darkness, finally made up its mind to find room for a vigorous and pivotal economic minister who was not averse to certain liberal views. Still, the Free Democrats did not trumpet their program until Mihaly Kupa's concept of "stabilization and convertibility" had already been published. Now, at last, the SZDSZ program does not just fulfill the role of critic of the Antall era's first year. More important, it outspokenly (and designedly?) builds upon aspects of the Kupa plan shrouded in mystery that, were they fully elucidated, could scarcely be converted into the "government platform" of a coalition that gets the "shivers" from economic liberalism. It is probably not to many people's liking (and yet it seems to be true) that a crisis management concept could be molded from the Kupa and SZDSZ programs, if there was a government that laid claim to it.

In light of the trenchant analyses of recent weeks, it would be miraculous if the SZDSZ experts could say something apocalyptically new about the origin and ongoingness of Hungary's inflation. Nor is it a secret that the party thinks indemnification, world fairs, and ecclesiastical reprivatization ignite inflation. Yet the party urges a reduction in expenditures by the army and state machinery, and the central bank's legally guaranteed independence from the government. But the Free Democrats' most important statement about inflation stems from the field of ordinary management techniques (which they list, incidentally): "What makes it difficult to fight inflation is that causes of inflation deeply rooted in a state-run economy also reduce the efficiency of antiinflationary tools." The SZDSZ claims that the most efficient antiinflationary instrument is the quickest possible privatization.

While the party experts do not support those who criticize slow privatization, the State Audit Office did it for them last week in a property agency review. All the signs suggest the government perceived—but did not publicly confess—that this snail's pace is closely related to what the outspoken SZDSZ describes as the way "government nationalized and finally centralized privatization." The government's privatization strategy, intended as a "supplement" to the Kupa program, indicates the purpose for lengthening the leash of enterprises kept under restraint by the State Property Agency. The SZDSZ essentially radicalizes this concept by saying that the State Property Agency "centrally" directs at most the privatization of 100 large state enterprises; otherwise, under some government control, self-privatization of state enterprises is the common procedure. Framers of

the liberal program consider it important for enterprise stocks and shares to be owned by a private majority within two years. However, they do not really explain how the necessary capital can be secured from foreign or domestic sources in such a short time. Via free property transfer, the SZDSZ arguments assign a much greater role to municipal governments in "revving up" the supply side of privatization. However, it is doubtful whether the municipal governments, being political organizations, could avoid falling into the well-known error of "owner state."

Silently and indirectly perhaps, but is it mere chance that the Kupa program is "backed" by the SZDSZ's concept of foreign trade? Concerning an export-oriented economic policy, the SZDSZ notes: "We do not buy the interpretation of the Minister of International Economic Relations, because by employing the tools of direct intervention it wants to ordain who exports what and where." Pointing out the well-known fact that in this instance Hungarian-Soviet economic relations today constitute the area of most acute crisis, the SZDSZ with likeable straightforwardness says: "There is no guarantee that the Soviet Union will fulfill present or future trade or payment agreements." The liberal proposal therefore means that every business firm may freely, or at its own risk, pursue trade with the Soviet Union.

The SZDSZ suggests that a way out of the foreign trade trap is to change enterprise markets and further liberalize import and export policy which—to treat the liberal

concept freely—can be coupled with "a little" systematic protection of domestic production. While Mihaly Kupa, with a certain flair for tactics, included convertibility in the name of his program, the SZDSZ document devotes merely a single sentence to this goal, mysticized by so many people, and instead urges permission for foreigners to engage in trade here.

To seize and secure a few basic pillars of economic policy and not to drown in details, this logic can be found in the SZDSZ's arguments, where the long introductory chapter is devoted to the social aspect as well as privatization and foreign trade. Discussing, in turn, poverty policy, social insurance, and the battle against unemployment, the program descends on numerous occasions to the "bottom of the barrel," to suggestions that in all likelihood will arouse debate, such as a possible increase in unemployment compensation or, in the long run, an increase in retirement age. Outlining the picture of a society struggling with the rising poverty and unemployment that inevitably accompany radical economic change, tolerance is fed by peculiarly Free Democratic traditions, as the program framers react to attempts to defend the "down-and-out lower middle class" and underground trade. "We do not support enterprise expansion brought about by force, but we do not regard police pursuit as a major task of the state. Instead of suppression, we must attempt to make do with civilized forms of conduct already developed," the SZDSZ professes in its crisis management arguments.

Bielecki Visits Szczecin Shipyard, KLD Leaders*LD1407151691 Warsaw PAP in English 2029 GMT
13 Jul 91*

[Text] Szczecin, July 13—Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki said here on Saturday that the Adolf Warski Shipyard of Szczecin stands every chance to become a modern enterprise and recover financially by the end of next year.

Speaking at a meeting with representatives of the shipyard's management and crew, Bielecki attributed this chance to the crew's will to make changes in accordance with the rules of a market economy.

"Workers have changed their attitude toward the program of changes in the shipyard," Bielecki told the meeting, which was also attended by other government and banking officials.

It was agreed that the shipyard will be turned into a State-Treasury-owned company, which will create foundations for further changes in the enterprise.

Bielecki pointed to the Gryfia Repair Shipyard in Szczecin, which needs only two or three months more to become truly successful in the conditions of the market economy. This has been achieved despite the collapse of contacts with its very important partners—the Soviet Union and the former East Germany, he noted. Gryfia has succeeded in finding new partners in Western Europe instead.

The Warski shipyard faces serious financial difficulties, but according to chief manager Krzysztof Piotrowski it has good prospects for the development and billion-dollar-worth orders put in. However, the work on six ships built for the Soviet Union has been stopped, he complained.

The government is making efforts to have the best possible contacts with the USSR, Bielecki told a press conference here later in the day. The prime minister also pointed out the significance of well-developing Polish-German contacts in the border areas.

While in Szczecin Bielecki also met members of the Liberal-Democratic Congress [KLD], of which he is a cofounder. Referring to the beginning election campaign Bielecki told the gathering that he expects an uncompromising struggle waged by competing parties. However, the KLD follows the traditions of liberalism and is dissociating itself from electoral quarrels and disputes, he said.

Growing Popularity of Two Main Parties Noted*91EP0570B Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
18 June 91 p 3*

[Article by Jaroslaw Najdowski and Piotr Starzynski: "Who Supports the Union and the Congress?"]

[Text] April and May public opinion surveys noted high popularity of two Solidarity camp parties: the Liberal-Democratic Congress and the Democratic Union. It is worth examining, therefore, the roots of their success and finding out who supports them.

Before we try to answer the above question, we would like to point out the specifics of a preelection survey taken a few months before the elections. In this particular situation, people who belong to social democratic groups representing a higher level of the social hierarchy articulate their political preferences with greater ease. These are people who, because of their higher education, higher professional position, better material situation, greater opportunity to enjoy the advantages of urban life, have reasons to be more optimistic about the world. We may call them the satisfied ones. They are the backbone of political support for both the KLD [Liberal-Democratic Congress] and the UD [Democratic Union].

As the graphics show, people who consider their material conditions good rather than medium or bad are ready to vote for KLD and UD. It is likewise with people estimating the developments in the country, although in the case of the Congress the difference in support between the optimists and the undecided is insignificant.

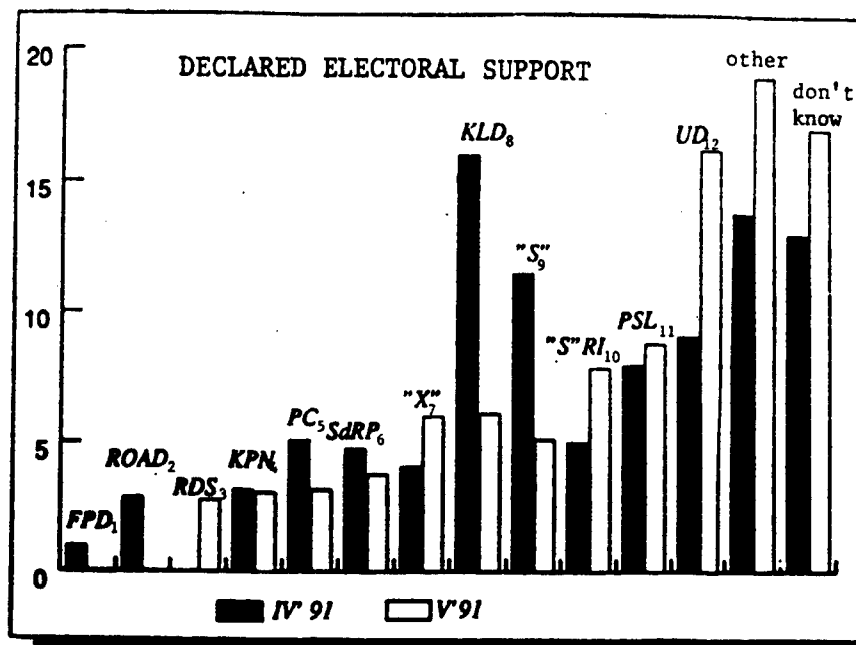
Let us look now at the potential electorate of other parties. Let us start with Party X. People supporting this party are a mirror reflection of the electorate of the two parties of "the satisfied." Tyminski's party is already attracting people who have a negative view of both their own situation as well as that of the country.

Individual Farmers Solidarity ["S" RI—Rural Solidarity], although less distinctly, also attracts the dissatisfied. It is interesting to note that although "S" RI and PSL [Polish Peasant Party] try to present themselves as parties defending threatened rural interests, they have clearly different support groups. The PSL is a party of people who see their material situation rather as good and the "S" RI—rather as bad.

The obvious similarity between supporters of the two parties is strong ties with rural areas and agriculture. This is mainly what makes them different from the urban and labor electorate of Party X and from KLD and UD, which may count primarily on "white collar" votes, that is, the intelligentsia and administrative employees of lower than college level.

This was the situation a few weeks ago. If the social climate keeps getting worse, and the willingness of the "dissatisfied" to vote rises, it is obvious that the present popularity of the two parties of the "satisfied" may diminish.

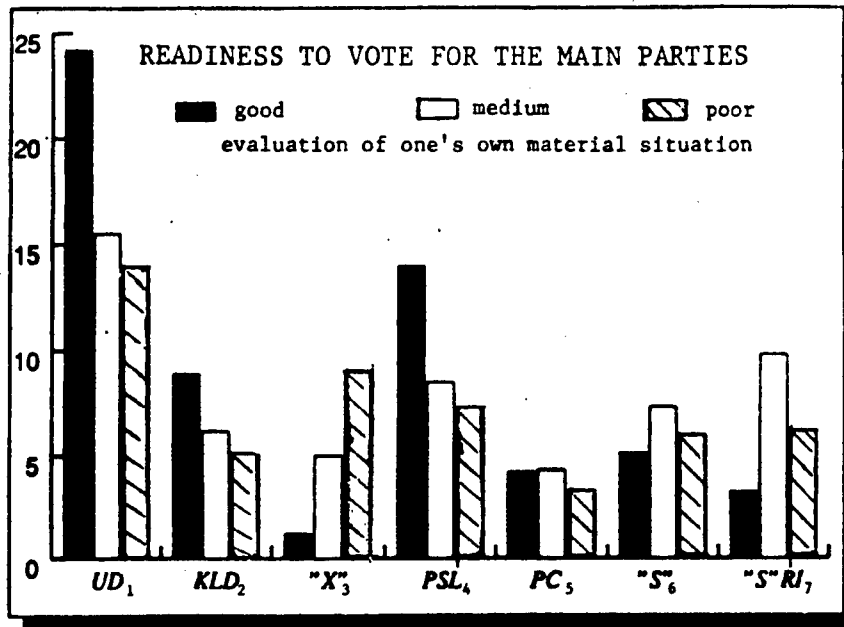
Figure 1. Declared Electoral Support



Key:

1. FPD—Forum of the Democratic Right
2. ROAD—Citizens Movement—Democratic Action
3. RDS—Democratic-Social Movement
4. KPN—Confederation for an Independent Poland
5. PC—Center Accord
6. SdRP—Social Democracy of the Polish Republic
7. "X"—Party X
8. KLD—Liberal-Democratic Congress
9. "S"—Solidarity
10. "S" RI—Rural Solidarity
11. PSL—Polish Peasant Party
12. UD—Democratic Union

Figure 2. Readiness To Vote for the Main Parties, Evaluation of One's Own Material Situation

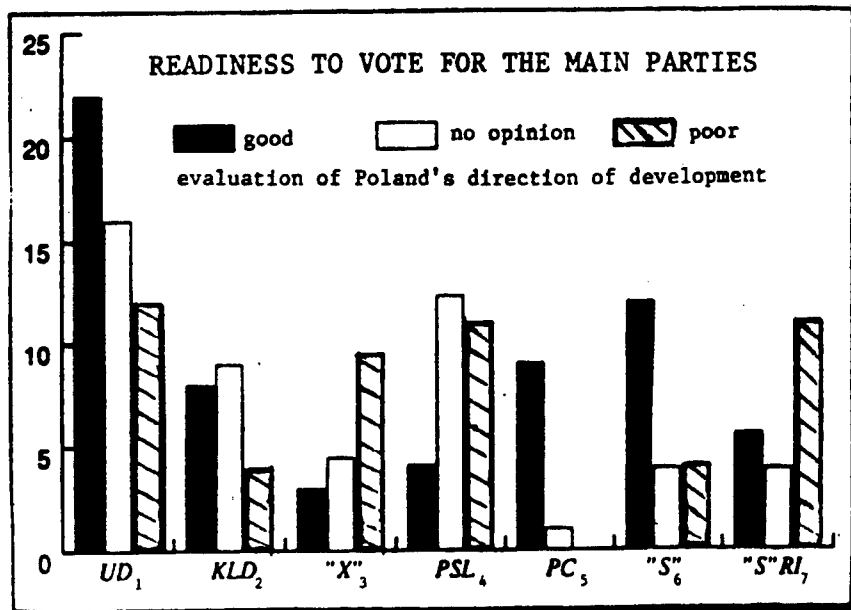


Key:

- 1. UD—Democratic Union
- 2. KLD—Liberal-Democratic Congress
- 3. "X"—Party X
- 4. PSL—Polish Peasant Party

- 5. PC—Center Accord
- 6. "S"—Solidarity
- 7. "S"RI—Rural Solidarity

Figure 3. Readiness To Vote for the Main Parties, Evaluation of Poland's Direction of Development



Key:

- 1. UD—Democratic Union
- 2. KLD—Liberal-Democratic Congress
- 3. "X"—Party X
- 4. PSL—Polish Peasant Party

- 5. PC—Center Accord
- 6. "S"—Solidarity
- 7. "S"RI—Rural Solidarity

Overview of Election Campaigns, Parties, Programs

91EP0570A Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
17 June 91 p 2

[Interview with Jacek Tarkowski, director of Institute for the Study of Political Representations in the Polish Academy of Sciences, by Ewa Ostrowska; place and date not given: "Election Game"]

[Text] [Ostrowska] There are already about 100 parties on the political scene. It is difficult to see anything clearly in this crowd. To general amazement, in one of the polls over 60 percent of respondents did not even know which party's leader is the prime minister.

[Tarkowski] The whole problem with the Polish political scene is that it is economically blurred, that interest groups identifying with parties have not crystalized yet. The poll results that you mention would certainly be different if the prime minister's party, that is the Liberal-Democratic Congress, had a strong backing of its natural supporter, which is the middle class. In countries with stabilized political systems, parties gain support, trust, parliament seats, and popularity thanks to different interest groups: financial aristocracy, employers, employees, the middle class. In our country such structures had been systematically destroyed during the past four decades. Right now, in the conditions of political freedom, parties can be registered very quickly, but the reconstruction of social structures needs time. It involves the whole process of social and economic development, and it has only lasted for three years now. Parties do not have a base, or, if you prefer, a political audience. Very often they work under the same sign board, they voice the same goals, they have as many members as their leadership. If we look at the political scene from this point of view, the crowd is only illusory. There is even quite a bit of space.

[Ostrowska] In the meantime, "weekend politics" flourish, parties and fractions spring from the Solidarity stock, PC [Center Accord] declares itself Christian democratic, SdRP [Social Democracy of the Polish Republic] has its congress, Stan Tyminski organizes Party X. Are these signs of preelection heat?

[Tarkowski] It is rather an elections overture, an attempt at self-definition. As we saw in the presidential elections, very different political options grew out of the Solidarity stock. The Solidarity sign did not mean, after all, political unity. Now, in the parliamentary elections, the economy will be the stake. The truth about the economy is bitter and brutal. I do not doubt, however, that there will be some courageous candidates who will try to measure their strength against this truth in their fight for Sejm or Senate seats. From the very beginning, the Liberal-Democratic Congress and the Democratic Union, for instance, have not made any demagogic gestures. Obviously, if a party has a prime minister who says that life will be hard and we will have unemployment, the party plays *va banque*. It plays honestly

though. It may gain fewer votes, but it can stand upright and say: we have not deceived you.

[Ostrowska] Demagogic and populist slogans can already be heard and seen, though: you are great, you deserve good jobs, you can all have them, you have to have good salaries, you deserve them, apartments can be built now, immediately, in this instant, and so forth.

[Tarkowski] This type of politics has short legs.

[Ostrowska] With these short legs, however, it is possible to quickly walk to Wiejska Street [location of parliament] and take seats in comfortable chairs for four years.

[Tarkowski] Politics is not carried on in terms of a four-year span.

[Ostrowska] If one does not want to speak the bitter truth, it is easy to reach for substitute topics, which are not considered the most important in 1991 on one side of the political barricade, while on the other, they appear to be of the utmost significance—abortion, for instance, which has stirred up an avalanche of moral and ethical problems.

[Tarkowski] Election campaigns are not free of such problems; the game is played also for values. The important thing is how this game is played. If everybody starts calling everybody else murderers of unborn children, we will give an excellent show of political culture. If nationalist and anti-Semitic slogans are thrown in, because such substitute topics can also be easily found, the election combat may become dirty and brutal.

[Ostrowska] Combat for something, or with somebody? Smear the opponent, destroy, pull out all his sins from his biography. Will our parliamentary candidates use such weapons? In countries whose example we eagerly follow, this is the way. It is a seductive style.

[Tarkowski] This style is practiced primarily by the press, although not necessarily out of its own choosing. In our presidential campaign some mass media did jump in without any restraint. It is a matter of political culture, of setting certain limits for oneself. What those limits will be, it is hard to say. It should be remembered, however, that in countries with stabilized political systems, someone who loses an election does not have to disappear from the political scene. The winner knows that he may have to work together with his former political opponent, that he will have to take him into account, may be even attempt an alliance. We have another pattern encoded: I win, you do not count. I fear that this pattern will surface in a wave of name calling, smear, etc.

[Ostrowska] Talking about election campaign sins, the presidential candidate smeared by the press has his own party now. What can we say about it?

[Tarkowski] We cannot say much, we may expect everything. Party X—it is an excellent name. Mysterious and undetermined. It does not connote any burden of a

political option. Even Tyminski's enemies cannot deny him political instinct, and this is more or less what we can say about it.

[Ostrowska] What is happening on the left of the political scene?

[Tarkowski] The left is looking for its place. We can see this pretty clearly. Bugaj's Labor Solidarity, Bujak's Democratic Social Movement, Lipski's PPS [Polish Socialist Party], Kwasniewski's SdRP, which many people from the left are associated with, and which is continuously accused of a communist genealogy. The PPR [Polish Workers Party] and PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] had nothing to do with social democracy after all. There is, nevertheless, a social demand for the left. The left will care more for the people, it will want more social justice. This is its lineage.

[Ostrowska] In the background of the political scene we can also see a very clear picture of the church. As public polls show, a large part of the society considers it too demanding and too aggressive in terms of the clericalization of public life.

