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Embassy of the United States of America

Belgrade, Yugoslavia

November 6, 1990

Congresswoman Helen Delich Bentley
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Helen:

I'm delighted to hear that you are coming. We have made your hotel reservations and will have a car available for you. You will be met at the airport.

Teeny and I would like to invite you and Pat for dinner Thursday evening. We will have some of our key Embassy officers on hand to discuss the situation in Yugoslavia. If you can't make dinner, I'm at your disposal at any time during your stay for a briefing.

Warm regards,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'W. Zimmermann'.

Warren Zimmermann
Ambassador

VENEZUELA

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TAGS: PGOV, YO
SUBJECT: A PRIMER FOR ELECTION OBSERVERS: BOSNIA-
- HERZEGOVINA

1. THIS CABLE IS A BASIC INTRODUCTION TO THE ELECTIONS
IN THE YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA SCHEDULED
FOR NOVEMBER 18. WE WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT SHARING
THIS CABLE WITH NRI AND CSCE ELECTION OBSERVERS AND WITH
ANY OTHER GROUPS THAT MAY BE COMING TO OBSERVE THE
ELECTIONS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA.

INTRODUCTION

2. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA IS LOCATED IN THE MOUNTAINOUS
GEOGRAPHIC HEART OF YUGOSLAVIA WITH A LAND AREA OF
51,129 SQUARE KILOMETERS AND POPULATION OF APPROXIMATELY
4.5 MILLION ACCORDING TO THE LAST YUGOSLAV CENSUS
(1981). THE CAPITAL, SARAJEVO, HAS APPROXIMATELY
500,000 INHABITANTS. OTHER MAJOR CITIES ARE TUZLA,
MOSTAR, AND BANJA LUKA. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA IS THE MOST
HETEROGENEOUS REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA AND HAS A
PRONOUNCED ETHNIC MIX. BASED ON THE 1981 CENSUS, THE
POPULATION BY ETHNICITY IS AS FOLLOWS:
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MOSLEMS (WHO ARE CLASSIFIED IN YUGOSLAVIA AS A NATIONALITY) 40 PERCENT; SERBS 32 PERCENT; CROATS 18 PERCENT; YUGOSLAVS (PEOPLE WHO OPT FOR THIS CLASSIFICATION REGARDLESS OF THEIR ETHNIC EXTRACTION) 8 PERCENT. WITH ITS RELATIVELY RICH NATURAL RESOURCE BASE, THE BOSNIAN ECONOMY IS CENTERED TO A LARGE EXTENT ON HEAVY INDUSTRY AND SUCH EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES AS MINING, LOGGING, AND AGRICULTURE. MAJOR STATE ENTERPRISES THAT HAVE HEADQUARTERS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA ARE ENERGOINVEST WHICH PRODUCES ELECTRICAL EQUIPMENT AND CHEMICALS, AND UNIS WHICH PRODUCES AUTOMOBILES, MACHINERY AND OFFICE EQUIPMENT. ENERGOINVEST AND UNIS RANK AMONG THE TOP TEN YUGOSLAV COMPANIES IN SIZE. THE REPUBLIC HAS FOUR UNIVERSITIES WITH THE UNIVERSITY OF SARAJEVO THE OLDEST (1948) WITH A TOTAL OF ABOUT 30,000 FULL TIME AND PART-TIME STUDENTS.

ELECTION LAW PROVISIONS

3. ELECTIONS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA ARE SLATED FOR NOVEMBER 18. THE BICAMERAL ASSEMBLY WILL BE COMPRISED OF A CHAMBER OF CITIZENS (PROPORTIONAL) AND A CHAMBER OF MUNICIPALITIES (MAJORITY). THERE WILL BE 240 REPRESENTATIVES IN THE ASSEMBLY, 130 IN THE CHAMBER OF CITIZENS AND 110 IN THE CHAMBER OF MUNICIPALITIES WHICH INCLUDES A REPRESENTATIVE OF SARAJEVO. THE PRESIDENCY OF THE REPUBLIC WILL BE COMPRISED OF 7 MEMBERS REFLECTING ROUGHLY THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE REPUBLIC. SPECIFICALLY, THERE WILL BE 2 SERBS, 2 MOSLEMS, 2 CROATS, AND ONE OTHER. THE NAMES OF 28 CANDIDATES HAVE BEEN SUBMITTED FOR THE PRESIDENCY. FOUR VOTING LISTS FOR THE PRESIDENCY HAVE BEEN DRAWN UP ACCORDING TO ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION (MOSLEMS, SERBS, CROATS AND OTHERS) IRRESPECTIVE OF PARTY AFFILIATION. FOR EXAMPLE, THE COMMUNIST PARTY/SOCIALIST DEMOCRATIC PARTY LC/SDP AND PRIME MINISTER MARKOVIC'S ALLIANCE OF REFORM FORCES (ARF) HAVE AT LEAST ONE CANDIDATE ON EACH ETHNIC LIST. A PROVISION OF THE ELECTION LAW REQUIRES THAT, IN ORDER TO ENSURE AN ETHNIC BALANCE IN THE REPUBLICAN ASSEMBLY, NO ETHNIC PARTY CAN RECEIVE MORE THAN NOR LESS THAN 15 PERCENT OF THEIR PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION. ALL POLITICAL PARTIES WILL BE ALLOWED TO HAVE REPRESENTATIVES AT THE POLLING STATIONS AND AT THE TALLYING OF THE VOTES. SOME OF THE RULES GOVERNING CAMPAIGNING ARE:

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- ALL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITY MUST CEASE BY NOVEMBER 16.
- ALL PARTIES ARE SUPPOSED TO HAVE EQUAL ACCESS TO THE MEDIA.
- IT IS UP TO THE PARTIES TO DISCLOSE CAMPAIGN FINANCING.