[Tarkowski] This is even interpreted by public opinion as a demand of payment for political services rendered by the church, payment for church involvement on Solidarity's and opposition's side in fighting with communism. It is an open question today which parties will play the anticlerical card, which will dare make this gesture. I believe the game will be soft and sharp, and led mainly by the post-communist parties, but all the campaign headquarters will think very hard how to contend with the Catholic Church. This refers also to parties calling themselves Christian democratic and identifying with the social teaching of the church and Christian values.

[Ostrowska] In the meantime, we are still waiting for political programs in order to know who to follow....

[Tarkowski] Parties have to have political programs, but it is a mistake to think that any voter will read those programs carefully, and look them over with a discerning eye. Voters will follow slogans, good posters, names. Programs are not election weapons. An experienced German politician told me once that programs should be printed on recyclable paper because nobody reads them anyway. Voters should have a program in a tablet.

[Ostrowska] We do not really have much time before elections. For the time being, the actors are still looking for their proper places on the political scene, but in fact they are all standing on the right side of it. All of them say, after all, that there is no alternative to a free market and privatization.

[Tarkowski] In terms of Western economic standards, yes, we would really have to say so.

[Ostrowska] Well, then....

[Tarkowski] The game is not for capitalism, but for the way to get there.

[Ostrowska] Who will win?

[Tarkowski] I do not believe anybody would dare answer this question today.

Bujak Heads Faction of Former ROAD Members

AU1207172191 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Jul 91 p 2

[Article by Bernadeta Waszkiewicz: "Everything for Bujak's People"]

[Excerpts] The Democratic-Social Movement [RDS] is a new group of former members of the Citizens Movement—Democratic Action [ROAD] who never accepted ROAD's decision to merge with the Democratic Union. It consists of old Solidarity activists and is divided into two factions, the DS [Democratic-Social] Movement, as a political group, and the DS Society, as a social group. The political program, consisting of 12 points and bearing the title "Everything for Poland, Everything for the People," begins with the following sharp statement: "The young Polish democracy is in danger."

RDS leader Zbigniew Bujak accepts Balcerowicz as one of Poland's greatest economists, but... "he has no one close to him who knows the situation inside enterprises. Apart from money and machines, people play a decisive role in the economy, and the government has been unable to create a good psychological climate." The volume of problems has outgrown the ruling camp's capabilities, and the enthusiasm of Poles has given way to apathy, says the program. Broader cooperation between enterprises and the government and between national and local authorities is required.

The Movement also criticizes the church's role in the state: "Many of us are Catholics, and we think the church is too involved in political activity and disputes, a result of which is that it is losing its prestige and support." The church should handle moral values, and the state should handle the proper functioning of political institutions.

Bujak thinks that the political programs in Poland so far are not objective and have not indicated any real method of implementing demands. Therefore the RDS suggests a new concentration of forces for the sake of a genuine construction of Poland. It does not believe in an automatic regulation of market forces. [passage omitted]

The RDS intends to run in the parliamentary elections. It is ready to enter into an alliance with parties that have programs similar to its own. It is also ready to join a coalition in the future parliament.

Zbigniew Bujak does not want a mass recruitment of new members because "that costs money, apart from which the greater the number of members, the greater the number of people who crave high positions. Solidarity

has already fallen into that trap. A managerial chair does not always go hand in hand with managerial competence."

On 1 July, Bujak addressed an open letter to the president. "I feel that there is greater concern for one's own position than there is for the country as a whole. The president supports only some political groups and only some politicians. He is not impartial, and yet he should be. But if he attacks the entire country's authorities, and Poland needs them, then that is pure egoism."

New Party Calls for Support of Reform Program

*LD1107152591 Warsaw PAP in English 1307 GMT
11 Jul 91*

[Text] Warsaw, July 11—The Polish Peasant Christian Forum "Ojcowizna" [Patrimony] called on all Poles "to support in a decisive manner the reform camp and the president in his aim to create a strong, wealthy, and independent fatherland."

"Ojcowizna," a new political grouping established on July 11 by Roman Bartoszcze, former leader of the Polish Peasants Party [PSL], declared its opposition to "corruption, the activities of the post-communist and post-Solidarity economic mafia and the forces dissolving our economy."

In a declaration signed by Bartoszcze and Kamil Matuszewski, the new party said that, following 40 years of experiments with alien ideas and ideologues, Poland should be ruled by Poles. It called on Poles to "break with the redecorated peasants' parties and the currents of so-called democracy, and to be sensitive to every word [they use]."

The new leadership described "Ojcowizna" as a forum which would bring together peasant, democratic, national, and Christian forces. They announced their wish to build the structures of a new party.

Social Democratic Union Party Dissolved

*LD1307135891 Warsaw PAP in English 2041 GMT
12 Jul 91*

[Text] Warsaw, July 12—The National Council of the Polish Social Democratic Union [PUS] decided here on Friday to dissolve the party. The decision was taken with a conviction that the dissolution of the party will permit to shape a social democratic formation which would be reckoned with in the system of parliamentary democracy.

New Polish Party of Progress Formed in Zabrze

*LD1307164291 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 0100 GMT 13 Jul 91*

[Text] A Polish Party of Progress [Polska Partia Postępu] has been created, which wants to serve the interests of the Republic and government by implementing a policy

of rational progress. The main headquarters of this party will be situated in Zabrze, and it intends to enroll as members people of various backgrounds and views who have never belonged to any party in the past.

Changes in Defense Structure, Command Discussed

*AU1207133091 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
9 Jul 91 pp 1-2*

[Article by Zbigniew Lentowicz: "The President's Three Defenders"]

[Text] The Belvedere does not intend to exclude the Army from government supervision. There never was such a plan. However, Lech Kaczynski, minister of state for national security in the Presidential Chancellery, believes that the head of state should be able to exercise prerogatives in this sphere, if required. "If we adopt a strong presidency like the French one—and no one in France claims that the French Presidency is authoritarian or antidemocratic—then links between the president and the Army should also be strong," Kaczynski says. "And that is currently a subject of dispute, because a part of the authorities and society want the Army to continue to be under the control of the president and parliament."

Before we can discuss the Belvedere's plans for the Army, it is necessary to present the Army's current condition.

The present state of our Armed Forces is far from satisfactory. No wonder, because Poland is in the same condition. A blind adherence to the old political contract, without adapting to the development of the situation, has delayed essential changes to the Army. Because of the present economic situation, the Defense Ministry is not receiving the meager funds it was supposed to receive from the State Budget.

Cadre changes in the Army are not easy. By its very nature, the officer corps is "irreplaceable." It is easier to place new people in civilian posts, e.g. in the state administration. The present shape of the Army is the result of years of political pressure which has now been removed, much to the relief of most of the military cadres. Strict control over the activity of special services, whose past duties exceeded by far the normal responsibilities of counterintelligence, has also been removed. But on the other hand the new personnel policy has still not corrected all the injustice suffered by some officers under the old system. Understandable tension is arising, especially among young officers. Costly changes are also in store for the Army because of the demise of the Warsaw Pact and the need to adapt to new tasks. Before, we were part of a single Warsaw Pact front, but today we have to be ready to defend ourselves alone, and on all fronts.

Several days ago, the National Security Council decided to appoint a civilian defense minister. We do not know

the name of the candidate, but we do know that Lech Walesa has nominated three candidates linked to the Belvedere but not belonging to any political party. According to all probability and press speculation, the present chief of the Defense Ministry, Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk, will be general inspector of the Armed Forces, i.e. the man directly in command of the Army in a civilian Defense Ministry.

Before the new constitution actually creates a stronger presidential office (in France the president is actually a powerful head of government), the Belvedere suggests that the National Security Council should retain the powers of the National Defense Committee. Lech Kaczynski claims there is no danger of a duplication of responsibilities. The president is chairman of the National Security Council, but the council also contains the prime minister and heads of key ministries. The Belvedere thinks this should solve the problem of answerability to parliament.

The plan is that the National Security Council will make suggestions concerning state security. It will suggest to the president if and when he should use the Armed Forces in Poland, a controversial issue, and it will suggest to parliament a numerical level for the Armed Forces. Kaczynski assures everyone that the National Security Council will coordinate the work of the government and parliament in security matters, and not act as a kind of supergovernment, as political adversaries have been claiming for a long time.

The president should also have the right to appoint a commander of the Armed Forces in war time.

An effective system of promotions to the rank of general should also be worked out. The president has the right to grant such promotions, but it is difficult to imagine him doing so without the defense minister's agreement.

The minister of state for security has several suggestions about what the future civilian defense minister should do. Certainly the most important task is to tidy up cadres policy and guarantee a feeling of stability in the Army. Of course this cannot be done without rapid changes in the present Army command. These changes should go hand in hand with a simplification of the present bureaucratic procedures. But the most important thing is to apply honest, objective criteria to promotion. So far, it has been easier to obtain promotion by means of a recommendation from central authorities than by means of working one's way up through the ranks.

Another matter is to consolidate territorial defense forces so that a potential enemy has no chance of achieving a victory in a single battle, but is forced to consider whether any aggression on his part is worth while.

It is also necessary to decide about scientific and technical cooperation, where to purchase equipment, and even with whom to jointly manufacture it.

Even though the defense minister is a member of the government, he should defend his ministry's interests because the present poor condition of the Army is very much weakening the country's security.

"There is no cause for panic. When I assumed this post four months ago, it was difficult to tell how the situation in the USSR would develop. Today there is a certain amount of stability, but we do not know for how long," says L. Kaczynski. "There is still a danger of extremely anti-Polish politicians taking over power in Moscow or the empire breaking up, but more optimistic features have recently emerged in the political activity of our eastern neighbor. Nevertheless one must remember that in the space of just a few months, there have been vacillations in USSR policy toward Poland, contradictory statements, and even about-turns.

"We are talking openly about the principles of cooperation with our neighbors, but there is no question of any military alliance. There is no one in the present Polish leadership who does not want good relations with the East, but everyone insists that the principle of sovereignty and partnership be observed, and that the Soviet Union comes to terms with the fact that Poland is part of the West.

"NATO is beyond our reach, but we firmly oppose attempts to create a buffer zone in our region. Strong contacts between Poland and the West and good contacts with Russia lie in everyone's interests. The Belvedere does not see any real military threat from Germany today.

"Solidarity with Hungary and Czechoslovakia will not take the place of close links with NATO, but it will have an increasingly stronger bearing on our security."

OPZZ Appeals for Boycott of Foreign Goods

*LD1107220491 Warsaw PAP in English 1709 GMT
11 Jul 91*

[Text] Warsaw, July 11—The All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions [OPZZ] appealed on Thursday to Polish consumers to boycott all foreign commodities as, according to the organization, their import exerts negative impact on the economic condition of Polish enterprises.

The alliance also accused the government of "total negligence of state-owned enterprises," saying that the collapse of the majority of industrial branches would shortly cause widespread unemployment.

"If you want to protect your workplace, you should buy only Polish-made products," the appeal read.

Export Problems Due to Infrastructure Defects

*91EP0571A Warsaw RYNKI ZAGRANICZNE in Polish
No 70, 11 Jun 91 p 8*

[Article by Tadeusz Lamacz: "Barriers in Export"]

[Text] Judging from the dynamic growth in exportation and the structure of the trade balance in the last 12 to 18

months, things are not so bad with exports. Last year, exportation, calculated in constant prices, rose by almost 15 percent in comparison to 1989. Last year's trade surplus was impressive: 4,781.1 million rubles with the East and \$3,798.3 million with the West. This year also began with a high growth dynamic in exportation.

Unfortunately, this arrangement of data does not appropriately reflect the degree of competitiveness of our products, from which success in export should above all be derived. It is sufficient to glance at the material structure of our export industry to find that it has the characteristics of a weakly developed structure. Last year, the most important items in export were, in order of income received: coal, rolled products, copper, sulphur, clothing, pharmaceuticals, furniture, paper, fish, fruit products, frozen foods, cattle, ham, and joints of meat.

Given such an exportation structure, it can be seen that the positive balance in trade noted in the last 12 to 18 months has been the effect of the behavior of factors connected with the specific characteristics of the stabilization program, and with the liberalization of economic activity. The barrier of internal demand (volume growth indicators of production sold and of export rose 75 percent and 105 percent, respectively), and the deep—too deep, according to some—devaluation of the zloty operated conspicuously in favor of export. The liberalization of regulations concerning the conduct of economic operations, on the other hand, activated the export capabilities of companies with foreign participation, small foreign manufacturing firms, commercial law companies, and private individuals.

There is, however, no valid basis to assume that the above operations—the devaluation of the zloty and the liberalization of exportation—improved our position as an exporter in the international community. It is obvious that no serious participant in the international division of labor can build its position on the exportation of raw materials and poorly manufactured commodities, primarily products of light industries and the food industry—based, moreover, on neighborly contacts (over 42 percent of exports [go] to the FRG). We have still not observed, in the last year to year and one-half, tendencies that indicate that two key symptoms of the breakdown of economic underdevelopment are being overcome: a low level of manufactured commodities destined for export, and a weak geographical diversification of export.

This shows that a weak manufacturing base is a very important barrier in foreign trade. Until now, the pro-export operations of devaluation and liberalization were unable to outweigh the unfavorable influence of the recession on exportation. In this sense, the stabilization program that has been enacted did not, on balance, bring about an improvement in the export situation. Truly pro-export actions would be those methods which aim to revive the economy and saturate it with modern technology. These methods are, however, in the stage of enactment; for the moment, one can remark the correct direction of changes, such as the retreat from state

ownership—which as a rule does not foster export—and the progress in work on a law that will encourage serious foreign investment in Poland.

The economic revival is not linked solely with fiscal relief and cheap credit—which, given a state production monopoly and a lack of access to Western technology, could bring about an increase in inflation rather than growth in manufacturing. This also seems to be a correct approach. However, it is important to adopt a clear industrial development strategy, one which would justify—in a new property structure—one particular structure of tariffs, taxes, and credit costs, and no other.

The rigid geographical structure of export is the next easily identifiable barrier in export. In particular, this concerns the ties of many firms to the Soviet market, where sales encounter colossal difficulties, due to generally known reasons—the insolvency, in hard currency, of Soviet partners, and the economic catastrophe suffered by our eastern neighbor.

Even last year, a decline in exportation to the USSR was recorded, in comparison to 1989; since the beginning of this year, the tendency to decline has deepened. In a memorandum, the embassy in Moscow emphasized that, of \$1.3 billion in contracts for the supply of Polish goods to the USSR, almost none has agreed-upon conditions of payment; they are not in effect due to the Eastern partners' lack of free-currency funds. This problem in particular affects our firms in the electromagnetic industry (\$15.4 million, of \$18.324 million total exports), for whom the reorientation of sales to Western markets is not an easy matter. It should be noted that limiting exportation possibilities also affects other partners from the CEMA. As a result, this year's export to the former primary payment region will probably not top \$3 billion.

The difficulties in our export market are also a result of infrastructure limitations, broadly defined. This affects the deficient financial servicing of exportation, for which the existence of a network of banks capable of handling foreign transactions is necessary, as are institutions insuring export credits and enabling the conduct of hedging transactions. Modern commerce cannot exist without such support.

The next problem is the poor state of the physical infrastructure—the insufficiencies of transport, telecommunications, and border crossings, which are universally known and debated. Commerce cannot, similarly, work without appropriate personnel and promotional support. The poor knowledge of foreign languages on the part of present or potential exporters, and the lack of sufficient knowledge about foreign markets—especially when one is reorienting oneself to the demanding Western markets—can seriously paralyze exchange.

As far as promotion is concerned, our system still operates in structures formed in the command-distribution era, when the Offices of Trade Counsel filled a very important role, but a role which is not very useful

when foreign exchange is transferring to private firms. There is no longer much to be gained from reprints from the Western press on general economic topics, at best systemic issues.

The task now is to create abroad something like Polish Commerce Centers, which could fill the role of representatives and sources of information for firms, particularly small and medium-sized firms, which cannot afford their own representation; next, to link them with regional and national chambers of commerce; then to promote various forms of cooperation of chambers of commerce and small and medium-sized Polish businesses with foreign partners, or support efforts to study markets and marketing from the point of view of specific clients. At any rate, the functions which the Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade once performed in the barest outlines, and which can now be developed to a state comparable to those functions performed by similar posts in Western countries, are an unbelievably essential element of the country's entire pro-export orientation.

Success in export is not a problem distinct from the success of the whole economy. It is especially important in a normal economy, in which production for export is not treated as a separate enclave, but as a result of economic specialization and the opening of the country. The conceptual barrier, which for many years was represented by the treatment of exports as separate from the national economic structure, or by assigning to exports at most the right to dispose of surplus, no longer exists.

The process of integration with the world economy has begun. Trust in competition and the market (understood dogmatically) as the best "cultivator" of export would, however, be a great danger. It is worth remembering that countries which have passed through the stage between backwardness and development in a relatively short time—the so-called newly industrialized countries—have consistently pursued a policy of export development, even as they maintain market mechanisms. Credit preference for exporters, tax abatements, and the undertaking of a massive promotional offensive by diplomatic delegations—all these constituted a well-planned program aimed at conquering foreign markets. We cannot copy those models exactly, due to the evident internal and external differences, yet one cannot escape from the truth that export must be laboriously "cultivated" not only by individual firms, but by those who set the macroeconomic parameters.

National Antidrug Organization Established

LD1207104891 Warsaw PAP in English 2034 11 Jul 91

[Text] Warsaw, July 11—Chief of the Polish social movement for combating drug addiction "Monar" Marek Kotanski formed here Thursday a special all-country unit to detect drug producers and traffickers. Kotanski said that the new organization would try to identify and locate dealers and producers of drugs. "We are fed up with the daily brutality and ruthlessness in the drug-addicts circles as well as with addiction spreading to youngsters.... Members of the unit are former drug addicts," Kotanski explained.

FSN Ideas on Coalition Government Criticized

*AU1407182691 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 10 Jul 91 p 1*

[Article by Augustin Muraru: "Patching Up the Government"]

[Excerpts] Delicate or obnoxious, the maneuvers of the government or the National Salvation Front [FSN] in connection with the idea of coalition continues to be the focus of public opinion.

Is the FSN prepared to abandon its government monopoly? [passage omitted]

The FSN leadership continues to flirt with the idea of a coalition government, wishing to create the appearance that it is concerned with finding a representative governmental formula for the current variety of political formations. Since the first such attempt at the beginning of May failed, it seems that Prime Minister Petre Roman is continually trying to gather politicians from the satellite parties, or dissidents, and rejected people from some democratic parties, vain people who "aspire" to ministerial seats. What the people who were lured in this way do not know or do not want to know is that those who are going to be chosen for the government in this way will not share power with the FSN, but will be pushing the cart of those in power and be urged on by those who hold the reins and the whip. In the 1945-47 period some Liberals, Peasant Party members, and Social Democrats were also "travel companions" of the Communists. After the Communists reached their goals (obtained the recognition of their government by the Anglo-Americans and obtained the signing of the peace treaty), the hired and vain people of other orientations were either thrown from the governmental cart or granted the chance to stay in the job of a servant if they joined the Communist Party. Might history repeat itself in 1991? Certainly, our country is going through a serious economic and social crisis. Many politicians are convinced that all political forces should be united in order to try and stop this course. But they think of a unity based on equality, not on the subordination of all parties to the hegemonistic ambitions of the party that represents the majority in the Parliament. The fact that Mr. Petre Roman—although he is the political leader of a party ruling over two thirds of the votes in the parliament (where he had not encountered any difficulties from the opposition)—brought the economy to the brink of disaster means a lot, and justifies the claims of the democratic opposition who want him removed from the helm of the government. Has the Front been left with one person only to whom it is desperately clinging? He is just an "old coat," as in the gospel of Matthew in the Bible. As a matter of fact, the entire government is a coat worn out too quickly because it was made of poor material. As it is written in the Bible, "nobody is using a new patch for an old coat," the real politicians will not accept becoming "patches" for a bankrupt government which is about to disintegrate. Old clothes are patched only with material of identical

quality. The same will happen to the government. The method of patching will bring no results. We continue to believe that there are enough politicians in our country who have the moral and professional virtues that are the trademark of the quality of material we need in order to try to create a new government. The sooner the better for the country.

Social Democratic Party Chief Cunescu Interviewed

*91BA0874C Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER
in Romanian 20 Jun 91 pp 1, 3*

[Interview with Sergiu Cunescu, chairman of the Romanian Social Democratic Party [PSDR], by Mircea Florin Sandru; place and date not given: "Social Democracy Is a Force in the Contemporary World"]

[Text] [Sandru] A few days ago you attended a meeting of the Socialist International in Turkey. What issues did you talk about in your addresses and in the course of your contacts?

[Cunescu] It was a meeting of the Council of the Socialist International in Istanbul. As you know, this organization incorporates social-democratic and socialist parties from a large number of countries, as well as some associate organizations, like the social-democratic group of the European Parliament or the EC Confederation of Socialist Parties.

The Council's agenda featured discussions on two major topics: 1) Peace and Security in the Middle East, and 2) East and Central Europe—Reform, Democracy, and Economic Change. Both topics were discussed in detail in view of the fact that the meeting was attended by delegations from the regions concerned. In connection with the first topic, the goal was to find solutions conducive to eliminating the nefarious effects of the occupation of Kuwait and the war that followed. In connection with the Gulf war, the meeting discussed the issues of arms control and reduction and, of course, the arms trade.

In connection with the second topic, leaders of East and Central European parties presented the current political situation and the development of social democracy in their countries. In the course of this part of the council meeting I also talked about the situation in Romania from an economic, political, and social viewpoint. I said that social democracy is beginning to be better understood in our country and that there is growing interest in this concept of social development. I stressed that throughout the country our organizations are consolidating and coopting new members and that our ties with the trade unions are gradually expanding, as was the case in the past and as we like them to be in the future.

I also emphasized that our party has initiated the establishment of the National Convention for Establishing Democracy, which embraces the democratic and antitotalitarian political spectrum and in which our party's

position is center left. I talked about the dangers inherent in this kind of position, which we are evading thanks to our vigilance in ensuring respect for the fundamental values of the social-democratic idea, as well as the moderate actions we initiated to enforce them.

I noted that the social-democratic parties in the neighboring countries are encountering the same difficulties as we are in the struggle to establish democracy in general, and social democracy in particular.

[Sandru] What bilateral contacts did you have during this meeting?

[Cunescu] The International's councils and congress afford us excellent opportunities for mutual understanding and for communicating our political experience. For me in particular, the Istanbul council was an opportunity to plead the case of our country and its prestige, so badly affected by events on which I will not now dwell.

At the council I met again with the leaders of the Socialist International such as President Willi Brandt and Secretary General Louis Ayela, and many of the leaders present in Istanbul, like Pierre Mauroy and Pierre Guidoni (France), Guy Spitaels (Belgium), Hans Dingels (Germany), Miguel Martinez (Spain), Jiri Novak (Czech and Slovak Republics), and Anna Petrasovits (Hungary). For the first time I met Bettino Craxi, Margherita Boniver, and Ivanka Conti (Italy), Petar Betliev (Bulgaria), Christos Papoutsis (Greece), Erdal Inonu (Turkey), and Marko Milunovic (Yugoslavia). On behalf of the associate international organizations I had talks with Eisso Woltger, head of the majority group in the European Parliament.

During my discussions with very many delegations (I listed here only some of them) I was asked many questions about our country. In my turn, I presented the situation in Romania and the processes involved in the transition to a democratic society. I also highlighted the obstacles we are encountering. Once again, I noted that the former communist countries are encountering similar problems in the process of transition. For example, when I was talking with the Bulgarian colleague, I noted that the problems of our parties and of the two countries are very similar.

But before I forget, the possibility of early legislative elections in Romania elicited a lot of comment during the meeting in Istanbul. I told my interlocutors that the PSDR will not agree to have general legislative elections as long as local elections have not been held.

[Sandru] Was the meeting in Istanbul also attended by representatives of other Romanian social-democratic parties?

[Cunescu] No. Our party is the only one that belongs to the International, as it did throughout the period of the communist dictatorship.

[Sandru] Speaking of the social-democratic doctrine: Are you bothered at all by the proliferation of parties claiming to be of this orientation?

[Cunescu] First of all, I think you must agree with me that one's true political color is judged by actions, not words. So these parties have yet to prove their political orientation over the long term. Second, we can only be glad that the social-democratic ideas are proliferating so much and have support among the masses. We plan to closely follow the development of these parties to see whether indeed they implement a social-democratic policy.

[Sandru] What are the priority issues on your agenda for the near future as PSDR leader?

[Cunescu] We intend to intensify the activities of our organizations in Bucharest and in the counties. Consequently, my colleagues in the party leadership and I will soon take trips through the country to learn about the daily concerns of our regional organizations. This is also linked to the local elections, which we hope will be held as soon as possible.

[Sandru] Along with the other parties belonging to the National Convention for the Establishment of Democracy, the PSDR participated in the negotiations with the FSN [National Salvation Front] on the issue of a coalition or national unity government. As far as I know, your party expressed reservations about its participation in a possible government, but it supported all the other issues discussed, such as the need to hold local elections, changes in the administrative structures, changes in the management of the television, and supervising the activities of the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI]. What is your opinion now?

[Cunescu] I personally did not attend the negotiations you mentioned. In fact, I was certain these negotiations would fail, because at present there is no justification for a national unity government. In our talks with President Iliescu we insistently pleaded for holding local elections only after setting in place administrative structures on which all the significant political and apolitical structures capable of ensuring credible elections can agree. It seems that our point will be endorsed. After the administrative elections we will organize legislative elections, which may be earlier than planned.

As for participation in a national unity government, I want to point out that the matter is not topical to us because we see no reason for such a government. Depending on how the situation will develop, a national unity government may become necessary in the future. But a decision about this can be taken only by the party's Steering Committee after comprehensive discussions.

Bacanu on Criticism of ROMANIA LIBERA

91BA0874D Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 12 Jun 91 p 2

[Editorial by Petre Mihai Bacanu: "Oblivion"]

[Text] Upon reading your lines, esteemed Mr. Iliescu, I thought the clear sky need not fear lightning. You have

enough flatterers, Mr. Iliescu. They may no longer be as many as stones in the river, but they are there. You have been left at the mercy of the toadies, the crows of the living. But while you take them under your wing, you do not even realize how alone and helpless you are in the middle of a pack of wolves.

Otherwise, you are right, Mr. Iliescu. We must speak so as not to allow any painful insults, and we must respect the reporter's moral obligations.

I do not think that ROMANIA LIBERA insulted or slandered you in any way. If insults crept into any newspaper, that was regrettable. The newspapers in question should apologize. However, not saying who it was who libeled, slandered, and mocked is in a way wasted labor.

But what is worse, Mr. Iliescu? A word spoken unwisely by a zealous young reporter, or summoning the "miners" who mutilated hundreds of people and sent about seven to the other world? Blood deeds pitilessly demand punishment. But no one was punished. Not one miner, one policeman, or one security person died on 13-15 June; seven people died, most of them mere passers-by in the hostility zone. Those three days were enough to destroy your glory. The haste with which you wanted to "resolve" the University Square problem was the mother of your political failure, the dawn laughed at what happened in the night. One could say you made a mistake—after all, even wise men err—but you just will not admit it. You let yourself be seduced by toadies instead of opening your ears and listening to daring talk and true words. That is because you prefer pleasant lies to the harsh truth.

You should have thought well before summoning the miners. Now you do not even think at all and you do not admit what you did. You do not even conceive that the criminals should suffer. Those who pursue the good will even be lenient with the evil you did, all that is required is for you to show a sign of feeling the least bit of regret.

Hiding the truth is like burying gold. You lost your credit precisely because you broke contact with the nation. You do not go praising yourself when the country is in the state it is. We like sand, but not in our eyes.

A man's character becomes most visible when he is in power. You should be more unhappy than the wretches who suffered the effects of the "miners' epic." It would have been more valuable for you to give up a victory that gave Romania a sorry reputation, than to commit the heinous act of making Romanians fight other Romanians.

Nevertheless, a whole nation is capable of forgetting [forgiving?] the nation's counselor, because forgiveness is better than revenge, if he were to make a simple gesture, namely, if he admitted his guilt. Unfortunately, you played with words, forgetting that words can elevate,

but also destroy a person's fate. The skilled captain stands out in a storm, Mr. Iliescu.

Our Parliament members, dominated by the communists who sneaked in primarily there and are steering it, pretending that we will have democratic laws, made some gross mistakes: They gave too many rights to the state and the government and betrayed the grass roots. The good they promise us is fake. When the managers are doing a bad job, we get poorer by the minute. And when questions are asked about hunger, which is the scourge of the people, those responsible say people are not working. You needed the miners' arms more than their work as laborers of the depths.

Coming back to your letter, Mr. President, we have to remind you that the presidential institution is not an emanation of the revolution. That is not the reason for which the presidential institution should be respected. A skillful leader is a blessing for everyone and must be respected like any other person.

We made no secret of the fact that the National Alliance "R" for Reconstruction, Restructuring, and Awakening (which tried to publish the newspaper ROMANIA, for which seven persons were arrested by the Securitate and another 200 were harassed), probably thought of Iliescu as Ceausescu's possible successor, not because of his dissidence, because a man who accepts a party job is not a dissident, but because he was different from the other nomenklaturists and because at the time, in 1988, a change could come only from inside the party, and Ceausescu's replacement could not be a man in the street or a dissident, he had to be a party activist, only more enlightened. There is no doubt, Mr. Iliescu, that you enjoyed great sympathy among those who had even the slightest contact with the country's politics. Although you occupied lofty positions all that time, many thought you were different. Even now they believe that Mr. Iliescu has a number of positive qualities and traits. Only the thirst for power prompts him to destroy everything around, but that is a vice that overshadows everything that is good in him. And if we may be willing to believe that he did not realize the damage he was doing to the country in the miners' incident, to which Mr. Iliescu was certainly not a stranger, then the fact that he did not realize the damage he was doing to himself no doubt appears as irrational. Unfortunately, on 13-15 June the president lost his wager with the nation.

We want to assure you, Mr. President, that the journalistic guild will raise the question of and will punish anyone who slanders and denigrates, not only the presidential institution, by withdrawing their press accreditation. However, slander must not be confused with press criticism. Otherwise we would invite you to read ROMANIA MARE, AZI, and EUROPA.

Too much bravery can lead to mistakes. You are pointing the finger at the press while at the same time taking the liberty of not answering the questions addressed to you through the press by those who elected

you. The country is informed only about things that may provide electoral gains, and we speak in the wilderness.

Prior to 13-15 June you received many signals that it was better to talk to the opposition, even with those who accused you of neocommunism, than to use force. You yourself may have run into communist and totalitarian threats. Except that wise people, once they have escaped from a danger, will seek to avoid it for the rest of their lives.

You see, Mr. Iliescu, why the ship that was expected to steer our happiness may sink! You worked with the youth, the counties, and the waters, but you did not watch the bow and you did not brave the winds before taking the helm of the ship. You did not have to deal with the storm, you went where the party sent you and stayed there quietly. You did not fight the storm. Still, we might yet find new anchors for the ship and new hopes for our lives.

As for the rest....

Manolescu Criticizes Vatra, ROMANIA MARE

*91BA0874B Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA
in Romanian 27 Jun 91 p 2*

[Article by N.M.: "Anti-Semitism and Wooden Language"]

[Text] From a recent communique issued by ROMPRES we learned that the National Salvation Front [FSN] condemns the extremist revival trend, in other words, the fact that "certain publications" have been promoting "theses or slogans of a nationalist-chauvinistic nature." The communique also stated that the government party was concerned about the reemergence of phenomena which "it had thought confined to a finally vanished history that could not be repeated." "This attempt," the communique added, "to damage the chance opened up by the revolution through irrational attitudes, is unfathomable." In the authors' opinion, this is the chance to build democracy in Romania, and it can be spoiled by those forces which "want to reinstate the kind of realities that have been made obsolete throughout the civilized world." We cannot but agree with this stand. Nevertheless, I will allow myself a few observations which may appear formal, but which reveal matters of substance. The first striking aspect is the wooden language of the communique. The school of ideological fabrications at which many of the Front leaders were educated has left its indelible mark on their ideological style. The wooden language is an encoded, syllabic, and necessarily ossified style of expression characterized mainly by its lack of clarity. In the wooden language things are not said openly and freely, but in a roundabout, nebulous way. The wooden language does not allow for radical statements. It is the ideal means by which an ideology is robbed of its effectiveness and forced to become a body of dogmas incapable of explaining and predicting real phenomena—and in the final analysis, of preempting them. The Front communique spoke in general terms of

"incitement to national, racial, class, and religious hatred," and only once, in passing, did it refer somewhat more concretely to "chauvinistic, anti-Semitic, or fascist-type concepts." Everything is placed under the same vague umbrella of extremism said to be uncharacteristic of both "the authentic Romanian spirit, and the democratic concept." Leaving aside the fact that the concluding usage of the "authentic" Romanian spirit itself may be viewed by an outsider as discriminatory, there are a few other things we need to highlight.

The first is the evident difficulty in which the authors of the communique find themselves whenever it comes to calling a spade a spade. If you do not happen to be a conscientious reader of the press and you have not graduated from the former Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, you cannot possibly identify behind this stereotypical phrasing the real phenomena that aroused concern among the Front leaders. "A number of publications" that "recently" have been fostering an extremist atmosphere in a typically roundabout and ineffective (I almost said communist) way, lead to the natural question: Why are the authors reluctant to name them, to specify the period in which the items in question were published, and especially to reveal the actual contents of those items? Second, the communique should have stated which, in the opinion of the Front, were the forces that wanted to reinstate totalitarian-type structures with their ideas repudiated by history. It is not enough to wave in front of us the threat they pose like a scarecrow. They must be precisely identified. Moreover, does the Front ideologues perceive this extremism on the right or on the left? The communique suggests that it is rather on the right, since it spoke of fascism, but not of communism (we are aware of the Parliament dispute on this topic!). Only a very thin allusion is made to communism, in the passage referring to class hatred. Third, what does it mean that extremism belongs to past periods which we hope are "forever vanished?" Are they referring to the lengthy communist dictatorship, the short Iron Guard dictatorship, or both? A hint is not sufficient, things must be clearly spoken, because that is the only way to bring to the light the roots of the targeted phenomena and to examine them in depth. The bad thing about the wooden language is that at the most it can suggest certain things.

I will attempt to rip the veil that in the FSN communique used to cover the real problems and delayed a discussion that is absolutely necessary. It is no secret that chauvinistic ideas emerged after the revolution and that as a rule the authorities responded to them weakly. The FSN communique is in fact attempting to persuade us that the government party is aware of the escalation of these phenomena. Unfortunately, all it managed to do was to convince us that it was afraid of a serious discussion and that instead it chose to make a gesture designed to protect it from possible charges of complicity, nothing more. The chauvinism began as anti-Hungarian sentiment and continued as raging anti-Semitism. The champions of the struggle against the

Hungarian "danger" are Vatra Romaneasca [UVR] and the magazine ROMANIA MARE. It is superfluous to recall the details of their successive campaigns. The anti-Semitism erupted first in the pages of the magazine EUROPA, then spread to the pages of ROMANIA MARE where, in the 21 June issue, we read a veritable writ of indictment penned by Mr. Radu Theodoru against the current regime for the error (according to the author) of having allowed itself to be infested by Jews. If the above-mentioned FSN communique was meant (as I suspect) as a reply to Mr. Theodoru's article, then I should add that it is far from being a satisfactory reply. Not merely because it does not mention by name this dime-novel author or the publication that hosted his article, but because it seems to verify the idea that such occurrences are negligible and that the current regime is in no way involved, on the contrary, here is proof that it censures them. There are, however, countless proofs to the contrary, which show that certain circles of the regime provide moral and material support for the anti-Semitism of EUROPA and ROMANIA MARE. Should I recall them? Messrs. Eugen Barbu and Vadim Tudor have longed stopped hiding their close relations with the Interior Ministry and the SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service]. Some of the reports published by them for the purpose of discrediting members of the opposition as well as persons in power, came directly from official sources, especially from the SRI, something that elicited questions in Parliament and compelled the FSN leader in the Chamber of Deputies to demand that the former Securitate archives be sealed. Mr. Barbu attended some public function organized by the Ministry in the company of the interior minister. The minister, in his turn, awarded a diploma to EUROPA. The SRI spokesman in an interview gave his favorable views of the two magazines after the government had issued a communique condemning the anti-Semitic position adopted by EUROPA. And the prime minister told a Danish reporter that he was not bothered by the presence of chauvinism. That could not have been a misunderstanding on the part of Mr. Kristiansen, because Mr. Roman said the same thing in an interview here, namely that he saw no threat in ROMANIA MARE. Another proof of those relations is the influence of Mr. Iosif Contantin Dragan with the current circles in power. Confirmed by a Milan court—based on evidence—as an Iron Guardist and collaborator, Mr. Dragan was received by President Iliescu (true, at the very beginning, when Mr. Iliescu may very likely not have known about his guest). He sat at the right of the former defense minister in the presidium of a festive opening at a military academy; he was given a free hand about financing publications in Romania (all of which are ultranationalist and anti-Semitic), in the process of which he established a veritable company, as well as a private television station in Iasi; he was elected honorary (sic!) chairman of UVR; and one year ago, TVR [Romanian Television] advertised with great fanfare some of his books on the occasion of their appearance in Iasi, in which he stated, among other things, that "Hitler's view

was real, regarding both the Jews and the Allies." (*Antonescu, Marshal of Romania, and the Reunification Wars*, testimony and documents coordinated and edited by I.C. Dragan, Vol. I, p. 341). The FSN official newspaper carried one of Mr. Dragan's articles on its first page (24 May 1990), something that the defunct SCINTEIA never dared to do. All these facts are too striking for us to be content with a communique like the FSN's recent one.