MAJOR PARTIES

4. THERE ARE 41 POLITICAL PARTIES OFFICIALLY REGISTERED IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. AMONG THE FIVE MAJOR PARTIES IN THE REPUBLIC ARE THREE NATIONAL (ETHNIC) AND TWO NON-NATIONAL (NON-ETHNIC PARTIES).

NATIONAL (ETHNIC) PARTIES
-----PARTY FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION (SDA, MOSLEM)

HEADED BY ALIJA IZETBEOVIC, THE SDA FAVORS ECONOMIC REFORM WITH EMPHASIS ON PRIVATIZATION AND MODERN MARKET PRODUCTION IN AGRICULTURE. THE SDA ATTACHES GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE PRESERVATION OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA AS THE COMMON STATE OF MOSLEMS, SERBS AND CROATS AND ADVOCATES THE REVIEW OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM TO "ELIMINATE IDEOLOGICAL DOGMAS AND PREJUDICES." A STRONG ADVOCATE OF MOSLEM CAUSES, IZETBEOVIC HAS BEEN IMPRISONED TWICE FOR OPPOSING THE COMMUNISTS FOR A TOTAL OF ALMOST 9 YEARS. HE DENIES ALLEGATIONS THAT HE IS A MOSLEM FUNDAMENTALIST ALTHOUGH HE CHAMPIONS MOSLEM CAUSES. THE SDA CLAIMS A MEMBERSHIP OF OVER 800,000 AND THAT IT WILL WIN THE LION'S SHARE IN THE ELECTIONS. THE SDA HOPES TO OVERCOME A RECENT SPLIT IN THE PARTY WHICH RESULTED IN THE SDA'S FIRST VICE PRESIDENT ADIL ZULFIKARPASIC BREAKING AWAY TO FORM HIS OWN PARTY, THE BOSNIAN MOSLEM ORGANIZATION.

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SERBIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (SDS)

THE SDS, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF PSYCHIATRIST-POET RADOVAN KARADZIC, CLAIMS TO HAVE A MEMBERSHIP OF 400,000 AND CHAMPIONS THE CAUSE OF THE SERBS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. THE SDS ESPOUSES A PROGRAM OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND EQUALITY FOR ALL ETHNIC GROUPS. FEDERATION OF YUGOSLAVIA AND EQUAL RIGHTS FOR BOSNIA ARE MAIN FEATURES OF ITS PLATFORM. CRITICIZING THE ELECTION LAWS AS DISCRIMINATING AGAINST SERBS, KARADZIC HAS THREATENED TO BOYCOTT THE ELECTIONS. THE SDS HAS ALREADY AGREED TO ESTABLISH A "NATIONAL COUNCIL" FOR SERBS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, WHICH IT SAYS IS INTENDED TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF SERBS IN THE REPUBLIC.

CROATIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION (HDZ-BIH)

THE HDZ-BIH IS AFFILIATED WITH THE HDZ OF CROATIA, THE RULING PARTY IN THAT NEIGHBORING REPUBLIC, BUT ASSERTS THAT IN BOSNIA IT OPERATES SEPARATELY. THE HDZ-BIH CONSIDERS THAT ITS MAIN CONCERN IS TO PROTECT AND PROMOTE THE INTERESTS OF CROATIANS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. THE PARTY STATES THAT IT FAVORS WESTERN-STYLE CAPITALISM. IT ADVOCATES PARITY FOR ALL ETHNIC GROUPS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. ITS LEADER, JOURNALIST STJEPAN KLJUIC, IS AN ADVOCATE OF CROATIAN POSITIONS AND FAVORS THE INTEGRITY OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA IN ITS PRESENT CONFIGURATION.

NON-NATIONAL (ETHNIC) PARTIES
-----ALLIANCE OF REFORM FORCES (ARF-BIH)

THE ARF-BIH IS THE BOSNIAN BRANCH OF THE NATION-WIDE PARTY FOUNDED A FEW MONTHS AGO BY YUGOSLAV PRIME MINISTER ANTE MARKOVIC. THE BOSNIA ARF IS HEADED BY NEDAD KECMANOVIC, A SERB WHO IS RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF SARAJEVO. ITS PROGRAM CONSISTS PRIMARILY OF SUPPORT FOR MARKOVIC'S DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL AND MARKET ECONOMIC REFORMS. IT FAVORS YUGOSLAV FEDERATION AND SEEKS THE SUPPORT OF ALL ETHNIC GROUPS INCLUDING VOTERS WHO ARE IDENTIFIED AS YUGOSLAWS.