The regime's weak reaction to certain chauvinistic phenomena and its sympathy for notorious anti-Semites like I.C. Dragan or C.V. Tudor also raise a more general question. Under Ceausescu, although the communist ideology in principle condemned chauvinism, there was, as we know, a sui generis national-socialism and barely disguised official anti-Semitism. After the revolution, the FSN condemned (this time in the name of democracy) chauvinism, but contacts like the above point to a strange complicity. We cannot avoid linking the timid attitudes adopted by the FSN and generally by official sources on the issue of anti-Semitism with the fact that at the moment the regime does not seem to be either able or interested in revealing the whole truth. Who can have suppressed it? If we examine the publications that entertain anti-Semitism and the official circles who developed relations with them, we can easily perceive a common denominator between them, consisting of former Securitate members who, after the revolution, either found a niche at magazines like EUROPA and ROMANIA MARE (by furnishing information and advice), or were reactivated in the Interior Ministry or the SRI, where they continued to be "useful." Such people, who made a career under Ceausescu, mostly after the Romanian Securitate separated from KGB control in the 1960-70's, are often motivated by a primitive nationalism and have graduated the Ceausescu school of anti-Semitism. In the same regions one finds the UVR inciters of anti-Hungarian sentiment. They are also the staunchest supporters of reinstating the former structures to which the FSN communique alluded, because they may have wanted to be rid of Ceausescu, who had become abusive and manic, but not of a system which best enabled them to prove their effectiveness. They dropped the tyrant, so to speak, but they are still seeking to control the development of the situation, because a genuine democracy would doom them to disappearance. Their goals are destabilization (see 13-15 June 1990 and its precedents) and hostility among various social, ethnic, and religious communities (see anti-Hungarian and anti-Semitic events, conflicts between the Orthodox and Uniate Churches, etc.). In every case, the best method was disinformation, slander, and fostering mutual hatred. It is no coincidence that ROMANIA MARE is the most slanderous publication to appear in our country after the revolution and that it is an ideal mouthpiece for an ideal public poisoning service; and it is no coincidence that its slogans are chauvinistic. The FSN communique stated that "the attempt to capitalize on the socioeconomic difficulties" of the country for the purpose of promoting chauvinism "may raise serious questions about the fate of democracy in Romania." Quite true. We need to add,

however, that the same anti-Semitism and chauvinistic concepts in general are responsible for keeping us at Europe's back door, which is still shut. If the current regime and the FSN indeed want democracy in the country and access to the European house, then communiques like the one in question do not do any good. At most they arouse suspicions of demagoguery. The wooden language must be replaced by a normal language, and particularly by actual denunciation of all the written or unwritten pacts between the authorities and extremist circles.

Leadership Lacks Interest in Freedom of Press

*AU1607102991 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 11 Jul 91 p 1*

[Article by Daniel Uncu: "The Voices of the Press and the Ear of the Leadership"]

[Excerpts] There is freedom of the press in Romania! Yes, there is! The press is free to attack, support, denigrate, inform, disinform, curse, flatter, or slander. As a matter of fact, the press can write everything. The question is: Is there anybody listening...?! [passage omitted]

It is obvious that a free press offers to the outside world that flexible image of the democratic spirit that the current leadership needs in order to prove that it has taken steps toward reform and toward freedom of opinion and expression. The only thing that the mixture of truth and lies, of attacks and counterattacks, and of information and disinformation campaigns that characterizes the freedom that our press has achieved, is that the reaction of the people in the street is indifference toward the press. [passage omitted]

Among the examples of the leadership's lack of interest and the acts of continuously defying all the evidence that demonstrates that it is morally incapable of leading Romania's destiny, one can number two significant instances. One was the moment when the president of the country disregarded the Penal Code—as President Ion Iliescu did—and congratulated the miners also for the atrocities they committed during the crusade of the cult of the proletariat. The second instance was the maintaining in office of Virgil Magureanu, the chief of the Information Service, who proved to be incapable of organizing this institution, and, what is even more serious, who was accused—with proof—that he cooperated with a criminal organization, especially the Securitate, which is guilty of assassinating scores of people. In both cases not only was the impact of the press on the decisionmakers insignificant, but the press was also accused of having destabilizing intentions. [passage omitted]

Between the truth—which in most cases is unpleasant and shocking—and lies—which try to counteract by creating a state of permanent exploitation of national feelings, thus shifting the attention from the really acute problems of the country—the uninformed, indifferent,

and apathetic reader will much more easily accept neutral and calming information, which is a lie because it falsifies or omits the truth, than a piece of information which shocks by the simplicity of the truth it contains. It is much more pleasant to read comforting things, is it not? Otherwise people will channel their dissatisfaction toward a chauvinist-type of sensational "argumentation." Unfortunately, those who criticize newspapers that include "destabilizing" or "inciting" information do not realize that, in most cases, even the truth is destabilizing and inciting...for those who do not like to hear the truth. No journalist can be blamed for the existence of unpleasant evidence. No journalist can be blamed for the fact that the leadership makes mistakes and acts improperly. And no journalist can be blamed for writing about all this. Those who believe that unpleasant news should not be made known to the public show a great ignorance and lack of responsibility. By not discussing such subjects, the causes that generate them will not disappear; on the contrary, they will be emphasized and will proliferate.

Even if the leadership wishes to have a press that "falls in line," even if "a part of the press" is criticized for having the courage to call a spade a spade, even if under the banner of freedom of the press it is possible that a newspaper that incites to chauvinism or anti-Semitism, distorting the very concept of freedom of expression appears, the 20 million stupid people—the number of those who were counted one by one by Silviu Brucan—will understand in the end, that there is a clear distinction between real freedom of expression and the act of just tolerating freedom of expression, which currently is the case in our country. [passage omitted]

Rabbi Rosen Sees Intensification of Anti-Semitism

*91BA0874A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 12 Jun 91 p 5*

[Interview with Romania's Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen by U. Valueanu; place and date not given: "Fascism Is for the Moment Used as a Diversion"]

[Text] "The country's democratic forces, whether among the authorities or in opposition, are dutybound to engage an energetic struggle against the wave of fascism that is rising and is threatening not only the Jewish community in Romania, but all the Romanian people. If the anti-Jewish insults and slander continue and if incitement against the Jews continues and become a real threat to their lives, then 1991 will not be another 1941. Notwithstanding the desire of what is left of the Jewish population in Romania to enjoy the democracy that is emerging here and to live as free citizens in this country liberated from fascist and communist terror, if there are not enough forces here to ensure our existence, then we will have to think in terms of the only saving solution that did not exist in 1941. The road from Bucharest to Tel Aviv is shorter than from Addis Ababa to Tel Aviv, and

within two to three days an air bridge can take out the approximately 18,000 Jews still living in Romania and bring them to Israel...."

The above statement was made by Romania's Chief Rabbi Dr. Moses Rosen in the course of an interview for ROMANIA LIBERA regarding the intensification of the anti-Semitic campaign whipped up by several Romanian publications to proportions unknown in the past almost half a century.

[Valureanu] What is your view of the anti-Jewish press campaign?

[Rosen] Recently not one week passed without not one, but several vehement anti-Jewish attacks. Moreover, a strategic angle has been emerging whose first concrete targets have already been named without any compunction. For example, the magazine EUROPA (No. 22 of 1991, p 2) demanded that Jewish (as well as Hungarian and Armenian) university professors not be allowed to hold a chair in a number of universities. The magazine NATIUNEA (No. 16 of 1991, p 7) stated that the Jews (and Hungarians) allegedly enjoyed more rights than the Romanians, which means that some of the Jews' alleged additional rights should be curtailed, although the author did not say what those rights might be. What other demands are in stock for us? Will they perhaps request us to wear the yellow star? To the GAZETA DE VEST of Timisoara (No. 64, p 7), the Jew is a "Schloim plus the suffix 'escu' planted here by the KGB, the Mosad, or the CIA." To GLASUL (No. 17-57 of 1991, p 4), the Jews "are those who left us naked as a snake in the name of another 'just' society of a new type, then hightailed it to Jerusalem! Now they are coming back in ships to gather up whatever is left." TARA NOASTRA (No. 3-6/1991) of last Tuesday carried an article that proceeded from the premise that the Jews are not loyal citizens of the country, while last Wednesday's DIMINEATA played down the martyrdom suffered by the Jews under Antonescu's dictatorship: According to that paper the victims were "only" a few thousand, not 300,000; the [Jewish] population was merely "shifted," not deported and subjected to tragic massacres, and in the final analysis, the genocide was presented as seemingly justified. Not to mention the venom spewed week after week by the magazine ROMANIA MARE. I could cite many, many other examples. Non-Jews are being sicced on the Jews, who are held responsible for all the past and present evils, here and everywhere else in the world. Small wonder that the recent growth of the anti-Semitic campaign is arousing profound concern among the Jewish population in Romania.

[Valureanu] How do you react?

[Rosen] After consulting some prominent jurists, who concluded that such attacks are a violation the penal code and the Constitution, we appealed to the Prosecutor General to file a public action against those responsible. We have a right to demand and obtain punishment for those who, only 50 years after the holocaust in

Romania, are once again filling hearts with venom and ethnic and religious hatred, spreading criminal incitement, slandering us with gross, medieval lies, and threatening us.

[Valureanu] EUROPA claims that it will muster "hundreds of thousands of Romanians" for the trial and even discussed the possibility of making your address public so that the magazine's supporters can come to "protest"....

[Rosen] I will not be dragged into a discussion with fascists! A disputation requires logical arguments, while logic has nothing to do with anti-Semitism. I will give you a few examples. Should we try to say that we do not poison wells? In the year 1991 a reserve captain first class claimed that, black on white. Without any proof! He simply says it and that's it. Should we try to deny that more than three Jews have died in Romania's wars? Should we ask the author of that claim to go to the Filantropia cemetery here, in Bucharest, on the Allee Eroilor and count their graves? Or go to Iasi, where at the entrance to the Pacurari cemetery he can find hundreds of graves of Jewish officers and soldiers who died for the homeland? Of course, if then he were to go a few steps farther, he would discover the common graves containing thousands of Jewish martyrs killed in the fascist-Antonescu pogrom of 29 June-3 July 1941, in which the rabid anti-Semitic campaign that preceded those days was a big contributing factor. Should we try to give him the pamphlet containing the list with the names of 681 Jews who were posthumously decorated for acts of bravery in the service of Romania? Should we deride the ridiculous statement that in the 19th century Israel wanted to turn Romania into a Jewish state, when Israel was born only in 1948? That the Jews poisoned the villages with alcohol? Statistics from Moldavian villages inhabited by Jews show that the great majority of the taverns were owned by purebred Romanians. Jewish land owners? Where are all the Greeks, Armenians, Poles, and the Romanian big boyars? There is only one single Jewish name among them: Mochi Fisher. And yet...The 1631 Talmud? The former submarine captain claimed that that Talmud contains all the "kike secrets." I have to admit my ignorance: I have never heard of this mysterious Talmud. And if at least this learned Talmud scholar knew one word of the Aramaic language in which the Talmud was written, or if he understood French or German, the languages in which all the Talmudic fakes were spun! But the wretched man knows nothing. He couldn't even copy the Arabic translations he got on his recent trip to Northern Africa. I will, however, point out that the Talmud is a work translated in many languages, which was written over a period of almost five centuries by generations of Jewish scholars. It is a monumental work of ethics, of learning in every walk of life, a work of which we are proud and which is studied by many non-Jewish philosophers. So what can I answer to his Talmud quotations when he can't even give the title of one of his treatises? What are his sources? He says, "Israelitic Archives." Which archives? In what country? What city?

[Valureanu] Retired Major General Dumitru I. Dumitru criticized you in EUROPA for having denigrated Romania in a speech delivered during one of your visits to Germany....

[Rosen] The author said that someone coming from Germany—he doesn't say who it was—told him very serious things about me. This was the passage in the article: "When the Chief Rabbi was in Frankfurt after the Revolution (1990-91), at one meeting of a Jewish organization he allegedly said that the Romanians are a feckless people and that this was the moment for the Jews to seize upon Romania's need for investments, for the Jews to conduct Romania's policies, and to always have governmental alternatives; the Jews have historical rights in Romania, because under the unification act of 1859 there was a clause that ensured rights for the Jews of Moldavia...." Clear accusations, what? Would it matter to my accuser that I never went to Germany after the December Revolution?

[Valureanu] What is the purpose of this anti-Semitic campaign?

[Rosen] Once again, you are asking for logical reasons. This is a matter of instincts. They want to bring back the jungle. They want the law of the fist to govern. For that they need a weak victim. The Jews have always been used for this purpose. Anti-Semitic diversion is an important means of winning the power. Hitler understood that very well. Hatred, hostility, unleashing the beasts—that was and still is the arsenal of all humanity's enemies. Who is behind the current campaign? For that we have state bodies whose duty it is to find out and to tell us what they uncovered. I wonder what the poor demagogues will do if in the end their wish comes true and we decide to go to Israel, when we can no longer stand the jackals' screams? We feel bound by thousands of centuries-long ties to this Romanian nation, its culture, language, and landscape. But if "captains" and "generals" and reserve directors and chief editors absolutely don't want us around, then we'll have no choice.

[Valureanu] What will happen?

[Rosen] I'm a rabbi, not a prophet. My sacred duty is not to remain silent when we are insulted. We are no longer gagged and we indeed would deserve to be scorned if we let ourselves be spat upon without reacting. At the moment fascism is in the offensive. The "silent majority" is under tacit terror. With a few exceptions, there is unfortunately still no counteroffensive on the part of democracy, of the antifascist forces, and the forces of progress. We still believe in the healthy forces of the people, whether in the government party or the opposition, in the members of the worlds of culture and science, in the other ethnic and religious groups, in the common sense and beautiful traditions of the Romanian people. We wholeheartedly hope that the democracy will defend itself.

[Valureanu] Thank you.

Forum of Germans in Romania Protests Extremism

AU1507204091 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 15 Jul 91

[Text] In a declaration that was sent to the National Press Agency ROMPRES for broadcasting, the Democratic Forum of Germans in Romania expresses concern over the spread of extremist manifestations in Romania and shares the belief of democratic forces that these manifestation accentuate domestic social, civic, and political tensions, endanger the democratization process, and consequently distance Romania from Europe.

This stand by the Democratic Forum of Germans in Romania—says the declaration—is determined by the fact that certain publications attack the German minority as a whole, accusing it of lack of loyalty to Romania. The declaration stresses the fact that the German ethnics believe that attitudes and manifestations of an ultranationalistic, chauvinistic, and xenophobic nature undermine the real democratization process and the wish to establish a state of law in Romania.

Journalists' National Convention Held 15 Jul

AU1507183891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1653 GMT 15 Jul 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15 Jul—Romania's National Convention of Journalists—comprised of the Society of Journalists (SZR), the Association of Journalists (AZR), the Union of Professional Journalists (UZP), the Association of Free Lance Journalists (AZLPR) and the Association of Ethnic Hungarian Journalists (AZMR)—meeting on 15 July reaffirms its publicly stated opinion that the broadcasting bill and a possible bill of the press should be discussed and put to the vote after the constitution of Romania is enacted.

The National Convention of Journalists in Romania takes the view that any rule for the substance of the broadcasting programmes can only be part of a general law of the press.

All other broadcasting legislation can only lay down technical and administrative rules, the convention says in a statement.

Pensioners' 'Desperate Appeal' for Higher Pensions

AU1607103991 Bucharest REALITATEA in Romanian 13 Jul 91 pp 1-2

["Text" of letter of the General Union of Pensioners to the president, Parliament; and prime minister of Romania; place and date not given: "Desperate Appeal of the General Union of Pensioners of Romania, on Behalf of the 3,000,000 Pensioners in Our Country, to the President of Romania, the Romanian Parliament, and the Prime Minister"]

[Text] We ask the president of Romania, the Romanian Parliament, and the prime minister that, aside from the multiple problems they have, they devote a minimum of their time to listening carefully and with human understanding to the suffering that today's pensioners are experiencing.

The two and a half months that have elapsed since the last price liberalization—or, more correctly, since the drastic increase in prices—have demonstrated that the indexation and compensation of 1,470 lei that were added to our pensions, which are ridiculously low as it is (and for the increase of which we have been waiting for a long time), have been completely insufficient to make up for the enormous gap between pensioners' incomes and product prices, tariffs, and prices of public services which have increased two to three times over, and some even four times, not to mention the exorbitant free market prices.

It is known that in this period the minimum wage in the economy was increased to 3,150 lei, plus a compensation of 2,825 lei, plus another increase as a result of negotiations with the enterprise leaderships.

As far as we are concerned, we believe that such a measure was welcome and correct because it was found that otherwise a decent existence was not possible.

If, however, one bears in mind that only 2 percent of all pensioners receive a pension in excess of 3,000 lei, while the rest of the 2,800,000 pensioners have a pension below this ceiling (of which 80 percent receive less than 2,000 lei) and if we take into consideration that pensioners have no opportunity to conduct negotiations on their pensions with administration or government bodies, nor are they able to resort to energetic means like trade unions (demonstrations, strikes) in support of their demands, then one can imagine more clearly the disastrous situation of almost all pensioners, whose incomes are below the minimum level needed to cover their costs for food, clothes, housing, and medicines.

Therefore, we believe that it is absolutely necessary to adopt urgent measures, which, aside from indexations and compensations, should aim for a substantial increase in pensions of up to 100 percent for low pensions.

The time has come for the state to take action without delay—five minutes to midnight—before pensioners move from the threshold of poverty, where they are now, to the area of extreme poverty, which is surely in store for them if nothing is done to support them.

Failure of Serbian Policy of Domination

91BA0883A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jul 91
pp 13-16

[Article by Zoran Miljatovic, et al.: "Rise Up, Serbia..."]

[Text] As the tale about another Yugoslavia approaches its conclusion, the pictures of this horror film are speeding by faster and faster. The state of being stunned by the whirlpool of blood, fear, and panic seems in Serbia to have hit hardest precisely those whose job descriptions make them responsible for decisiveness, clarity, and lightning-fast reaction. One need only have been in the Serbian Assembly just after 1000 on Tuesday morning to see the bewildered faces of the leaders of the Assembly and the government after the session was adjourned. The "opinions and positions" were delayed for five hours, and the speeches of the leaders of the executive branch about "detailed plans of action for all contingencies" sounded like nothing more than the shouts of a man who wants to drive away fear. Regardless of the specific motives, this was keenly felt by the mothers and distant and close relatives of the soldiers "in the field" who later burst in unexpectedly, turning it into utter hysteria. Thus, a system based on mystification experienced complete collapse, and it will be hard for even the most effective resuscitators to save it, although it might go on vegetating for years.

Although many examples in the recent past, which nevertheless has been more peaceful, might be found to illustrate the lasting failure of the official authorities of Serbia to get their bearings, the events in the last 10 days are fully indicative. Back on 27 June, Borisav Jovic, making a subsequent check of his opinion, which in the Serbian Assembly could only have gained weight because in the meantime he had become president of the party that makes up the majority of deputies, resolutely concluded that "electing Mesic would mean appeasement of the secessionist policy of Croatia." Subsequent speakers, who were not really ready to accept this kind of rationale, disappointed the president of the Assembly who "profoundly believed that there would be none in this parliament who would defend Mesic," and Vice President Petrovic was quite definite: "I even want Jovic to swear in the name of those of his generation who died in Sumarice in Kragujevac not to allow such a Serb hater as that to take the highest office in Yugoslavia." The government's assurance that the traitors had thereby finally been clearly marked, two days later proved to be a boomerang when, under the sponsorship of the triumvirate, which in these parts demonstrated a habit of listening to the man from Luxembourg, it made the move from the radio station to the politician. Borisav Jovic "allowed" Mesic, lieutenant in the reserves, to take over the Supreme Command.

After all the curses and pledges, what in certain other situations and with other people would have signified a wise compromise, took on the contours of a classic parody in which the legislative branch of a state was

treated like small change pocketed and taken from the pocket as necessary. The member of the SFRY Presidency from Serbia had in any case demonstrated that when he put on the stage show with his resignation.

Even this episode was not enough for those who worry about the prestige of the Serbian Assembly, and they took additional pains: On the day of the first conflict in Slovenia one of the items on the agenda, placed near the top by order of importance, was the rise in the price of gasoline, and on the day of the second large skirmish the Assembly was to take up workplace health and safety, and similar topics. There were no sessions in the interval.

Bewilderment Because of Not Knowing Where To Turn

It has been known for a long time that in Serbia decisions are not made in the Assembly. The anemic positions of the government, in which from session to session it is only the order of words that might change, show that it is not making decisions either.

It would be still more difficult to judge its actions: It would be difficult for the ordinary citizen to even cite some of them. In slightly over four months, three ministers and one vice president have left the Serbian government, precisely those who joined it not because of party membership, but because of their expertise, and the splitting at the seams is continuing. Even before the events in Slovenia it was clear that the life of the Serbian government was essentially limited and its days were numbered.