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LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS/SOCIALIST DEMOCRATIC PARTY (LC/SDP)

THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS, WHICH RULED BOSNIA AND ALL OF YUGOSLAVIA SINCE WWII, RECENTLY ADDED SOCIALIST DEMOCRATIC PARTY TO ITS NAME. THE PARTY NOW STATES THAT IT SUPPORTS A MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM AND ADVOCATES BOSNIA REMAINING WITHIN A FEDERAL YUGOSLAVIA. AS PART OF ITS FACE-LIFT, 12 NEW MEMBERS WERE ELECTED TO THE 13-MEMBER PARTY PRESIDENCY. 7 OF THE 12 WERE FORMER UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS. THE PARTY ESPOUSES "SOCIAL JUSTICE" AND CHARACTERIZES ITSELF AS FALLING SOMEWHERE BETWEEN THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY.

MAJOR THEMES IN THE ELECTIONS

5. MOST OF THE PARTIES IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA AGREE ON THE UNITY AND INTEGRITY OF YUGOSLAVIA. THEY CONCUR ON THE UNIQUENESS OF THE CULTURAL MIX OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA AND THE NEED TO MAINTAIN THE REPUBLIC'S PRESENT BORDERS. ALSO, THERE IS GENERAL CONSENSUS AMONG THE PARTIES ON THE INTRODUCTION OF A REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM AND SUPPORT FOR MARKET ECONOMIC REFORM. THE FOLLOWING ARE SOME MAJOR THEMES IN THE CAMPAIGN:

-- THE ETHNIC FACTOR. THE MAINTENANCE OF AN ETHNIC BALANCE AMONG THE MOSLEMS, SERBS AND CROATS IN THE LEGISLATURE, ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES CONTINUES TO BE AN OVERARCHING CONCERN IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. THERE IS A FEAR THAT IF THE FRAGILE ETHNIC HARMONY IS UPSET, INTERETHNIC STRIFE COULD ENSUE. THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX, ISLAMIC, AND CATHOLIC RELIGIONS PLAY A SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN DEFINING NATIONALITY.

-- FEDERATION-CONFEDERATION. THIS ISSUE IS VIEWED AS CRITICAL FOR THE SURVIVAL OF BOSNIA AND POTENTIALLY FOR YUGOSLAVIA AS A WHOLE. BECAUSE OF THE REPUBLIC'S FRAGILE ETHNIC MIX AND ITS HISTORICAL MEMORIES OF VIOLENCE IN WWII, THERE IS REAL CONCERN THAT CHANGES IN YUGOSLAVIA AND BOSNIA'S PLACE

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WITHIN IT COULD LEAD TO VIOLENCE. ALL PARTIES SAY THEY FAVOR MAINTAINING BOSNIA WITHIN ITS CURRENT BORDERS IN A UNITED YUGOSLAVIA. THE SDS HAS CALLED FOR FORMING A NEW SERBIAN STATE IF YUGOSLAVIA BECOMES A CONFEDERATION. THE HDZ-BIH CALLS FOR A SOVEREIGN, CONFEDERAL AND DEMOCRATIC BOSNIA.

-- ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. THE ECONOMIC CRISIS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA HAS BEEN EXACERBATED BY EVENTS IN THE PERSIAN GULF. THE EFFECTS ARE ESPECIALLY FELT IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA BECAUSE SOME LOCAL CONSTRUCTION COMPANIES HAVE HAD TO CEASE OPERATIONS IN IRAQ AND KUWAIT AND A LARGE NUMBER OF WORKERS HAVE RETURNED. HOW TO CARRY OUT REPRIVATIZATION AND DENATIONALIZATION, HARNESS AND UTILIZE RESOURCES AND OTHER ASSETS, STIMULATE CAPITAL ACCUMULATION, ATTRACT FOREIGN CAPITAL AND PROMOTE FREE TRADE AND TOURISM ARE SOME OF THE MAJOR ECONOMIC ISSUES IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN. ECOLOGICAL ISSUES ARE ALSO VOICED IN THIS REPUBLIC, WHICH HAS SUFFERED ENVIRONMENTAL DAMAGE DUE TO INDUSTRIAL AND MINING DEVELOPMENT. ZIMMERMANN##

A PRIMER FOR ELECTION OBSERVERS: MACEDONIA

1. THIS CABLE IS A BASIC INTRODUCTION TO THE ELECTIONS IN THE YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA, SCHEDULED FOR NOVEMBER 11 AND 25. WE WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT SHARING THIS CABLE WITH NRI ELECTION OBSERVERS AND WITH ANY OTHER GROUPS THAT MAY BE COMING TO OBSERVE THE MACEDONIAN ELECTIONS.

INTRODUCTION

2. MACEDONIA, THE SOUTHERNMOST OF YUGOSLAVIA'S SIX REPUBLICS, IS ALSO ONE OF THE COUNTRY'S SMALLEST AND POOREST. IN AUGUST 1990, AVERAGE MONTHLY INCOME IN MACEDONIA WAS ABOUT 300 DOLLARS (3366 DINARS), WELL BELOW THE YUGOSLAV AVERAGE OF 430 DOLLARS. 51 PERCENT OF MACEDONIA'S GROSS SOCIAL PRODUCT IS PROVIDED BY MANUFACTURING AND MINING; 13 PERCENT STEMS FROM AGRICULTURE. ACCORDING TO THE LAST YUGOSLAV CENSUS (1981), ABOUT 70 PERCENT OF MACEDONIA'S APPROXIMATELY TWO MILLION INHABITANTS ARE ETHNIC MACEDONIANS. ALBANIANS WERE ABOUT 20 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION IN 1981 AND THEIR NUMBER IS GROWING RAPIDLY, CONTRIBUTING TO MAJOR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL TENSIONS. MAJOR CITIES ARE THE CAPITAL, SKOPJE (400,000), BITOLA, (79,000), AND PRILEP (60,000). THE MACEDONIAN ECONOMY HAS SUFFERED FROM A FLAWED STRATEGY OF DEVELOPMENT THAT CONCENTRATED TOO MUCH INVESTMENT ON LARGE-SCALE HEAVY INDUSTRY. UNEMPLOYMENT IS 23 PERCENT IN MACEDONIA AND SEVERAL MAJOR ENTERPRISES, SUCH AS A STEEL MILL IN SKOPJE AND A NICKEL SMELTER IN FENI, ARE BANKRUPT.

ELECTION LAW PROVISIONS

3. MACEDONIA HAS A TWO-ROUND, MAJORITY VOTE ELECTION SYSTEM, WITH ELECTIONS SCHEDULED FOR NOVEMBER 11 AND 25. THE REPUBLICAN ASSEMBLY IS UNICAMERAL, WITH 120 SEATS. IF ONE CANDIDATE RECEIVES A MAJORITY OF THE VOTES, PROVIDED THAT AT LEAST ONE-THIRD OF ELIGIBLE VOTERS CAST THEIR BALLOTS, THAT CANDIDATE WINS ON THE FIRST ROUND. OTHERWISE, ALL CANDIDATES RECEIVING AT LEAST SEVEN PERCENT OF THE VOTE WILL BE ELIGIBLE TO RUN IN THE SECOND ROUND, WHEN THE CANDIDATE WITH THE LARGEST NUMBER OF VOTES WILL WIN, PROVIDED THAT AT LEAST ONE-THIRD OF THE ELECTORATE VOTES. AFTER THE ELECTION, THE NEW ASSEMBLY WILL CHOOSE THE HEAD OF THE MACEDONIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT, WHO WILL HAVE LARGELY CEREMONIAL POWERS. THERE IS A 14-MEMBER REPUBLICAN ELECTORAL COMMISSION, HEADED BY NIKOLA KONEVSKI, AND EACH ELECTION DISTRICT HAS A TEN-MEMBER ELECTION COMMISSION. ALL POLITICAL PARTIES WILL BE ALLOWED TO HAVE REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT AT EVERY POLLING PLACE AND TO BE PRESENT FOR THE COUNTING OF THE VOTES, BUT PARTIES ARE NOT FORMALLY REPRESENTED ON THE ELECTION COMMISSIONS. SOME OF THE RULES GOVERNING CAMPAIGNING ARE:

- ALL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITY MUST CEASE 48 HOURS BEFORE THE ELECTION;
- NO PARTY CAN GET FINANCIAL SUPPORT FROM ABROAD;
- ALL PARTIES ARE SUPPOSED TO HAVE EQUAL ACCESS TO THE MEDIA ON A COMMERCIAL BASIS. (IN FACT THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS/PARTY OF DEMOCRATIC CHANGE (LCM/PDC) GETS MORE MEDIA EXPOSURE THAN OTHER PARTIES.)
- EACH PARTY IS SUPPOSED TO GET A SMALL SUM OF MONEY FROM THE STATE. (HOWEVER, THE LCM/PDC HAS MORE FINANCIAL RESOURCES THAN OTHER PARTIES.)

MAJOR PARTIES

4. THERE ARE 16 PARTIES OFFICIALLY REGISTERED IN MACEDONIA. THE FOLLOWING ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT:

-- LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF MACEDONIA/PARTY OF DEMOCRATIC CHANGE (LCM/PDC). HEADED BY PETAR GOSEV, THE LCM/PDC CLAIMS TO BE A REFORMIST, SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC STYLE PARTY THAT HAS BROKEN WITH THE AUTHORITARIAN HABITS ASSOCIATED WITH 45 YEARS OF ONE-PARTY RULE. THE LCM/PDC ALSO HOPES TO CAPITALIZE ON THE HISTORICAL "GOOD DEED" OF HAVING CREATED THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA AFTER WWII. THE LCM/PDC CLAIMS ABOUT 200,000 MEMBERS.

-- MACEDONIAN ALLIANCE OF REFORM FORCES (MARF): THE MACEDONIAN BRANCH OF A NATION-WIDE PARTY FOUNDED BY YUGOSLAV PRIME MINISTER ANTE MARKOVIC, THE MARF IS HEADED BY STOJAN ANDOV. ITS PROGRAM CONSISTS PRIMARILY OF SUPPORT FOR MARKOVIC'S DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL AND MARKET ECONOMIC REFORMS.

-- MOVEMENT FOR PAN-MACEDONIAN ACTION (MAAK). FOUNDED IN FEBRUARY 1990 AND HEADED BY GANE TODOROVSKI, MAAK IS A MACEDONIAN NATIONALIST GROUP WHOSE GOAL IS TO REPRESENT ALL MACEDONIAN PEOPLE WHEREVER THEY LIVE. MAAK ALSO CALLS FOR A SOVEREIGN MACEDONIAN STATE IN A LOOSE YUGOSLAV UNION, BASED ON FREE ENTERPRISE, CIVIL RIGHTS FOR ALL ETHNIC GROUPS WITHIN MACEDONIA, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY.