It is interesting that on 26 June, in the meeting of the Serbian Assembly in which Dragoljub Micunovic said that "Serbia, although it may not seem so at first, is at the moment in a considerably more favorable position," the opposition (or a part of it) even offered, through Zoran Djindjic as its spokesman, a kind of "contract for the general good": "With the statement by its representative that the Executive Council possesses a package of necessary measures for various possible contingencies, the government assumed immense responsibility. It could be given even greater room in which to maneuver by the support of all the parties of Serbia, but, by the same token, the ruling SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] should not create splits over enactment of laws such as the upcoming laws on regional organization, local elections, denationalization...."

The center of decisionmaking in Serbia, no news to anyone, is both formally and informally confined to a single individual. While he had several talks with representatives of the EC and one conversation with each of the leaders of the parliamentary groups (immediately after the Slovene-Croat secession) and with representatives of territorial defense, up until Wednesday morning, when this article is being written, Slobodan Milosevic has made his existence known to the public only with a brief television appearance in which he praised the European intermediaries. The Serbian people can attribute a large portion of the bewilderment to the sense

of his not knowing where else to turn during the days when he was trying brotherhood and unity in action. It is as though the luxury of concerning oneself exclusively with interparty struggles, which the opposition, far removed from affairs of state, can in fact indulge in, had completely paralyzed Serbia's government.

Dr. Vesna Pesic sees the lessons of all this as follows:

"Serbia did not have an appropriate national program, it was not clear what its vision of the future was. It was straddling two horses at the same time, and now we are paying for that. One plan was the domination of Yugoslavia, the firm position that Yugoslavia would conform to the Serbian formula, while relying on the old structures of government—the socialist government and Tito's army. That plan was unsuccessful, which was evident at the Extraordinary Congress of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia], when the Slovene dissidents had to be done away with by the majority. They pulled out and left the party to Milosevic and Momir Bulatovic.

"Serbian policy on Yugoslavia has not changed since that time, but it has experienced a defeat in trying to hold back democratic processes in Serbia and Yugoslavia. A leadership whose equipment consists of poltroons and the old technology of personal power has been unable to respond to the challenges of the new Yugoslavia, and here it should not be forgotten that this was the best possible way out for the Serbian people, for the joint state to be transformed in the direction of European standards, for protection of the rights of all citizens and minorities, and for the full equality of the republics and nationalities to be guaranteed on new democratic and economic foundations, and thus gain general support in the world. Such a policy would have made it clear that it was a question of a new and democratic joint state, not of preserving the old state founded on Titoist structures. The other parallel project is the creation of an expanded Serbia through rebellion in Knin and later in Bosnia-Herzegovina. That plan has only been deepening the conflicts and distrust and is directly opposite to the declared commitment to a 'modern federation.' That plan also relied on the old undemocratic structures and reiterated the militaristic, patriarchal, and egalitarian peasant ideology which has recently been expressed in neofascism.

"In my opinion, Serbia should be updated as a democratic state, and reliance should be placed on its own new democratic forces. But Milosevic has been unable to do that, as was best demonstrated by the events on 9 March and the student rebellion. In short, the team representing personal government and advancement of the worst people in Serbia has experienced an utter defeat. There is even no need to recall all the make-up examinations that policy has had to take, including the sellout of the Serbs in Croatia. Patriotism is measured by results, not by the noise made in the service of personal government. The move is now up to the new Serbia, if indeed it has any

chances in the whirlwind of war. But that whirlwind will pass. We need such a vision for the present and still more for the future."

Regardless of the extent to which many people have seen on all sides the inability of Serbia's president to take "big steps" (for instance, an agreement with the leaders of all the parties in Serbia), and then, of course, the inherited style of "ruling and managing" which is inert and sluggish, an objective assessment was also taken into account that to a large extent Slobodan Milosevic's hands have been tied by the key positions of his political activity up to this point. One was certainly being tied too closely to the Yugoslav People's Army, and this is now being shown to be the greatest weakness in Milosevic's political career to this point.

Unfortunately, the greatest weakness of the Serbian people as well.

"Everyone's and no one's army," as Vuk Draskovic has called it, was greatly surprised in the first real conflict since World War II by the characteristic features of the Slovene armed force, although for years now the public, at least here, has been taught that even the civilians there are no better, and so Serbia and the Serbian people in general found themselves in an area swept by fire.

Mirko Jovic, leader of the SNO [Serbian National Renewal], says that the situation at the moment was expected and is the result of a struggle over several years: "On the one hand are those who want to retain Tito's conception of Yugoslavia, and on the other the Serbian people, regardless of ideological and party commitments. I think that this is in fact a good thing for us Serbs, because people will realize down to the last crazed Serb that there is nothing for us in the same state with the Slovenes, much less the Croats." Mirko Jovic's reflections are quite definite: "Above all, one of the top-level Serbian officers ought to carry out a military coup in the Army, and then the order should be given for all the armed forces to withdraw to the border established by formation of the Serbian Krajina, Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem. After that, a proclamation should be issued that Yugoslavia has amputated territories and we are not interested in whether they will constitute sovereign Croatia and Slovenia or whether Italy, Hungary, or Austria will take them. Then, deport on the spot the 80 percent of the Skipetars who do not have Yugoslav citizenship, and what is left will be unified Serbian lands. The inhabitants of that state would consist of about 15 million Orthodox, 2.5 million Muslims, and 400,000 to 500,000 Catholics, but they are all Serbs because they are on Serbian territory. So, the first step would signify some kind of trimmed Yugoslavia.... Yugoslavia inherited international legality and legitimacy from the Serbian kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro anyway, and now it is being returned to those from whom it was inherited."

Official Serbia, however, is showing that it will not easily give up its "asserted commitments": "The position of the government of Serbia is that so long as Yugoslavia

and its Constitution exist, there should be an army which will defend its borders and the security of the country, including Serbia. Accordingly, in Serbia at this moment there is no need to create a Serbian national army, guards, or voluntary detachments." It is not easy to give up mystification: "After the emphasis that was put on armies in Croatia and Slovenia, Serbia's government and Defense Ministry sent a request to the FEC [Federal Executive Council] and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense for consistent implementation of the resolutions of the SFRY Presidency which pertain to disarming paramilitary formations." (1 July 1991)

At the official ceremonies unveiling the monument to Milos Obrenovic two days earlier, Aleksandar Bakovic, president of the Assembly, had this to say: "The Republic of Serbia expects the federal authorities to protect the territorial and legal integrity of Yugoslavia and also the interests of all the other Yugoslav nationalities, republics, and citizens."

Dr. Petar Skundric, secretary of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], said the day before that that in spite of the dramatic nature of the situation in the country nothing had changed in the orientation of the Socialist Party of Serbia with respect to the legitimacy of the authorities of the state: "The YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] is performing its function, as are the legal government agencies of Serbia.... There is no reason for mistrust of the Yugoslav People's Army, which is our army."

Accepting the Obvious Facts

Unless something really dramatic happens, something considerably more dramatic than anything up to now, the position of Serbian officialdom will not change. But jumping around is already being noticed in certain statements by individuals. Pavic Obradovic, vice president of the Assembly, declared a week ago that "we should carefully reflect whether we should give up our advocacy of Yugoslavia in its present borders," and a few days later he was already completely convinced of this, stating that "we should recognize the legality and legitimacy of the decision of the Assembly of Slovenia to secede and demand that that decision be carried out as a matter of urgency. Accordingly, units of the YPA should also be withdrawn from Slovenia. That is no longer their homeland. If this is not accepted, the Serbian and Montenegrin soldiers should be withdrawn. On behalf of what objectives would they give their lives there?"

According to the bill on defense, which the Serbian Assembly is to take up, the organization of an army and its direction would continue to be left to the federal state, although there is an innovation in that territorial defense units would become a special-purpose segment of the armed forces for carrying out combat missions. The Defense Ministry, according to the bill, would take over defense affairs over the entire territory of the republic no later than 31 December 1991. It is obvious that this bill was also prepared in haste—the appropriate committee of the Assembly examined it in the presence of Admiral

Jokic early in the morning before the session began on 2 July, when it was put on the agenda, although, because of the well-known events, it was not actually taken up. Adm. Jokic appeared before the public that day only late in the evening.

The attachment of Serbs to Yugoslavia, which can be explained in various ways, has also been confirmed in a survey which the Institute for Political Studies conducted in Belgrade in March. At that time, 78.2 percent of the citizens of Belgrade wanted Yugoslavia preserved, and only 9.6 percent did not. Belief in the possibility of Yugoslavia's survival, however, was considerably less than that. Young people showed incomparably more realism—72.1 percent of those over age 55 and only 55.3 percent of those under age 25 believed in Yugoslavia's survival. Belief in the possibility of a peaceful outcome of the Yugoslav crisis was still lower. In Belgrade, 75.3 percent of the respondents supported the view that in case of Yugoslavia's disintegration Serbs should live in one state. The events that have occurred have been painfully felt in Serbia and no doubt have had a sobering effect. Any new survey would show considerably "harsher views."

Jovan Raskovic said in an interview with NIN: "I was 12 years old when 25 March occurred, and I remember a kind of special sadness in my house even among our friends. The fact is that this is a similar situation. I recall that state of depression and how that sadness was turned into happiness, into some kind of joyful euphoria after 27 March. Thus, the Serbian people, perhaps even unconsciously, expected something to happen, even something cataclysmic, but to the benefit of the Serbian people. At this point, I cannot foresee any cataclysmic situation, but I know that something must happen if that people is again to gain confidence, if it is once again to establish some kind of dignity and honor. The Serbian people is a people which has very often reflected about the categories of honor and decency, and much less about the categories of its own profit. It had many reasons to come awake even 50 years ago, but just when it should have come awake, it was put to sleep. I believe that all this will end in a still greater cataclysm. But it also seems to me that the Serbian people needs the catharsis that it will experience. After all, the Serbian people went through the false catharsis of the National Liberation Struggle, the artificial battle which was the ideological war, that was a camouflaged civil war. We have been living a lie for 50 years...."

The big question is the extent to which the center of decisionmaking in Serbia will display the power to react to all this, that is, to accept at least the obvious facts. (The Montenegrin Presidency resolved back on 1 July: "Slovenia should be accepted as a foreign state, and the Montenegrin and Serbian people must not repeat the mistake of once again liberating the Slovene, Croat, or any other South Slav people in the name of Yugoslavia. Instead of that, the Montenegrin people will apply all its

strength to the preservation and development of Montenegro in cooperation with those who want to live with it in peace and harmony.”)

At present, the leadership is most successful in concealing itself and its amazement from the public. As we have been told by Dragan Popadic, M.A., a social psychologist and assistant in the School of Philosophy at Belgrade University: “The Serbian leadership is behaving like a terribly bad chess player, who did, it is true, inherit a bad position, but every move he makes is worse than the previous one. Of course, the pawns are the first to suffer, then the rooks and all the rest, and the king suffers only in the end. He gives up and starts a new game.”

Radical Changes in Serbian Policy Urged

91BA0885A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jul 91
pp 16-17

[Article by Borislav “Mihiz” Mihajlovic: “What Serbs Should Do Now: A 10-Point Proposal for Reflection”]

[Text] There are two opposed aspirations at the basis of everything that has unhappily occurred since the 1970's in the historically abortive state of the South Slavs, which has been condemned to discord and constant conflicts: the persistent endeavor of the Serbian people to maintain Yugoslavia and the equally persistent effort of the Croatian and Slovenian peoples to leave it and become independent.

We have used up two Yugoslavias in vain, and the problem has not been solved for the simple reason that it is insoluble and there is no way for these two aspirations to be realized at one and the same time.

Anyone able to think knew in advance that there simply could not be a third free and democratic Yugoslavia, because the Croatian and Slovenian peoples, as soon as they have the historical opportunity to freely express their will, would establish their own independent states.

In 1991, following referendums whose unanimous results clearly indicated the national will, that is what these two peoples in fact did.

Serbian government policy and even the Serbian people have committed a fatal error, and they are still doing so. Instead of Serbia realizing its disastrous historical mistake and being the first country in the world to recognize the independence of Slovenia and Croatia, the futile battle to create a third Yugoslavia, which is lost in advance, has been continued out of inertia. When the first ended in genocide and the second with war in Slovenia and with Slovenia, what chances would a third have? And by what means would it be possible to keep peoples in it who definitely do not want to be in it? By force? What force? Whose? And are those happy states in which land and cities are held by force?

Was it not the time and occasion for Serbs to finally and once and for all cast off the undeserved reputation of being the guards and jailers of a “prison of nationalities,” expansionist unitarists, usurping hegemonists, Balkan gendarmes, and the last Bolsheviks in Europe? The Serbs are not any of those things, but the world thinks that Serbs are all of them.

In the inertia of our Yugoslavism, with a dead diplomacy stuck on dead center, we have not known how and have not managed to rescind it in good time and with sufficient intelligence.

So, that is how things stand now. Opportunities missed cannot be regained, what is done is done, and what will be will be. Once and for all we must work ourselves out of this straitjacket into which others have strapped us and into which we have gotten ourselves with our mistaken efforts, conflicts provoked and unprovoked, defeats experienced stupidly and unnecessarily, indecision, and overdecisiveness.

In the days immediately ahead, it would perhaps be good to think about the following proposal of possible Serbian decisions and positions:

1. That a coalition and concentration government be immediately formed in Serbia to include representatives of the leading political parties and distinguished public figures.
 2. That that government, thanks to its makeup, its immediate removal of ideological symbols from the state insignia, and its announcement of new multiparty elections to be held soon, make a clear statement to the world that Serbia is not a Bolshevik country.
 3. That Serbia immediately give de facto recognition to the independent and sovereign Republic of Slovenia and declare that it will accord de jure recognition as soon as the balance sheet dividing up the rights and obligations is done in a peace treaty.
 4. That Serbia declare that it will recognize the legitimacy of the independent Croatian state just as soon as the Republic of Croatia recognizes for the Serbian people, on territories where they have lived as the majority population for centuries, exactly the same right to freely decide on their destiny. That the Serbian state make it clear that it will defend to extreme limits the right of self-determination of members of its nationality.
- That Serbia propose to the Republic of Croatia that following definition of the borders, they reciprocally secure and mutually guarantee the rest of the Serbian population in Croatia and the Croatian population in Serbia full civil and political rights and national autonomy at a high level of civilization.
5. That Serbia, in spite of the historical fact that in 1918 it incorporated the territory of the present Macedonia as a part of its state in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, recognize the right of the Macedonian people to an independent Macedonia, which for its part would

commit itself to guaranteeing the Serbian ethnic minority civil and national rights.

6. That Serbia propose to Montenegro that if the citizens of the two republics vote favorably on this, they continue to live in a common state with those arrangements that they define jointly and equally.

7. That Serbia commit itself to respect the decision of the Muslim, Serbian, and Croatian nationalities if they vote to live in an independent Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and it will also accept and support the decision of the Serbian and Croatian populations in Bosnia-Herzegovina if they decide to merge the territories in which they are a majority with Serbia or Croatia, respectively.

8. That Serbia pledge to the world community that it will guarantee civil and political rights and cultural and national autonomy to all ethnic minorities to meet the highest standards of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, which, of course, does not include the right of secession and creation of other national states on the territory of Serbia, a right which no democratic country in Europe recognizes.

9. That Serbia publicly and clearly state that all the efforts of the Serbian people to maintain Yugoslavia have been shattered against the legitimate right and express will of certain Yugoslav nationalities to form and to live in their own independent states. That the Serbian people resolutely refuses to stand in their way in that respect. And that Serbia is proclaiming its irrevocable decision to become once again an independent and democratic state in Europe such as it was before it entered the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in 1918.

10. That Serbia express its readiness to take up in reasonable and democratic negotiations the counterproposals of the other Yugoslav republics for the parting of the ways of the Yugoslav nationalities, which is historically inevitable, but is certainly better done peaceably than with arms.

There is no need for Serbia to worry about what others will gain or lose through independence and to what dangers they might be exposing themselves. Independence will certainly be a salvation and remedy for Serbia: It will catch its breath and rest its soul from the uninterrupted conflicts and disagreements and the incurable illness of the multinational state.

The person submitting this public proposal for reflection does not lay claim to its authorship nor its originality. It contains many ideas that have already been expressed and have matured, and corrections and additions would be welcome in this draft. But I am submitting it out of the belief that we must attempt to offer our people, which absolutely everyone has been attacking, and to some extent it has been attacking itself, at least a clear, collected, and realistic list of immediate national tasks.

If this does not meet that requirement, let us draw up another more reasonable and effective one. But let us not change our course and direction every moment like a drunken helmsman in a rough sea.

Croatian Deputy Defense Minister Interviewed

91BA0877A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
30 Jun 91 p 5

[Interview with Gojko Susak, deputy defense minister of the Republic of Croatia, by Zeljko Lusurovic; place and date not given: "We Did Not Betray the Slovenes"]

[Text] The events in Slovenia undoubtedly have had an impact on the political-security situation in the Republic of Croatia. Movements of YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] units have been stepped up in the Republic of Croatia, and the wounding of civilians in Osijek and also the most recent events in eastern Slavonia have only deepened suspicion that actions by the Army can be expected. We therefore asked Gojko Susak, deputy defense minister of the Republic of Croatia, to tell us whether there is a basis for that suspicion.

"Yes, it can be expected. We have known since last year about that plan of operations for Slovenia and Croatia in the case of our adopting the decisions which we did adopt. Finally, this has also been confirmed when a colonel was captured during the actions in Slovenia who had documents on his person revealing the entire background of the events. However, no sensible person would have thought that things would take such a turn."

Markovic's Indirect Blessing

[Lusurovic] Can one assume that the entire action of the Army was taken out of the hands of those who intended to use it, for example, the FEC [Federal Executive Council] and Ante Markovic?

[Susak] It is important to emphasize that the federal prime minister and federal Army have no authority over the Army command under the 1974 Constitution. That is, they cannot set it in motion. The commander in chief is the SFRY Presidency, which does not exist. The source of all the confusion is that General Adzic and certain others have formed the command staff which would be formed in a state of war, but actually no one is saying anything about a state of war. Nevertheless, we think that some of Ante Markovic's statements suggest that the Army was set in motion with his indirect blessing. However, as far as I am aware, Markovic has set himself apart from the actions of the Army. That means that it was an arbitrary action to set the Army in motion—whether on the part of the military command as a whole or of one part of it. We have the impression that even the command is divided and that we are dealing with an arbitrary action by an isolated group of generals who still advocate a unified Yugoslavia and are appealing to some constitution which we do not understand. But even if we accept their logic, there is still no constitutional basis for the action which they have taken.

[Lusurovic] Was Ante Markovic's role made known to the three foreign ministers the European Community?

[Susak] The ministers brought with them the message that Markovic was not the one who ordered the Army to move.

[Lusurovic] What, in your opinion, is the significant feature of the actions of the Army in Slovenia?

[Susak] First, that the command is Serbian, while the ranks are ethnically mixed. That is quite disturbing. But on the other hand it is encouraging that during the day and a half of operations in which about 2,000 soldiers took part, according to official military sources more than 500 surrendered or were captured, both officers and men. In other words, in a day and a half one-fourth of the soldiers left that Army, which in and of itself shows the morale of that Army and also how ready they are to carry out such orders. We also have an unconfirmed report that in a briefing the soldiers were told that NATO had attacked Yugoslavia and they were going out to defend the country.

War Criminals From Osijek

[Lusurovic] Do you have information in this connection that the soldiers trained for those actions had been isolated for months, with no information or contacts?