-- LEAGUE FOR DEMOCRACY (LD); FOUNDED IN FEBRUARY 1990 BY PROFESSOR DJORJDI MARJANOVIC, THIS LEFT-OF-CENTER GROUP CLAIMS A GOAL OF ESTABLISHING A LEGAL, PARLIAMENTARY STATE. IT SEEKS TO BAN THE PARTICIPATION OF GROUPS "WHO SUPPORT NATIONAL, RACIAL OR RELIGIOUS HATRED AND DISCRIMINATION AMONG PEOPLES."

-- PARTY OF DEMOCRATIC PROSPERITY (PDP), LED BY NEVZET HALILI, AN ENGLISH PROFESSOR. THE PDP APPEALS ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY TO ALBANIANS IN MACEDONIA (AT LEAST 20 PERCENT OF THE REPUBLIC'S POPULATION). THE PDP'S PROGRAM IS MAINLY AIMED AT DEFENDING ALBANIAN RIGHTS IN MACEDONIA. IT CALLS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES TO GIVE ALBANIANS A MORE EQUAL POSITION IN MACEDONIA, GREATER EDUCATIONAL RIGHTS IN THE ALBANIAN LANGUAGE, RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND AN END TO CERTAIN DISCRIMINATORY ACTIONS AGAINST ALBANIANS.

-- INTERNATIONAL MACEDONIAN REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION (IMRO). PRESIDENT: LJUPCO GEORGIEVSKI. THIS GROUP TAKES ITS NAME FROM A PRE-WWII NATIONALIST-TERRORIST GROUP, BUT THE CURRENT IMRO CLAIMS TO HAVE RENOUNCED TERRORISM. ON THE FRINGE OF NATIONALIST GROUPS, IMRO ADVOCATES A SOVEREIGN MACEDONIA THAT WOULD INCLUDE LARGE NUMBERS OF MACEDONIANS LIVING IN BULGARIA AND GREECE, POSSIBLY IN A FEDERAL RELATIONSHIP.

MAJOR THEMES IN THE ELECTION

5. MOST MACEDONIAN PARTIES AGREE ON A NUMBER OF BROAD ISSUES, SUCH AS INTRODUCTION OF A PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM, SUPPORT FOR MARKET ECONOMIC REFORM AND THAT MACEDONIA WOULD BE BETTER OFF REMAINING IN A UNITED YUGOSLAVIA. IN THAT CONTEXT, THE FOLLOWING ARE SOME OF THE MAJOR THEMES IN THE CAMPAIGN:

-- THE "MACEDONIAN QUESTION." CENTERED ON THE ISSUE OF DEFINING WHO IS A MACEDONIAN AND WHERE THE MACEDONIAN NATION'S BORDERS LIE, THIS ISSUE HAS RISEN TO THE SURFACE WITH RENEWED VIGOR IN RECENT MONTHS. YUGOSLAV MACEDONIANS ASSERT THAT LARGE NUMBERS OF THEIR COMPATRIOTS LIVE IN NEIGHBORING BULGARIA, GREECE AND ALBANIA, WHERE THEY ARE SAID TO EXPERIENCE A VARIETY OF FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION. BULGARIA AND GREECE DENY THE EXISTENCE OF A MACEDONIAN NATIONALITY, ALTHOUGH THEY RECOGNIZE THE CURRENT INTERNATIONAL BORDERS OF YUGOSLAV MACEDONIA. THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM HAS BROUGHT THE MACEDONIAN ISSUE TO THE FORE AGAIN IN THE BALKANS. ALL MACEDONIAN PARTIES CALL FOR A MORE ASSERTIVE DEFENSE OF MACEDONIAN INTERESTS. THE MORE EXTREME PARTIES, SUCH AS IMRO, IMPLICITLY CALL FOR REVISION OF EXISTING BORDERS. EVEN THE LCM/PDC HAS CRITICIZED THE FEDERAL COMMUNIST BUREAUCRACY FOR PAYING INSUFFICIENT ATTENTION TO "MACEDONIAN RIGHTS." THE MARF IS PROBABLY THE LEAST NATIONALIST PARTY IN THE RACE.

-- YUGOSLAV FEDERATION VICE CONFEDERATION: MOST MACEDONIAN PARTIES FAVOR CONTINUATION OF A UNITED YUGOSLAVIA, WHICH THEY SEE AS THE BEST GUARANTEE OF MACEDONIA'S CONTINUED EXISTENCE. MOST MACEDONIAN PARTIES SEEK TO SIDESTEP THE ISSUE OF WHETHER YUGOSLAVIA SHOULD BE A FEDERATION OR A CONFEDERATION IN THE FUTURE AND CALL FOR A SOVEREIGN MACEDONIA WITHIN A UNITED YUGOSLAVIA WHERE THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT HAS STRICTLY DEFINED POWERS. HOWEVER, THE PARTY OF DEMOCRATIC PROSPERITY HAS DECLARED ITSELF FOR CONFEDERATION, AND THE MACEDONIAN NATIONALIST PARTIES (IMRO AND MAAK) HAVE STATED THAT THEY WOULD NOT FAVOR FEDERATION WITHOUT SLOVENIA AND CROATIA.