[Susak] That is precisely why I mentioned the briefing. These soldiers had been completely isolated from everything. We have several soldiers who came on leave and told us about that. They were confused, they were afraid to go back to their units. There are dozens of them in police stations in Croatia. I do not know what we will do with them. Some of them deserted from the YPA. We do not want to appeal to soldiers from Croatia to desert, because in the end this would mean that in the process of disassociation all the equipment of the YPA would be left in the hands of Serbia and Montenegro, especially because we could assume that Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia might make the same moves as Croatia.

[Lusurovic] The public is interested in what will happen to the soldiers who have left the YPA in this situation.

[Susak] In legal terms, this is an occupation, and we will offer protection to those soldiers. Finally, that attitude toward the YPA and toward its actions also follows from the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia.

[Lusurovic] What is your comment on the position of the high-level officers of the YPA in the command of the Fifth Military District, which on Friday, under some working agreement with the newsmen, insisted that "absent without leave" be used for those soldiers instead of "desertion"?

[Susak] They must insist on that distinction, because it would be a disgrace for them if it were treated as desertion. That would be a disgrace both in the eyes of the people and in the eyes of the world.

[Lusurovic] How do you interpret the actions of the YPA in Osijek?

[Susak] Those are war crimes. Whoever ordered the firing on civilians, the firing on the hospital—even the Nazis did not fire on hospitals during the war—is a war criminal. We will demand, and we have a duty to do so to the people and under the law, that those people be tried as war criminals. We will not back off from that, even if it leads to the commander and the person from whom he received the order.

[Lusurovic] How are things developing at the moment?

[Susak] I hear that this morning, on Saturday, they have carried out mobilization in Serbia, which is contrary to the agreement which Presidents Tudjman and Kucan have with the three men from Europe.

[Lusurovic] Are there assessments to the effect that the situation in Slovenia will very quickly be carried over to Croatia as well?

[Susak] I do not want to make threats, but the YPA has not managed to do anything in Croatia even in the last year. The will of the people is such that it is certain that even in the situation which we do not want to come about, the Croatian people will rise up as the victor. The Army has attacked Slovenia and it has wanted to draw us into all that, but it did not want to issue a clear challenge to us. In everything, the Army has counted on the Chetnik element in Croatia, because there is no longer any doubt whatsoever that the Army in Obrovac and Benkovac is supplying them even with its exercise grounds. But I must say that there is no theoretical chance of the Army attacking Croatia and turning back the clock.

[Lusurovic] What contacts does the Defense Ministry have at the moment with the command of the Fifth Military District?

[Susak] Those contacts are rather confusing. On Thursday, we were conducting negotiations with Gen. Raseta, who in time will supposedly replace Gen. Konrad Kolsek. He told us at that time that there were no problems whatsoever and that everything should be settled peacefully. But you see that after that statement they have been passing through Osijek the way they have.

[Lusurovic] But Osijek is not under the command of the Fifth Military District.

[Susak] Just a moment, there are not five commands and five armies here. It is the same thing everywhere. Units of the First Military District have been passing through Osijek, and those of the Fifth Military District through Varazdin toward Slovenia. Is there any difference? So, it is not a question of jurisdiction at all, especially because the commanders of all the districts have one and the same order. It is a question of the same stance.

[Lusurovic] How would you describe performance of the agreement on mutual defense cooperation between Slovenia and Croatia, which is the fruit of numerous contacts of the competent ministers?

[Susak] The cooperation has been better than good. But I think that the Slovenes were too quick to act—I am referring to the taking of the borders. In political terms, that was not very wise. We could not see eye to eye on that, in contrast with all the rest. We even attempted to talk them out of that, but the situation in Slovenia is a bit specific. Kucan, who is a wise politician, does not have a majority in the Slovene Assembly, which is putting pressure on him to make certain moves too quickly. If the purpose of your question was to get me to say why we did not attack the Army, I must tell you that that would not have been wise. After all, we in Croatia have an entire body of a Fifth Column and Chetniks with whom we must deal in a different way. The second thing that must be taken into account is the scale of the military forces concentrated in Croatia, which is 1:7 relative to the military forces in Slovenia. But if the Army carried out an action identical to what it did in Slovenia, we would have responded identically. As far as relations with Slovenia are concerned at the moment, we have displayed the fullest solidarity we could. We will give safe haven to Slovene deserters who leave the YPA in Croatia, all the information which we had we have forwarded to the Slovenes.... And I do not think that we betrayed the Slovenes; what is more, if we had undertaken complete resistance, there would have been bloodshed on all sides, and even the West would have had an excuse to say, here, you see that the republics are usurpers—even though we are in the right. After all, the West would think along the lines of at least some kind of peace having existed in Yugoslavia until recently. Both political and economic factors contribute to that.

Peterle Speech at Slovene Independence Celebration

91BA0872A Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK
in Slovene 26 Jun 91 p 3

["Excerpts" of speech given by Slovene Prime Minister Lojze Peterle in Ljubljana on 25 Jun: "We Will Not Sell Our Souls to Anyone"]

[Text]

- The law on the Bank of Slovenia regulates the foundations of the monetary system and central bank operations in the republic, and thus implements the decision on our own monetary system and an independent central bank in the republic.
- In accordance with the transitional provisions of the law on the Bank of Slovenia, during the transitional phase we will still continue to use Yugoslav dinars as a medium of payment (until a specific date after the declaration of independence). At that time we will replace them with our own money.

- I should also mention two more "ifs": if the National Bank of Yugoslavia takes away Slovene banks' authorization to conduct payment transactions and credit operations abroad, the Bank of Slovenia will issue such authorization immediately, and will immediately inform the foreign correspondent network of this.
- With respect to foreign economic relations, during the past six months we have devoted the most attention to preparing the legal basis for taking over the federation's functions in the foreign exchange, credit, customs, and foreign trade systems; ensuring technical possibilities for uninterrupted payment and commodity transactions with foreign countries; and preparing initial negotiating positions for concluding international agreements and for reaching further agreements on cooperation between the Republic of Slovenia and other states.

Customs System Temporarily Unchanged

- In its statement of good intentions, the Republic of Slovenia committed itself to respecting all international agreements that Yugoslavia has also concluded on its behalf.
- With the implementation of the constitutional law on carrying out the constitutional act on the autonomy and independence of the Republic of Slovenia, the law on the customs service and other laws regulating tariffs and the payment of customs duties will also begin to be applied. By taking over the federal customs law, the customs service will remain temporarily unchanged. The flow of goods will thus be uninterrupted; and possibilities are also open for further agreements with federal authorities.
- During the next few days the government will pass regulations to establish normal relationships between the prices of raw materials and the retail prices of milk and bread.

Preventive Increase in Reserves

- In any event, we have made preventive increases in the reserves of some of the more important products, primarily medicines and petroleum products.
- For the uninterrupted flow of goods and travelers in international highway traffic, we have prepared a special program for taking over federal authority to change and distribute permits and to regulate transportation in international highway traffic. In talks with federal authorities, it has been agreed that this year the permits will still continue to be allocated by the Yugoslav Economic Chamber.
- The Law on Foreign Affairs provides a basis for setting up our own foreign policy system and our own foreign policy. We will implement it gradually, in accordance with the pace of the negotiations on regulating mutual rights and obligations between the Republic of Slovenia and the federation.

We Are Prepared To Negotiate!

- The Law on Control of the State Border permits the control of Slovene territory and ensures the security of the citizens of Slovenia. Upon the declaration of independence, Slovenia will establish, on all of its borders, the kind of control over crossing the state border and the kind of border regime that are specified by the law that has been passed. In accordance with it, the tasks of protecting the state border with Italy, Austria, and Hungary will be taken over and carried out by the internal affairs authorities. The institution of the border zone will be eliminated, along with all restrictions on moving and remaining within it. The body responsible for controlling the crossing of the state border will be given the discretionary right to decide on the extent of the control of travel documents and the inspection of vehicles and things; this will eliminate the former obligation of complete inspection. There will also be more possibilities for crossing the state border for tourism and other purposes.
- There are eight control points on the border with Croatia, which are only on land and are not traditional border crossings. At the control points, the border police will selectively check individuals and vehicles with the purpose of detecting prohibited migration flows from the south to the north, and will perform all other usual police tasks, which they would also do even if there were no control points on the border. The Croatian police have been informed of this.
- The actions that we are completing today should also be given appropriate insurance. You are aware that in the past weeks we have taken preventive, security, and defensive measures. Events, particularly in May, have demonstrated that such measures were justified.
- We will first make an effort to resolve the issue of the immediate release of our recruits who are performing military service in the Yugoslav Army, and to have that obligation end for them with the declaration of Slovenia's independence. We are prepared to negotiate on all of the proposals offered to date for the gradual withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from our territory. Our proposal is that the Yugoslav Army will still keep certain functions temporarily, but these will in no way limit the independence of the Slovene state.
- The renewal of the economy has been accompanied by acute social problems. In order to alleviate them, the government has prepared a program document that has been overlooked by the public on many occasions (and the opinion has even been formed that the government does not have one). I am talking about a social program.
- We will not move anywhere, and we will not sell our souls to anyone. We will continue to live in this extraordinary part of Europe, faithful to our truth, values, and the experiences marked by our position—to put it simply, between East and West.

Director on Role of Slovene Intelligence Service

91BA0886B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 3 Jul 91 p 12

[Interview with Dr. Miha Brejc, director of the Slovene intelligence service, by Zarko Hojnik; place and date not

given: "Successful Work of the Security-Information Service Before and During the War in Slovenia"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 2 July—What was the role of the Security-Information Service [VIS] during the aggression against Slovenia, and its contribution to protecting the state, its people, and property? We asked these questions of Dr. Miha Brejc, the director of the VIS under the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia. The conversation with him was very complicated because it was constantly interrupted by telephone calls.

[Hojnik] How did events proceed before the aggression against Slovenia?

[Brejc] That is already something that is well known, to be sure, and so we won't talk about the details. Even before last fall, the VIS had certain information about the plans from which it was possible to conclude that the Yugoslav Army intended to intervene by force if things did not go differently. We did not pretend to ourselves that this would not be feasible, but it seemed unlikely to me personally that the Yugoslav Army would intervene against its own people, since in our republic there are also citizens of Yugoslavia in the barracks in addition to Slovenes. As you know, there is no ghetto in Slovenia, and we obviously have people so intermingled that casualties would be unavoidable for everyone. In short, those documents that we discovered indicated that something like what did happen could occur.

[Hojnik] What was the role of the military counterintelligence service with respect to those documents?

[Brejc] Our service obtained those documents through its own channels. I am not aware of the military counterintelligence service having any significant role in this. Everything altogether became more intense, and new documents showed that this was a serious matter.

[Hojnik] How did the military KOS [counterintelligence service] react when you broke off all cooperation with it?

[Brejc] After it became clear to the military counterintelligence service that we in Slovenia were establishing the Security-Information Service, which would exclusively serve the interests of the Republic of Slovenia, it had to begin hurriedly acquiring various collaborators on the territory of Slovenia. I think that they also succeeded in this to a considerable extent.

[Hojnik] Why do you think so?

[Brejc] Because that service collected so much information and also provided it to the military leadership in Belgrade.

[Hojnik] What was the activity of foreign intelligence services in Slovenia like at that time?

[Brejc] Milan Aksentijevic, a Yugoslav Army representative, also warned about that in the Slovenian parliament, among other things. Colonel Aksentijevic probably had some information of his own for such an

assertion. We are aware of a few such cases, but I could not claim that foreign intelligence services in our republic had the kind of role that was played by the military counterintelligence service.

[Hojnik] Did you perhaps learn of cooperation between foreign intelligence services and the Army?

[Brejc] The Yugoslav Army and its intelligence service also have their contacts in the world, just as that is characteristic of all other intelligence services. Consequently, there is nothing new in the fact that such contacts have existed and will probably exist in the future.

[Hojnik] And also in Slovenia?

[Brejc] Yes. But it is difficult to say how many contacts there were between the military counterintelligence service and foreign intelligence services.

[Hojnik] Who are the organizers of the conspiracy against our republic's independence?

[Brejc] It is hard to say whether it is a conspiracy or not, but at any rate it is a fact that Slovenia was one of the first republics to begin democratization processes and also to encourage them elsewhere, and it is now certainly a thorn in the side of those who would like to preserve some past situation. One of the biggest problems in this regard, of course, is the Yugoslav Army, which in the kind of system that obviously existed, had guaranteed resources for survival and played a very important political role.

[Hojnik] What sort of role has the VIS played during the aggression against Slovenia?

[Brejc] Long before the military aggression against our republic, the VIS was monitoring various disruptive phenomena that indicated the seriousness of the situation and the possibility of the Yugoslav Army's intervention in Slovenia. The employees of the VIS collected a great deal of useful information, and also provided it to the republic authorities. During all the months before this, our work has been extremely intensive and useful; this has also been unambiguously confirmed by the users of our information. If we are talking about the VIS's work during the aggression, I have to say that it is performing its role and work as before, since this is secret work, which does not take place before the eyes of the public.

[Hojnik] Did former state security employees also come to your assistance?

[Brejc] The ranks of the VIS in our republic were also reinforced by individual retirees from our service who are voluntarily prepared to cooperate in all sorts of tasks. Reservists and former security service personnel from the Republic Secretariat for Internal Affairs also came to our assistance.

[Hojnik] What drove them to such a decision?

[Brejc] All of them, without exception, were aware of what was going on, and no one hesitated for a moment about helping with important security tasks which are of such crucial importance for our state.

[Hojnik] Is it true that you knew about all sorts of intentions of the military KOS long before they were carried out?

[Brejc] The VIS knew long in advance about all sorts of events that actually did happen. To tell the truth, however, it is necessary to say that we did not know about a lot of things, or did not have specific information.

[Hojnik] To what extent were you helped by citizens?

[Brejc] Our service probably would not have been so successful at this time if it had not had an exceptional response from people. The willingness of the citizens of our republic is exceptional. People report to us various information and news which is useful in these extraordinary circumstances.

[Hojnik] How do you collect information, then?

[Brejc] Quite legally, even in this situation, and by nonviolent means. In short, if someone wants to provide information, we are also prepared to accept it and verify it appropriately.

[Hojnik] Has eavesdropping on certain telephones in our republic borne any particular fruit, and in which cases?

[Brejc] Although I have already stated on one occasion that people in our republic have a negative attitude toward eavesdropping, our measures have turned out to be useful. Some time ago I told you that we were then eavesdropping on about 80 telephones in Slovenia. People, of course, had certain doubts about this and opposed it. Later on, someone reduced that figure to only 50 wiretapped telephones. Regardless of all this, we are consistently adhering to the law on internal affairs which specifies the use of means and methods. What is most important of all is that in that way we have collected extremely important information that went straight to the authorities of the Republic of Slovenia.

[Hojnik] What is the procedure for obtaining permission for eavesdropping or for the use of other means?

[Brejc] Since the middle of May, we have been carrying out every wiretap or the use of means and methods through a court. That is also the case now. When there is suspicion, we plant listening devices where they are needed—on the basis of a court decision, of course.

[Hojnik] Have you discovered anything really significant by means of eavesdropping?

[Brejc] It would probably not be appropriate to reveal information about the success of our legal actions at this time. As you have already been able to determine, we are

obviously oriented more toward uncovering the activities of the military counterintelligence service and its assistants, which is quite understandable during this time of war.

[Hojnik] And how many telephones are you eavesdropping on now?

[Brejc] I do not know the exact number, but it is better if we do not mention that for now. You must be aware that we are still taking action against terrorism and carrying out the rest of our standard tasks, but collecting useful information to benefit our state and the security of people and their property takes precedence.

[Hojnik] Then the military KOS is still active on the territory of Slovenia?

[Brejc] The Yugoslav Army has numerous threads of information interwoven in Slovenia. Then, on the basis of the information thus collected, the officers of the counterintelligence service provide what they have ascertained to the military leadership. I know that many people in our republic are still cooperating with the security intelligence service.

[Hojnik] Is there any specific information on the number of KOS collaborators?

[Brejc] I cannot talk about numbers. I do not have that information. It is simply not possible to determine that.

[Hojnik] What kind of influence has been exerted by the one-sided reports and assessments of the military counterintelligence service in the emergence of the crisis and in settlement of the military situation in Slovenia?

[Brejc] Their role has been considerable. Their reports have certainly been one-sided. Yugoslav Army officers simply cannot realize that a certain period has ended and that the Slovenian people, who clearly and quite freely expressed their will in the plebiscite, also seriously think this, as demonstrated not only by actions in the parliament, but also on the battlefield. We Slovenes will not give up our territory. It seems that the JLA [Yugoslav People's Army] cannot realize that we are prepared to fight. If someone provides information that, let us say, suits the JLA generals, then it may happen that surprises occur that are not acceptable to them. It was said more than once that 2 million people cannot resist such a force and that we Slovenes are not any particular soldiers, etc.... And that it would all be over in two hours. They obviously forget that during the NOB [National Liberation Struggle] Slovenes played an important role and that they had the most casualties at that time.

[Hojnik] What can you say about the arrest of Colonel Miladin Nedovic, the deputy chief of the military counterintelligence service in Slovenia?

[Brejc] You have been informed about that, and so I do not have anything to add. He is a soldier in an occupying

army, and an agent of a foreign intelligence service. It is true that he intensively prepared the activities that took place in Slovenia.

[Hojnik] What sort of role was played by the KOS and individuals in its leadership?

[Brejc] We have concrete information that the security service played an extremely important role in the aggression against Slovenia. Some of its representatives not only planned specific actions, but also participated in them directly and headed armed operations. They are important people in this aggression.

[Hojnik] What is the VIS's role with respect to prisoners of war?

[Brejc] Our position is that young soldiers should be sent home immediately. Active officers are a different matter, especially if they are members of the military counterintelligence service. I do not know of any state that would treat prisoners of war as democratically as ours. We would be happy if the opposing side also treated our people in the same way.

[Hojnik] How many KOS officers have you caught, and how many have surrendered to you?

[Brejc] The VIS does not have the task of making arrests. Its function in this respect is to collect information on important events, people, etc. If a certain individual is suspected of one illegal act or another, we invite him for a talk. There have been cases in which members of the security service have been willing to talk voluntarily and to join us.

[Hojnik] What is happening behind the walls of the barracks?

[Brejc] It is known that the situation in the barracks is serious. One does not need to be an intelligence officer for that. Imagine soldiers who have been entrenched in there for several days, under stress, under constant pressure from security officers and military political structures, while at the same time without suitable conditions for normal living. They are without telephone communications or electricity there. Supplies are poor. They live in fear that we will attack the barracks, etc. All of this affects the people who are inside the installations in question. It also simply has to do with the fact that they are disunited and that a lot of them would leave if the doors of the barracks were open. The Yugoslav Army will not allow that, however. I am convinced that Slovenian officers and soldiers are under strict surveillance.

[Hojnik] Where is Colonel Emin Malkoc, the head of the military intelligence service in Slovenia?

[Brejc] Colonel Malkoc was only here twice. We talked about the things that were relevant then. Since then, we have not heard or seen any more of each other. I suspect that like me, he is in the service 24 hours a day.... Of course, we are condemned to live in a so-called avalanche of work.

[Hojnik] Are foreign intelligence services also assisting you in your efforts?

[Brejc] We have established contacts, primarily with the Italian and Austrian intelligence services. Even before the declaration of independence, they were very interested in setting up a so-called hot line and in our informing them about events here. On Thursday, 27 June, a little after 0300, they had first-hand information about the events in Slovenia. They are immediately informed about every important step taken by the aggressor. It is also true that they are also passing us of useful information, while wishing us all the best and hoping that we will hold out in this struggle...

[Hojnik] Have you had any casualties in your service?

[Brejc] For the time being, no, and I hope that it will stay that way....