-- ALBANIANS IN MACEDONIA: ALBANIANS CONSTITUTE AT LEAST 20 PERCENT OF MACEDONIA'S POPULATION AND THIS FIGURE IS RISING DRAMATICALLY THANKS TO THE HIGH ALBANIAN BIRTHRATE. MACEDONIANS FEAR THAT ALBANIANS COULD DOMINATE MUCH OF THE REPUBLIC. THERE HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANT REPRESSION OF THE ALBANIAN MINORITY INCLUDING POLITICAL TRIALS, FIRINGS, LIMITS ON RUNNING BUSINESSES, AND FORCEFUL SUPPRESSION OF DEMONSTRATIONS. ALBANIANS SEEK CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES, MORE EDUCATION IN ALBANIAN LANGUAGE AT THE HIGH SCHOOL LEVEL, ALBANIAN LANGUAGE EDUCATION AT THE UNIVERSITY LEVEL AND AN END TO SOME DISCRIMINATORY MEASURES.

--REFERENDUM ON COMMUNISM: AS IN ALL OF EASTERN EUROPE, THE MACEDONIAN ELECTION WILL, IN PART, BE A KIND OF "REFERENDUM" ON THE LAST 45 YEARS OF COMMUNIST RULE. THE LCM/PDP HAS ADOPTED A LEFTIST-REFORMIST PROGRAM THAT STRESSES ITS COMMITMENT TO MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY. OTHER PARTIES WILL SEEK TO PORTRAY THE LCM/PDP AS RESPONSIBLE FOR MOST OF THE PROBLEMS OF CONTEMPORARY MACEDONIA.



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The Mediterranean Basin



DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE
WASHINGTON, DC 20330-1000

SPECIAL ORDER
TA-948

6 November 1990

Representative Helen Bentley is authorized to travel on or about 7 Nov 90 by military aircraft from Wash DC to Frankfurt, Germany; Belgrade, Yugoslavia; and Athens, Greece, for approximately 4 days, in connection with official business of and by the authority of the House Committee on Merchant, Marine and Fisheries (HMMF) 31 U.S.C. 1108(g) and upon completion will return to Wash DC. Variations in itinerary authorized. Ship service stores, post exchange, commissary, mess and other facilities incident to this travel will be made available to you by the appropriate DOD activities on the same basis as to officers of the Services and members of their families. Before traveling, comply with the Foreign Clearance Guide for clearance, passport, and immunization requirements. Immunizations may be obtained at the nearest armed services hospital or dispensary. Travel is necessary in the military service. Authority: DOD 4515.13R. Nonreimbursable traffic.

BY ORDER OF THE SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE



EDWARD A. PARDINI, Colonel, USAF
Director of Information Management

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7 November, Wednesday

7:10 PM Depart Dulles via Pan Am Flt 60

8 November, Thursday

9:00 AM Arrive Frankfurt, Germany

10:00 AM Depart Rhein-Main AB via C-21, Spar 85

11:40 AM Arrive Belgrade

9 November, Friday

11:00 AM Depart Belgrade for Athens

1:00 PM Arrive Athens

10 November, Saturday

8:00 AM Depart Athens for Rhein-Main

9:50 AM Arrive Rhein-Main

1:20 PM Depart Frankfurt for Washington Dulles

4:20 PM Arrive Washington Dulles

EXT 101

MR. HAMMEL PRESS OFFICE
9 GEORGE WASHINGTON

STATEMENT BY
REPRESENTATIVE HELEN DELICH BENTLEY
MEMBER OF U.S. CONGRESS FROM MARYLAND

BELGRADE, YUGOSLAVIA

NOVEMBER 9, 1990

EARLIER THIS WEEK WE COMPLETED THE 102ND FREE MULTI-PARTY
BIPARTISAN ELECTION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA...
WHICH MEANS THAT AMERICA HAS BEEN CONDUCTING FAIR
ELECTIONS UNDER ITS CONSTITUTION FOR 202 YEARS.

THAT REMINDS ME THAT SERBIA ENJOYED A CONSTITUTIONAL
GOVERNMENT IN THE 12TH, 13TH AND 14TH CENTURIES UNDER TZAR
LAZAR AND NOW IS ON THE VERGE OF RETURNING TO A GOVERNMENT
OF THE PEOPLE.

I HOPE THAT IN THE YEAR OF 2190, AN ELECTED OFFICIAL FROM
SERBIA WILL BE ABLE TO STAND BEFORE A PRESS CONFERENCE TO
SAY THAT SERBIA THEN IS ENTERING ITS 200TH YEAR AS A
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA, WHILE IN THE FOLLOWING
YEAR, 2191, AN ELECTED OFFICIAL OF YUGOSLAVIA WILL BE ABLE
TO CLAIM THAT DEMOCRACY HAS SURVIVED IN THE FEDERATED
REPUBLIC OF AN ECONOMICALLY THRIVING YUGOSLAVIA FOR TWO
CENTURIES AND HAPPILY STANDS ON THE THRESHOLD OF ENTERING
ITS THIRD CENTURY AS A TRULY DEMOCRATIC NATION.

MY VISIT HERE TODAY AS A STOPOVER EN ROUTE TO A SEMINAR
IN GREECE IS BECAUSE I WANT ONCE MORE TO ENCOURAGE THE

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SUCCESS OF THE FREE MULTIPARTY ELECTIONS SCHEDULED IN THE FOUR REMAINING REPUBLICS BETWEEN NOVEMBER 11 IN MACEDONIA, BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA ON NOVEMBER 18, AND IN SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO ON DECEMBER 9.