Redefinition of Montenegro Borders Sought

*91BA0888C Titograd POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian
5 Jul 91 p 8*

[Communique of the Governing Board of the Christian Democratic (Orthodox) Party; place and date not given: "The Montenegrin Army Will Not Go Beyond the Neretva"]

[Text] With the formation of Yugoslavia in 1918 and in the interest of that community, Montenegro gave up acquisitions of its state which back in 1876 had fought its way to Kleka, which is now Neum (on the smaller map) [map not included]. It was supported in this by the population of Hercegovina, which is loyal to it even today. The former Republic of Dubrovnik went to Croatia in 1918 for the same reasons, although from the day it came into being it had never gravitated toward or belonged to the Croatian state, and the majority of the population was of Serbian origin (which in Dubrovnik itself, with its hinterland, constitutes almost 50 percent of the population). Along with the hinterland of eastern Hercegovina, they are in danger of genocide, and if Yugoslavia should be disassembled, they would cooperate in forming an autonomous region of Montenegrin Krajina (marked with the large line on the larger map) [map not included].

Now that it is finally clear that Yugoslavia is very rapidly and certainly departing into history, Montenegrins have to say once and for all what will belong to them according to all the criteria which this world recognizes and is familiar with.

It is true that this has been said already in one form or another even before now, but never has the minimum of Montenegrin aspirations been clear before nor had precisely established boundaries.

Aside from the well-known territory in the east, those on the west are as follows:

1) the entire territory of the so-called Dubrovnik Republic (Dubrovnik, Konavle, the coastal zone to the

mouth of the Neretva, Pelesac, and the islands of Mljet, Lastovo, and Korcula);

2) eastern Hercegovina to the Neretva, including Mostar, old Hercegovina, along the line: Bjelasnjica—Romanija—the Praca river—the Drina—the Lim (which includes Foca, Kalinovik, Caljnice, and Rudo).

The Governing Board of the Christian Democratic (Orthodox) Party recalls the fact that the most numerous ethnos of the Balkans and Europe—the Orthodox Slavs—possess the strongest war machine in the Balkans and Europe—and that the challenges being sent to it these days from Croatia must no longer exceed that measure allowed by its famous tolerance.

The stability of Montenegro, in spite of the instability of Yugoslavia, follows from the fact that it was not Yugoslavia that created Montenegro, but Serbia and Montenegro that created Yugoslavia.

Seen in formal terms, Yugoslavia's disintegration does not threaten Montenegro in territorial terms; in this case, it would in just a few hours annex Prevlaka (Cape Ostro), whereby it would achieve geopolitical stability in the Bay of Kotor.

However, according to that scenario, Montenegro would for the first time in its impressive history fail to fulfill its historical obligation to be the guarantor of security for that portion of the population which, because it belongs to the Orthodox faith, has been left to the mercy or, more certain, cruelty—to chauvinistic genocide in Croatia, which has shown itself to be a historical constant. The cultural and spiritual development of Montenegro would always bear an imprint which Montenegrin history has not recorded, an imprint of the betrayal of those unfortunates in SAO [Serbian Autonomous Oblast] Krajina, 80 percent of whom, we recall, come from Montenegro.

The Montenegrin state must help them in this way, which is the only one that is realistic in political and military terms: to embrace that territory to the Neretva, which would provide the basis for further negotiations concerning their security. No more can be requested of Montenegro, because this is already more than enough on its part.

In this way, Montenegro would secure a prospect for development embracing about one million inhabitants and an area larger than 20,000 km, which in geopolitical terms, in natural terms, in economic terms, and in terms of the mental makeup of the population is integral and unified.

We particularly mention that Montenegro, before entering into any conflicts at all, must first adopt a clear plan for which it would fight to defend its interests, exclusively its own interests, and under what conditions it would do so, exclusively its own conditions.

The Governing Board of the Christian Democratic (Orthodox) Party [original reads "structure"] envisages the following Montenegrin conditions:

- 1) The Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] should limit its presence exclusively to that portion of Yugoslav territory which still wishes to live in a reduced Yugoslavia. If it does not deploy itself in that fashion, its ultimate motives are unclear to us.
- 2) In that case, an independent Montenegrin army should be formed, made up of Montenegrins, as well as Serbs and members of the other nationalities in Montenegro who would take an oath of loyalty to the Montenegrin state. Any departure from the oath would be punishable as high treason.
- 3) The extreme border of Montenegrin military participation is to the Neretva.
- 4) The territory annexed would become part of the integrity of Montenegro only in the political and legal status of the autonomous oblast of the Montenegrin Krajina, and the parent state would remain in the borders of the present Montenegro, to which Cape Ostro would be annexed.
- 5) Because Montenegro has not been allowed to have its own military industry in Yugoslavia, but this has been mainly located in the Republic of Serbia, we call upon the latter to deliver a portion of armaments on the basis of reasonable credits. This is a condition for the cooperation of the armies of these two neighboring states.

Document on Bosnia-Herzegovina Position

91BA0878A *Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian*
27 Jun 91 p 7

["Text" of document delivered by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Constitutional Court on 26 Jun to the republic parliament entitled "Observations and Proposals": "Condemnation of Unconstitutional Changes"—first three paragraphs are BORBA introduction]

[Text] Sarajevo—Yesterday, the Constitutional Court of B-H [Bosnia-Herzegovina] submitted a document entitled "Observations and Proposals" concerning the current situation in Yugoslavia to the republic parliament, just five hours before commencement of the extraordinary and lengthy plenary meeting of the B-H Assembly, which had only one item on the agenda—precisely what the Constitutional Court had written in its document. Following the tandem secession of Slovenia and Croatia, B-H is now trying to define its position under the new circumstances and to make a decision along those lines within the institutions of the system.

The document of the Constitutional Court was signed by its president, Dr. Kasim Trnka, and was created in yesterday's meeting of the Court and contained nine points.

Acting in the light of its constitutional responsibility to protect and achieve constitutionality and legality, constitutional order, and civil and human freedoms and rights, the Constitutional Court of Bosnia-Herzegovina has examined the current legal and political situation in Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina which is characterized by tension, sharp confrontations, and uncertainty, and in its meeting held 26 June 1991 it set forth the following

Observations and Proposals

1. Changes in Yugoslavia's constitutional system may be made only in a legal manner, by democratic means, within the framework of the institutions of the constitutional system and in accordance with the established procedure. The legitimate right of the peoples and citizens in the republics to self-determination must be realized in a democratic process, through legal and democratic resolution of all disputes and outstanding questions.

The constitutional order of Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina may not be changed in an unconstitutional manner, nor by unilateral or violent acts. Such changes, including changes of internal and external borders, remain illegal and legally invalid from the standpoint of the SFRY Constitution and the constitution of SR [Socialist Republic] B-H as a constitutional legal order. They would only provoke civil war and anarchy. No one, neither in domestic nor international law, can obtain legal validity for what has been gained in a manner which is not in conformity with the constitutional and legal order.

Such attempts would represent an anachronism and are directly contrary to the present-day processes of civilization and the new architecture of relations in Europe. No one has the right to bully all the rest in Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina from becoming involved in those processes.

2. It is indispensable to continue and intensify efforts within the framework of constitutional institutions in the republics and in the Federation so as to find solutions to the Yugoslav constitutional crisis in a peaceful, legal, and democratic manner, and thereby protect the rights and freedoms and legitimate interests of all citizens, nationalities, and ethnic minorities. The Constitutional Court believes that the principles contained in the platforms of the president of the Presidency of SR B-H and the president of the Republic of Macedonia, as well as of the Federal Executive Council, constitute a real basis and point of departure for finding generally acceptable solutions.

3. Bosnia-Herzegovina, as has been stated in its Constitution, is a "democratic state of equal citizens and nationalities of Bosnia-Herzegovina—Muslims, Serbs, and Croats, and of members of other nationalities and ethnic minorities living in it." Bosnia-Herzegovina is just as much a participant as the other republics in resolving the Yugoslav constitutional crisis. It has the

same rights, obligations, and responsibilities in regulating relations in the Yugoslav community. Its citizens are the sole holders of power in the republic, and only they, within the framework of constitutional institutions and in the prescribed manner, can decide on issues of the position and internal arrangement of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

4. The territory of the republic is unified and indivisible. No one outside Bosnia-Herzegovina is entitled or able to alter its borders. They can be altered constitutionally only by decision of the Assembly of SR B-H in accordance with the will of the citizens of the entire republic, expressed by their prior declaration through a referendum, and if two-thirds of the total number of voters favor changing the borders.

5. It is the inviolable and inalienable right and duty—the constitution of SR B-H explicitly provides—of the nationalities and ethnic minorities and of the working people and citizens of SR B-H to protect and defend the freedom, independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and social system of the SFRY and SR B-H established by the constitution. No one has the right to prevent citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina from performing this patriotic duty of theirs. Anyone who prevents them in that is committing an unconstitutional and punishable act regarded as treason.

Political and any other organization and activity aimed at forcibly changing the system established by the constitution, threatening the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the republic, violating human and civil freedoms and rights, and also inciting ethnic, racial, and religious enmity and intolerance is prohibited and punishable under the constitution.

The activity of political parties from other republics is intolerable on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina unless they are registered with federal authorities in the context of the constitution.

6. The constitution states that all government bodies and agencies, the Assembly of SR B-H, the Presidency of SR B-H, the Constitutional Court of B-H, the government, judicial bodies, and all other bodies of government in the republic are required to undertake without delay all measures envisaged by the constitution and the legal system to protect the civil rights and freedoms, state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and totality of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It is the right and duty of the republic, acting through republic authorities, to directly guarantee enforcement of the constitution, laws, and other enactments if they are not being enforced by the authorities and organizations in the opstinas. The constitution has envisaged legal means and authorities of republic agencies to guarantee the functioning of a law-governed state over the entire territory of the republic. It is the right and duty of all government bodies and agencies and all state

officials and other public officials to exercise their constitutional rights and legal authority. They also bear all the consequences of responsibility for failure to exercise their powers.

7. In exercising its responsibility to protect the constitutional order and territorial integrity, the republic should cooperate as closely as possible with the Yugoslav People's Army, which, as a part of the country's unified armed forces, is required and responsible under the constitution to guarantee this, including protection of the inviolability of the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

8. In collaboration with federal authorities, an assessment should be made of the need to report the situation that has come about and its possible implications to relevant factors in the international community, and to activate the appropriate mechanisms of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation (CSCE).

9. At the same time, everything should be undertaken within the republic to reestablish constitutionality and legality and the rule of law. The Constitutional Court has on several occasions pointed to the widespread cases of their violation. At this point, it is indispensable that political parties participating in exercise of the authority of the state reaffirm and confirm in practice their programmatic commitments to strengthen the law-governed state.

If this is to be achieved, it is indispensable that political consensus be reached in the Assembly of SR B-H on the key issues concerning the position of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the possible directions for resolving the constitutional crisis in the country. Resolute support must be given to the independent position and activity of all government bodies free of party influence, especially the executive branch and the judiciary. It is untenable to arbitrarily take over and exercise the powers of the state, to create parallel and competitive bodies of government representing "regional territorialization" and other ways of jeopardizing the constitutional order and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the republic. Effective execution of the decisions of the bodies of the state must be guaranteed, and citizens must be guaranteed personal safety and the safety of their property.

Krajina Judicial, Banking System Reorganization

*91BA0888B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
3 Jul 91 p 17*

[Article by Radovan Lazarevic: "Serbian Autonomous Oblast Krajina Will Soon Have Its Own Branch of the Social Accounting Service"]

[Text] A first step has been taken from formal to real autonomy of SAO [Serbian Autonomous Oblast] Krajina: The Assembly of that autonomous oblast recently adopted the law on the courts which adds district courts and a supreme court to the existing opstina courts in the Krajina. As it was put by Risto Matkovic, deputy prime minister of SAO Krajina, adoption of this law was

indispensable so that the inhabitants of the Serbian Krajina would not continue to be judged by the courts of another state, which is what the people here consider Croatia to be.

In any case, until adoption of this law no opstina in Croatia with a majority Serb population had a district court. That was the situation even before Tudjman, which for Matkovic is just one more proof of the continuous discrimination that Croatia has practiced toward the Serbian regions.

The Public Prosecutor's Office and Solicitor General's Office will be reorganized like the courts in SAO Krajina. When all this actually takes on life, and Matkovic feels that this is a question of the near future, the courts in the Krajina will gain full autonomy.

All Branches of the SDK [Social Accounting Service] in Croatia

At this moment, the question of an SDK for the Krajina is crucial. After all, Matkovic explains, at the moment all payment operations of the Krajina go through the office of the SDK, while all the branches are in Croatia. Accordingly, all the money collected over the entire region of the Krajina by way of taxes and contributions (for schools, the health service, child welfare, the police, and everything else financed at the level of the republic) flows into the republic treasury, and not a dinar comes back.

This has put the Krajina in an absurd position: Its economy is furnishing money for social services; however, Croatia is obviously spending that money on certain other purposes instead of the schools and health service of the Krajina. So that the schools and hospitals will not cease operating, the government of SAO Krajina has had to find new sources for financing these activities and also its own police. As Matkovic says, up to now they have managed to do this with the contributions of individuals and enterprises and with money obtained from outside. However, often this has not been enough, and the health service of the Krajina was at one point without the drugs necessary to keep certain patients alive. If Serbia, Montenegro, and certain institutions in Bosnia had not come to the rescue, all of this could have been fatal for a certain number of patients.

The FEC [Federal Executive Council] as a Hindrance

The question of halting the outflow of money is almost one of "to be or not to be" for SAO Krajina. And the fact that this has not been done up to now, Matkovic feels, is mostly the responsibility of the FEC, which has been continuously protecting the interests of the Republic of Croatia. After all, he says, when "Sume Krajine" and the Plitvice National Park opened a revolving account in Belgrade so that they could conduct their business (Croatian banks shut down financial operations for the economy of the Krajina), the FEC immediately intervened by sending an inspectorate to the branch of the SDK in New Belgrade. However, that same FEC

remained completely silent when Croatia completely "cut off" the flow of cash into the Krajina. The National Bank of Yugoslavia also kept silent at that time about our request for it to intervene.

Without its own branch of the SDK, money from SAO Krajina will go irrecoverably into the treasury of the Republic of Croatia. However, Matkovic says, that will not last long. The Krajina, he says, will very soon have its own branch, and this will be a new and perhaps decisive step toward real autonomy.

The Krajina, according to Matkovic, is on the way to freeing itself completely of dependence on the Bank of Split, which even earlier had, through political coercion, become for all practical purposes a monopoly bank for the Knin region. That is, all of a sudden this bank ceased to provide financial support to the Knin economy, which was thus left without a bank. And it is well known, Matkovic said, that no economy in the world can do without appropriate financial support.

The government of SAO Krajina sees the solution to this situation, according to Matkovic, in establishment of its own commercial bank, whose founders would be other commercial banks and the economy of the Krajina. Matkovic believes that this will happen in the very near future.

It is obvious that SAO Krajina is less and less a formal and more and more a real autonomous structure.

Personnel Changes in Yugoslav Army Reported

91BA0886A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 3 Jul 91 p 4

[Article by Vojko Flegar: "Almost All Command Positions in Yugoslav Army Occupied by Hawkish Serbian Generals"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 2 July—Lieutenant General Zivota Avramovic, born in 1934 in a village close to Valjevo in Serbia, obtained his rank with the same SFRY Presidency decree as Generals Konrad Kolsek and Aleksandar Spirkovski. The commanders of the 3rd (Skopje), 5th (Zagreb), and 1st (Belgrade) Army Districts were promoted on 22 December 1990. Avramovic is a tank officer, just like the chief of the general staff of the Yugoslav Army, Blagoje Adzic, with a career that under different circumstances would certainly not have ended with his former command position.

Avramovic's new right hand is Major General Andrija Raseta, who was already previously the deputy commander of the 5th Army District. The public at large became aware of him after the bloody Easter Sunday in Plitvice, when Raseta swiftly replaced Brigadier General Ivan Stimc (the chief of staff of the Zagreb corps) as the one responsible for the Army's activity in the area of Plitvice and Lika. Raseta, as VJESNIK described him at that time, is a career officer who did not take over the operational tasks in Plitvice by chance; in fact, he was born in Lika (we should mention as a point of interest

the fact that after the war, his parents moved to Vojvodina as colonists), and among other things, also acquired his experience in the Sinai in the UN's blue-helmeted units. Journalists in Plitvice remembered him as a stern and sharp-witted general, the only officer in a camouflage uniform, who endlessly repeated that the Army would carry out all the orders of the SFRY Presidency, and that he was not authorized to give political assessments or to reflect upon the orders issued.

Andrija Raseta is even more familiar than Avramovic (who was once in Varazdin) with the Slovene military terrain; in 1981 he came from Tuzla to Postojna, where he replaced the late Momcilo Marjanec, Stevan Mirkovic's successor as commander of the Postojna division. In Slovenia, Colonel Raseta advanced to the rank of brigadier general, with which he was appointed to the position of chief of staff of the commander of (at that time) the 9th Army District (Ljubljana), Major General Svetozar Visnjic.

Avramovic and Raseta have under their command the Ljubljana, Maribor, Zagreb, Varazdin, Knin, Rijeka, and Banja Luka corps. Those corps are commanded—in that order—by Brigadier General Jovan Pavlov, Brigadier General Mico Delic, Major General Dusan Uzelac, Major General Jevrem Cokic, Brigadier General Spiro Nikovic, Brigadier (Major?) General Marjan Cad, and Major General Nikola Uzelac. The aviation corps in Zagreb is commanded, as of today, by Colonel Ljubomir Bajic, the chief of staff of the former commander, Brigadier General Marjan Rozic, and the Pula sector of the naval district is commanded by Rear Admiral Marjan Pogacnik. Pavlov and Nikovic are new in their positions, and occupied them approximately half a month ago. According to verified information, the former came from the 1st Army District, and the latter came from the 3rd, i.e., directly from the staff of Zivota Avramovic, where he was his chief of staff. There is no information on Pavlov, who is from Macedonia, judging by his surname, and Spiro Nikov (from Bar in Montenegro), before his departure for Skopje, as is well-known, was for many years in the mountain brigade in Kranj—finally as a colonel and its commander. Dusan and Nikola Uzelac, judging by their surnames, are from Bosanska Krajina, where Milan Uzelac, for instance, a former orthodox president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina LC [League of Communists], is also from. Judging by the conduct of General Marjan Cad, his quick replacement should not surprise us, especially if the news is true that the entire command cadre of Slovene origin has been placed “under a special regime.”

As stated by Yugoslav laws, general officers are retired by a special decree from the SFRY Presidency on 22 December, at the end of the year in which they meet the conditions for retirement. Which ones did that in recent months (even while Borisav Jovic was president, and then when there was virtually no presidency, and now, when Stipe Mesic is possibly president) is not known, but the retirements were certainly not handled in accordance with the laws of the SFRY. The Presidency also appoints

and dismisses the commanders of the army districts. Kolsek's replacement by Avramovic, however, and a number of retirements as well, were not the first ones without a decree from the SFRY Presidency. Several weeks ago Anton Tus, a lieutenant general (1931) and commander of the Yugoslav Air Force, was replaced by Zvonko Jurjevic, a lieutenant general (1934), born in Slavonski Brod. Jurjevic was previously deputy chief of the general staff (and consequently Blagoje Adzic's deputy) for the Air Force, and even before that, the Air Force chief of staff. The change in the Zagreb command proves that the president of the SFRY Presidency will not be able to curb the Army; according to some indications, Kolsek was already retired weeks ago, even before Mesic's appointment the night before last, and Avramovic was appointed in his place.

As far as yesterday's announcement from the staff of the supreme command of the Yugoslav Army is concerned, it is consequently clear that the Yugoslav Army has carried out most of the personnel replacements in command positions with the intention of increasing the “effectiveness” of its units and equipping itself for a “massive and severe military strike” against Slovenia. The “pedigree,” i.e., career, of almost all of the newly appointed generals is in one way or another, more or less, associated with the career of Lieutenant General Stevan Mirkovic and later Admiral Branko Mamula. In other words, nearly all of the command positions are in the hands of hawkish generals, politically extreme Serbian nationalists. To them there is no worse outrage than the fact that in the clashes so far with “Jansa's army” they have suffered a defeat and that Serbian nationalists with different ideological orientations (Vuk Draskovic) are characterizing them as incompetent and humiliated. A very likely danger, and the greatest one, is the possibility that because of their strategic and logistical mistakes to date, the general have completely lost their judgment and that from now on, as one can also sense from the above-mentioned general staff announcement, they will be guided by a still consistently irrational urge for revenge, and will use their reason only for preparing as thoroughly as possible a ruthless, and “massive and severe military strike.”

[Box, p 4]

Zagreb, 2 July (HINA)—The government of the Republic of Croatia has sent the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Executive Council a very sharp protest against the illegal appointment of the new commander of the 5th Military District. “The government has advocated and still advocates having officers, especially in critical positions in the Yugoslav Army on the territory of the Republic of Croatia, gradually adjusted to the ethnic structure of the Croatian population,” the protest says.

[Box, p 4]

Zivota Avramovic came into the Army in 1952, and since then he has been (or was) also a member of the

LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia]. Sources allege that among other things he was the commander of a division in Varazdin, and from there went to the staff of Stevan Mirkovic, the commander of the Skopje army district (and later the chief of the general staff of the Yugoslav Army), under whom Avramovic was the chief of staff in the mid-1980's. He "took over" command of the army district, which also includes Kosovo, from Mirkovic. More about him is known by his former assistant in Skopje, Major General Leopold Troha, one of the Slovenian generals who have obviously not yet been removed.

Government Proposal for Croatian Law on Defense

91BA0885B Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
27 Jun 91 p 19

[Unattributed article summarizing legislative bill of the Croatian Assembly: "Excerpt From the Proposed Version of the Law on Defense"]

[Text] The defense system is one of the classic functions of a state, and in view of the basic changes already made and proposed in the political and economic system of Croatia, the government has proposed enactment by urgent procedure of a new republic law on defense. It regulates the defense system as a function of a modern and democratic Republic of Croatia, and the Armed Forces of Croatia are established as a guarantee of protection of its sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity. Elements of the future defense system respect the present arrangements of Croatia's new constitutional system and also applies adjusted arrangements of the West European states. The Armed Forces, it states, are the fundamental entity responsible for armed resistance, which is merged with unarmed forms of resistance. In case of an armed attack on Croatia, the Armed Forces have the right and duty to immediately commence armed combat and other forms of resistance against attackers on all parts of the territory of the state.

The Army and the Guards: According to the proposed provisions of the law, the armed forces consist of the Croatian Army and the National Guard Corps, they are organized and trained as a striking defensive force, they have their peacetime and wartime complements, and they consist of the ground forces, Air Force, and Navy, as well as all the customary and necessary arms and services. Their commander in chief is the president of the republic. All political activity, establishment of parties, and the holding of political meetings and demonstrations are prohibited in the Armed Forces, and they may not go on strike.

Military Obligation: Military obligation is the duty of all citizens fit to serve, it includes the conscript obligation, the serving of a required term, and the obligation of serving in the reserves. Women are also subject to serve, but only in the reserves. Military obligation begins at age 17 and ends at age 60 for men and 50 for women.

Military service is done in the Croatian Army, it lasts 10 months, while civilian service (in positions in which arms are not carried) lasts 15 months, except that the president of the republic may decide that soldiers and those doing required civilian service may be discharged as much as 30 days earlier. As a rule, young men go into the Army at age 19, after finishing secondary school, and those who go to the university are sent to the Army after they finish the university or other four-year or two-year postsecondary school. With respect to the length of required military service, Croatia seems to have taken over the Swedish model, where it lasts 10 months, and civilian service 15 months. In France, required military service lasts one year, and civilian service two years, in Austria military service is six months, and voluntary and civilian service eight months, in Italy 12 months (18 months in the Navy), while in Switzerland it lasts only 118 days. Great Britain is the only European state in which there is no required military service. In neighboring Slovenia, under their law, required military service lasts seven months.

Labor Conscription: In case of war or an immediate threat to Croatia, labor conscription is instituted for all able-bodied citizens over age 15, and in exceptional cases it may also be instituted in case of extraordinary circumstances in activities particularly important to conducting defensive preparations. In addition to labor conscription, the obligation of participating in civil defense and in the observation and reporting service is also envisaged, and every citizen also has a material obligation if required (vehicles, machines, etc.). Training for defense and protection also encompasses the training of young people in the regular process of instruction so that they acquire the basic knowledge and skills, primarily from the standpoint of protection and rescue.

Transitional Provisions: The transitional and final provisions state that the provisions of the Law on the Armed Forces and Military Obligation are to be applied consistent with the provisions of Article 140 of the Croatian Constitution, and then the federal laws on nationwide defense and on the military obligation would no longer be applied on the territory of Croatia. When the new law takes effect, draftees from Croatia will not be sent to do military service in the Yugoslav People's Army outside the territory of the Republic of Croatia. If a confederal agreement of an alliance of sovereign republics states that certain arms and services of the armed forces are to be jointly organized, then certain recruits in certain specialties listed in military records might be sent to do their required military service outside Croatia.

Effects of Secessions on Serbian Economy

91BA0887A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
6 Jul 91 p 13

[Report on interview with Momir Pavlicevic, member of the Presidium of the Economic Chamber of Serbia, by Aleksandra Mijalkovic; place and date not given: "Slovenia and Croatia To Be Treated as Foreign States"]

[Text] What are the consequences of the Slovenian-Croatian secession for the Serbian economy? How did the Economic Chamber of Serbia react to the proclamation of "disassociation" of these republics from Yugoslavia, and how does it evaluate the future of our enterprises under the new conditions? Momir Pavlicevic, member of the Presidium of the Economic Chamber of Serbia, answers these questions in an exclusive interview with POLITIKA.

"The announced 'disassociation' of Slovenia and Croatia from the parent country took a serious bite out of Yugoslav economic flows even before the official declarations of secession. However, it is only armed conflict—and everything that has accompanied it—that has halted normal economic life in Yugoslavia, that has signified 'farewell' to a reform which had already lost steam anyway and demonstrated that it was ultimately impossible for this community to survive either as a governmental or as an economic entity. It is true that Slovenia is still counting on its former homeland as a potential market, even recognizing the Yugoslav Economic Chamber at a moment when it denies all other federal institutions any jurisdiction over the 'northern territories,' which have become independent," Pavlicevic said, adding:

The Troubles of Zastava

"Serbia, which in an economic sense is much less dependent on Slovenia than the latter is on it, is no longer responsible for maintaining any form of economic community with that republic now that governmental ties have been severed. We will cooperate with it as with any other European state, that is the position of the Economic Chamber of Serbia. There will be problems only for those of our enterprises which are involved in long-term industrial cooperation with Slovenian firms. This is already evident, for instance, in the case of Zastava of Kragujevac.

"On the whole, the Economic Chamber of Serbia judges that enterprises here will nevertheless weather the consequences of the war and secession more easily than the republics which are departing. The Croatian coast will not be able to count on sizable revenues from tourists for a long time, especially not from the other Yugoslav republics. Slovenia will look back with nostalgia on the time when its tourism was earning \$2-\$3 billion dollars from the passage of 'shopping tours' to Italy and Austria, and when its products could be marketed at extremely high prices on (what once was) the Yugoslav market. At least as far as Serbia is concerned," Pavlicevic said, "it is already managing to obtain goods of better quality at lower prices from other countries. And, thank the Lord, there is enough food both for ourselves and for export."

How To Solve the Problem of Petroleum Transport

"The greatest difficulties which Serbian enterprises are having at the moment have mainly been caused by disruptions of transportation, which have slowed down

and interrupted the movement of goods. Petroleum transport has been hindered, and Serbia will have to have a different solution for its supply of this raw material. We will have to increase capacities at the border crossings that exist with Hungary, which now receive the northward flow of passengers and freight, and open new crossings, because transit traffic through Serbia is considerably augmented.

"If Slovenia and Croatia secede in the manner they are now indicating," Pavlicevic continued, "we can expect that there will also be hindrance to the transmission of electric power from Serbia to foreign countries and also Serbia's supply of coke, which is carried by the Croatian railroad, and drugs—because Yugoslav pharmaceutical companies have divided up production by types.

"Problems could also arise over the balance sheet; in this regard, the present situation is that Serbia owes Slovenia more than its claims against it, but Slovenia owes more to Yugoslavia than its claims. Payments operations within the country are at a complete standstill, and there is a danger of additional 'printing' of money (dinars, of course, because the newly independent republics are planning for their own currency to be strong and convertible), until a new mechanism is found for mutual payments and an institution that will stand behind that mechanism."

Directly to Europe

The question of what will happen to Serbian property in Slovenia and Slovenian property in Serbia is a very urgent one, because there are more and more cases of appropriation by force on both sides, although in a recent meeting of the presidents of the economic chambers of these republics an agreement was reached that there would be no "hijacking," Pavlicevic recalls.

Viewed over the long term, the disintegration of the Yugoslav state, as we have known it for decades, can signify for Serbia a loss of foreign trading partners: Many transactions already concluded and credits approved are "on ice" (as happened in the case of those for building the fast railroad lines).

"Personally, however, I believe that in the end there will not be a real economic blockade to keep us from foreign countries, because it would only stand in the way of further negotiations and would deepen the crisis, which is not in anyone's interest," Pavlicevic said, and he concluded that regardless of all the difficulties at the moment, it is not in the interest of Serbia for the Yugoslav economic community to stay within a scattered governmental community.

It will be better off to build a new and different economic policy in which Slovenia and Croatia will have as much room as would any other foreign country. We will not, of course, spoil the present good economic relations with these republics, wherever they exist, but neither will we create any transitional forms of community through which we would enter Europe, when we can do this

directly. As for the "spoiled" economic relations, it is not the enterprises there that are responsible, but the government, which is putting political pressures on them.

As for the Serbian economy, it is ready and able to build its future outside the common space that includes Slovenia and Croatia, in the opinion of Pavlicevic.

[Box, p 13]

Losses So Far Are \$10 Billion

So far the consequences of the disintegration of the Yugoslav governmental-economic community are assessed at more than \$10 billion, Momir Pavlicevic said. That loss is caused by interruptions in the flow of goods and payments within the country, by property destroyed by the war, by the stoppage of production (whereas in Serbian enterprises it has mainly continued without a lag, except in cases of cooperative relations with Slovenian firms), and by the uneasiness of foreign trading partners, who are pulling out of this region. For all practical purposes, the Yugoslav market no longer exists: No one is paying anyone anything, and no one is shipping anyone or selling anyone anything, because there is no longer any legal protection nor guarantees that the goods sold will be paid for, or that goods paid for in advance will be delivered.

Croatian Central Bank To Print Money

91BA0888A Belgrade NEDELJNA BORBA
(supplement) in Serbo-Croatian 6-7 Jul 91 p 6

[Article by Jasna Kesic: "Money Is Nevertheless Being Issued"]

[Text] The issues concerning exclusion of Croatia and Slovenia from Yugoslavia's unified monetary system are becoming more and more complicated. That is, in the second extraordinary meeting held on 3 July, the Board of Governors of the National Bank of Yugoslavia confirmed its prior decisions, and that means that Slovenia and Croatia will still not be able to use money from primary note issue, that the authorized banks of these republics will not be able to purchase foreign exchange on the unified Foreign Exchange Market, and that the central bank will not grant them permits to take new credits abroad. This meeting, just like the previous meeting of the Board of Governors, was not attended by the governors of the national banks of Croatia and Slovenia, and all six republic and provincial governors present voted for extension of the "punitive measures" toward the two republics. And they were all unanimous that those measures should last until something changes in those two republics.

"Proposal of the decision of the Board of Governors signifies persistence in the effort to eject Croatia and Slovenia from Yugoslavia's unified monetary and foreign exchange system," explains Dr. Ante Cicin Sain, governor of the National Bank of Croatia. "This is an attempt to deprive us of oxygen, without fresh air for

nine days already, and that situation has become intolerable. That is why the government of Croatia has issued the order to the National Bank of the republic to behave as though it had not been excluded from supplying money from primary note issue. So the National Bank of Croatia will be issuing credits from primary note issue to commercial banks, and that only in the prescribed quantities of money, in the same manner as the national banks of the republics which have not been 'penalized.' This will be only the most necessary minimum of money indispensable to the banks and to the economy to stay alive. Because it otherwise there is the danger social unrest."

In answer to the question of whether this was a breach of the monetary system such as Serbia, Vojvodina, and Montenegro committed at one time, Cicin Sain replied: "No. This is a right which we have in Yugoslavia's unified monetary system, and which was taken away from us unconstitutionally and unlawfully. Through unilateral discrimination against the banks and economy of Croatia, the Board of Governors is attempting to throw us out of the system, but we are not letting it!"

Explaining why he did not attend the second extraordinary meeting of the Board of Governors, Cicin Sain said that there was no reason whatsoever for him to go to Belgrade until the decisions of that body are revoked. "There is a voting machine on the Board of Governors which always outvotes me and my colleague from Slovenia, so what point is there in our going there at all? And the measures enacted are measures of pure reprisal, because they have nevertheless been taken against the urging of Ante Markovic, the federal prime minister, and Branimir Zekan, the federal finance secretary, instead of being discontinued."

"When we heard that the Board of Governors was sticking by its positions concerning unilateral penalization of Croatia and Slovenia, I decided," Cicin Sain said, "to so inform the governors of the leading central banks in the world. I sent them letters, and now I am receiving expressions of sympathy."

The National Bank of Slovenia is still abiding completely by the measures of the Board of Governors. So far, this has cost it more than 2 billion dinars just because the National Bank of Yugoslavia has not redeemed compulsory treasury notes for the commercial banks in that republic.

"It was Slovenia's intention in the transitional period to respect all federal statutes in the area of the monetary and foreign exchange system," explains Dr. France Arbar, governor of the National Bank of Slovenia. "That is why we have not resorted to primary note issue, because we expect real arguments, not political arguments, to win out in the Board of Governors, and that at its very next meeting, which is planned for 8 or 9 July, it will discontinue those measures."

According to Arbar, Slovenia is trying to be a proper partner in all respects and to demonstrate this both to

Yugoslavia and the world, but if the Board of Governors does not revoke its decision in the next meeting, this republic's National Bank will also have to issue credits from primary note issue, but only within the limits already established for the third quarter of this year. Arbar nevertheless hopes that reason will win out and that the measures of the Board of Governors will be rescinded at the beginning of next week.

Economic Chamber of Slovenia Discusses Economy

Problems of Foreign Trade Discussed

91BA0879A Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK
in Slovene 28 Jun 91 p 4

[Article by Marjan Lekse: "How To Achieve Foreign Exchange Liquidity?"—first paragraph is NEODVISNI DNEVNIK introduction]

[Text] The board of directors of the GZS [Economic Chamber of Slovenia] has discussed current problems in foreign economic relations in connection with the payment of obligations

Ljubljana, 28 June—Every day the GZS receives complaints from enterprises that business banks are not meeting their obligations in paying for imports from abroad. Consequently, the members of the GZS board of directors yesterday discussed the current problems in foreign economic relations in connection with the payment of obligations.

Dr. Rino Simoneti opened the discussion by stating that enterprises were complaining particularly about the intolerably high differences between active and passive interest rates, and also about the high bank commissions and the banks' inability to finance export production with favorable loans. They also assert that because of shortcomings in the flow of information among banks, barriers have arisen in the market for preferential rights. The Chamber thinks that it is necessary to do everything possible to increase the external liquidity of banks and the Slovene economy.

Dr. Simoneti enumerated several proposals. He advocated attracting foreign exchange from citizens and from tourists, if they come, naturally at a market price. Our debtors should settle their debts with deliveries of the materials that we need, and should obtain an international loan—since if someone gives something to us and someone likes us, then he should come to our assistance now with loans to bridge the gap!

In the discussion, Dusan Burnik emphasized that we should prevent a blockade of bank windows from being added to a military blockade. Most of the participants in the discussion thought that exports should be encouraged in order to increase foreign exchange earnings. We could also obtain foreign exchange by selling goods in

stores and selling apartments, etc., for foreign exchange, and imports of consumer goods should also be tied to exports.

Yugoslav Economic Chamber president Dagmar Suster (in a later discussion he raised the issue of the Slovene economy's relationship to that institution) warned that foreign exchange liquidity was the key problem for the functioning of the economy, and that it could not be solved in the short term or by changing the exchange rate. Realistic balance sheets must necessarily be drawn up. The Yugoslav balance sheet clearly indicates that it is by no means possible to coordinate foreign exchange receipts and expenditures, as with the Slovene foreign exchange balance sheet, and this will still have to be determined.

Stane Valant, on behalf of the Association of Slovene Banks and LB [Ljubljanska Banka], stated that without the introduction of the foreign exchange market, Slovenia would have already collapsed a long time ago, since we have not received any foreign exchange from Belgrade since the end of December. The Belgrade foreign exchange market is still only an importers' market. LB remains the only bank whose guarantees are still respected abroad, although its foreign exchange lines of credit have also already been cancelled. Because dinar liquidity at this time is very high, there are high inflationary expectations in the economy, and consequently some enterprises are delaying deposits of foreign exchange. Dr. Tomaz Kalin criticized the Slovene government for allowing 150 million German marks in foreign exchange to flow out to Croatia (for taxes on automobile purchases); that foreign exchange could have stayed here.

Feri Horvat summarized the proposals from the discussion and the opening speech, and put in first place the need to accelerate imports with a suitable exchange rate policy. Registered foreign exchange rights should be granted only on the basis of actual earnings, and the economy's current operations should have absolute priority with respect to foreign exchange (including 30 percent of the revenues for public needs), so that it will be able to produce and export. With respect to the restriction on exports, he said that it was a necessary evil, but that the GATT rules could not be violated.

Economic Losses Assessed

91BA0879B Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK
in Slovene 28 Jun 91 p 24

[Unattributed article: "Daily Shortfall of \$20 Million"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 28 June—At yesterday's meeting, the board of directors of the Economic Chamber of Slovenia could not overlook the senseless intervention by the Yugoslav Army in Slovenia, and consequently expressed profound concern over the events, and has informed the economic public and the public at large of the following:

1. We are threatened with having the consequences of the blockades resulting from the Yugoslav Army's interventions in Slovenia cause approximately \$35 million in damages each day to the social product of the Republic of Slovenia, according to estimates

2. In 1990, the exports of the Republic of Slovenia amounted to \$4.2 billion. Because of the blockades that have occurred, we expected that the daily shortfall from planned current exports will amount to approximately \$20 million. Because most exports go to the convertible payment area through border crossings in the Republic of Slovenia, the blockades will cause extreme damage, not only to the Slovene economy, but also to the economy of the entire Yugoslav area.

3. The present interventions by the Yugoslav Army, as we in the Chamber assess them, will finally destroy the tourist economy of Slovenia and also of other republics, since the estimated loss of foreign exchange earnings from tourism will amount to \$3-4 billion.

4. The Army's interventions are causing such damage to infrastructural facilities and fields that the damage is already bordering upon a natural disaster.

The Economic Chamber of Slovenia calls upon Slovene enterprises to maintain intensive contacts with their business partners during this time of crisis, to inform them about the situation, and to try to get them to show the necessary understanding so that the economic ties already established will not be disrupted.