AS AN ELECTED OFFICIAL IN THE UNITED STATES, WHO HAS BEEN THROUGH SIX CAMPAIGNS PERSONALLY AND CAMPAIGNS FOR OTHERS IN AT LEAST A DOZEN MORE -- INCLUDING FIVE PRESIDENTIAL RACES, I CANNOT EMPHASIZE TOO MUCH THE IMPORTANCE OF FAIR, FREE MULTI-PARTY ELECTIONS IN THE REPUBLICS OF YUGOSLAVIA.

I AM VERY PROUD OF MY HERITAGE... MY FATHER CAME FROM LIKA AND MY MOTHER FROM OBREZ GORNJA NEAR PAKRAC -- BOTH PROUD SERBIANS -- AND I HAVE ATTEMPTED TO BE AS HELPFUL AS POSSIBLE WITH LEADERS IN SERBIA IN PARTICULAR IN HELPING THIS REPUBLIC REGAIN ITS PRESTIGE IN INTERNATIONAL CIRCLES WHILE OPENING UP ITS DOORS BOTH TO ITS PEOPLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS OF ELECTIONS AND ENCOURAGING INVESTMENT FROM OVERSEAS AND OUTSIDE SOURCES BECAUSE THE GOVERNMENT HERE HAS CHANGED AND HAS JOINED THE REST OF THE FREE WORLD IN EVERY WAY. THE CITIZENS WILL BENEFIT. THE IMPORTANCE OF FAIR AND EQUAL HANDLING OF THE MEDIA EXPOSURE DURING THIS REMAINING MONTH OF CAMPAIGNING CANNOT BE EMPHASIZED TOO MUCH. IT IS VITAL THAT AMPLE MEDIA BE GIVEN TO THE PRINCIPAL OPPOSITION PARTIES AND THAT IT EQUALS THAT OF THE RULING PARTY IN THESE CLOSING DAYS. I WAS ASSURED THIS MORNING BY PRESIDENT SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC THAT THAT IS HAPPENING.

WHEN I VISITED BULGARIA IN APRIL WITH THE HELSINKI COMMISSION, IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT THE RULING PARTY -- COMMUNISTS SUDDENLY RENAMED SOCIALISTS -- CONTINUE CONTROLLING WITH AN IRON HAND AND WAS AFRAID TO ALLOW A FAIR VOTE ON ITS RECORD. NOW THAT GOVERNMENT IS ABOUT TO FALL... IN FACT IT IS EXPECTED TO FALL THIS WEEKEND.

THE PEOPLES OF SERBIA, MONTENEGRO AND BOSNIA ALL DESERVE BETTER THAN THAT. THE PROUD PEOPLES OF THESE REPUBLICS HAVE SUFFERED FOR SOME 45 YEARS UNDER THE IRON RULE OF THE COMMUNISTS EVEN THOUGH THE FORERUNNER OF FREEDOM IN EASTERN EUROPE OCCURRED IN YUGOSLAVIA IN 1948 BUT STOPPED SHORT OF REAL FREEDOM. AND SO NOW THAT DEMOCRACY IS BLOSSOMING ALL OVER EASTERN EUROPE AND OTHER SLAVIC PEOPLE ARE ABLE TO FEEL THE WONDERS OF FAIR ELECTIONS, THE CITIZENS OF THESE FOUR GREAT REPUBLICS ALSO HAVE EARNED THE PRIVILEGE -- ALTHOUGH THE LAST -- OF BEING ABLE TO FREELY SELECT THEIR FIRST OFFICIALS WHO WILL PROVIDE THE NECESSARY FOUNDATION FOR A PERMANENT AND LONG-LASTING DEMOCRACY.

BUT THIS CAN ONLY HAPPEN IF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EXTENDS IMPORTANT RIGHTS TO ALL OPPOSITION PARTIES.

FOR EXAMPLE, SOME FEEL IT IS NECESSARY THAT THE SERBIAN PARLIAMENT ADOPT THE FIVE AMENDMENTS CONCERNING THE MODIFICATION AND AMENDMENT OF THE LAW ON THE ELECTIONS OF THE DEPUTIES.

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DURING THIS STOPOVER I HAVE DISCUSSED THESE WITH LEADERS IN TWO OF THE OPOSITION PARTIES AND THEY CLAIM THESE AMENDMENTS ARE MANDATORY IF THE ELECTION IS TO BE FAIR. PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC HAS TOLD ME THE SUPERVISION AT THE POLLS ALREADY IS THERE. THAT IS VITAL.

NOBODY EVER BELIEVES THE OUTCOME (OR THE COUNT) OF THE ELECTION IF THE OBSERVERS FROM THE OPPOSITION PARTIES ARE NOT PRESENT AT THE POLLS. WE FACE THAT SITUATION IN THE U.S. ALL THE TIME. THE PRESENCE OF OUTSIDE OBSERVERS IS VITAL FOR THIS FAIRNESS AND ONE NEED NOT BE CONCERNED ABOUT WINNING IF ONE HAS THE VOTER. THE U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT RECENTLY CITED 12 POINTS THAT REFLECT INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTED STANDARDS FOR FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS, INCLUDING SPECIFIC COMMITMENTS ACCEPTED BY YUGOSLAVIA IN JUNE THIS YEAR, AT THE COPENHAGEN MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE HUMAN DIMENSION OF CSCE (CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE), ALSO KNOWN AS THE HELSINKI PROCESS.

THIS MORNING PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC REPEATEDLY ASSURED ME THAT ALL PARTIES AT THE ELECTION POLLS WILL BE ALLOWED SUPERVISORS THERE, THAT THE SERBIAN PEOPLE WILL BE URGED TO VOTE, AND THAT HE WELCOMES OUTSIDE GUEST OBSERVERS SUCH AS MYSELF AND OTHERS TO BE ON HAND DECEMBER 9. I ALONG WITH MANY OTHERS FROM EUROPE, CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES WILL BE ACCEPTING HIS OPEN INVITATION TO BE PRESENT FOR

THIS HISTORIC OCCASION.

IN SUMMARY, SO THAT THE FUTURE PERCEPTION OF SERBIA WILL BE THAT OF A COUNTRY ANXIOUS TO HELP ITS PEOPLE ECONOMICALLY AND POLITICALLY IN INTERNATIONAL CIRCLES, (AS WELL AS TO ALLOW THEM TO BE HAPPIER AT HOME), IT IS VITAL THAT THE GOVERNMENT DOES ENCOURAGE EVERYONE ELIGIBLE TO VOTE, ALLOWS FREE POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING AND FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY, ALLOWS UNIMPEDED ACCESS TO THE MEDIA ON A NON-DISCRIMINATORY BASIS FOR ALL POLITICAL GROUPINGS AND INDIVIDUALS, PROVIDE SECRET BALLOTS AND WAYS TO COUNT THEM WITH THE OBSERVERS ON HAND.

THROUGHOUT SERBIA'S PROUD HISTORY IN THE PAST CENTURIES, SERBIANS ALWAYS HAVE STOOD FOR DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES. AND IN THIS CENTURY, THE PEOPLE ALSO FEEL THAT WAY. I AM GRATEFUL THAT THEN ARE BEING GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO PROVE IT IN THESE ENSUING WEEKS.

CSCE COMMISSION
CODEL DeCONCINI
HUNGARY, YUGOSLAVIA AND ALBANIA
MARCH 21-29, 1991

#6

PROPOSED ITINERARY

THURSDAY, MARCH 21

08:30 p.m. (EST): *Depart Andrews AFB*

FRIDAY, MARCH 22

07:35 a.m. (EST+5): *Arrive Shannon, Ireland*

09:10 a.m.: *Depart Shannon*

01:00 p.m. (EST+6): *Arrive Budapest, Hungary*

Hotel Check-in

Visit Memorial to Raoul Wallenberg

Embassy Briefing

Dinner Organized by Economic Development Seminar

SATURDAY, MARCH 23

NOTE: Some CODEL Members may wish to attend Economic Development Seminar at any time. Separate schedule is attached.

Morning: *Meet with Prime Minister Antall*

Meet with FIDESZ Representatives

11:15: *Attend Economic Development Seminar*

Noon: *DeConcini Luncheon Address at Economic Development Seminar*

Afternoon: *Meet with Representatives of Gypsy Community*

Evening: *CODEL Reception*

State Dinner at Parliament Building

SUNDAY, MARCH 24

NOTE: Some CODEL Members may wish to attend Economic Development Seminar at any time. Separate schedule is attached.

Morning:

Visit Imre Nagy Grave

Travel to Szentendre

Meet with Church Officials

Return to Budapest

04:00 p.m.:

Depart Budapest

04:45 p.m.:

Arrive Belgrade, Yugoslavia

Embassy Briefing at Hotel Control Room

MONDAY, MARCH 25

Meet with Federation President Jovic and Vice-President Mesic

Meet with Serblan President Milosevic

Meet with Serblan Opposition Leaders

Meet with Albanian Opposition Leaders from Kosovo

Meet with Representatives of Hungarian Community in Vojvodina (Agostan, if possible)

04:30 p.m.:

Depart Belgrade

05:25 p.m.:

Arrive Zagreb, Croatia (Yugoslavia)

Dinner/Consulate Briefing

TUESDAY, MARCH 26

Morning:

Meet with President Tudjman (possibly accompanied by Premier Manolic or Assembly Chair Domljan)

Meet with University Students

Luncheon with Media Representatives

Afternoon:

Two Separate Meetings with Opposition Parties (e.g. Racan, Veselica)

Meet with Representatives of Serblan Minority

08:00 p.m.

Depart Zagreb

08:45 p.m.

Arrive Sarajevo, Bosnia-Hercegovina (Yugoslavia)

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 28

Meet with President Izetbegovic, followed by Meeting with Collective Presidency

Meet with Serbian Democratic Party Chief Karadzic

Meet with Party of Private Initiative head Carny

Meet with Alliance of Reform Forces (B-H) head Kecmanovic

Meet with Representatives of Islamic Religious Community

THURSDAY, MARCH 28

09:15 a.m.:

Depart Sarajevo

10:00 a.m.:

Arrive Tirana, Albania

Meet with Foreign Minister

Meet with Election Commission

Lunch Back at Hotel

Meet with Democratic Party

Meet with Concord Party

Meet with Forum for Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

Meet with University Students

FRIDAY, MARCH 29

Morning:

Meet with President Ramiz Alla

Travel to Elbasan

Afternoon:

Return to Tirana

04:00 p.m.

Press Conference

05:30 p.m.:

Depart Tirana

07:45 p.m. (EST+4):

Arrive Keflavik, Iceland

09:15 p.m.:

Depart Keflavik

11:15 p.m. (EST):

Arrive Andrews AFB