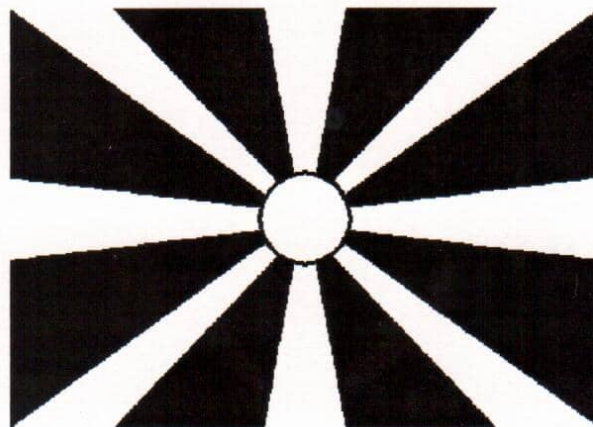


Macedonia Area Study



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3rd Edition

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Macedonia

Republika Makedonija

The region of Macedonia is now divided among Macedonia, Bulgaria, and Greece. Statistics that include Greek or Bulgarian territories are noted in italic below. All figures are for 1994 unless otherwise indicated.

Geography

Location:	Landlocked in the south central Balkan peninsula. <i>The region of Macedonia extends to the Aegean Sea.</i>
Area:	25,333 sq km total (24,856 land, 477 water). Slightly larger than Vermont. <i>Only 36% of the region of Macedonia lies within the borders of the country of Macedonia.</i>
Borders:	Greece (228 km) on S., Yugoslavia (221 km) on N., Albania (151 km) on W., Bulgaria (148 km) on E.
Terrain:	Mountainous territory covered with deep basins and valleys. Pindus Mountains (a continuation of the Alps) in the west, Rhodope Mountains in the center and east. There are three large lakes, each divided by a border.
Land use:	Forest and woodland (30%), meadows and pastures (20%), arable land (5%), permanent crops (5%). The forests of Macedonia have been degraded more than other parts of ex-Yugoslavia; the dominant vegetation consists of dwarf trees and scrub.
Climate:	Macedonia is on the margin of the Mediterranean climate zone. In Skopje, the mean January temperature is 1°C (34°F), while in July it is 24°C (75°F). Summers are dry; snow fall is heavy in winter. <i>In Thessaloniki, the mean January temperature is 6°C (42°F), while in July it is 28°C (82°F). Average annual precipitation is 750 mm (30 in.).</i>
Environment:	Macedonia is seismically active. Air pollution from metallurgical plants is a major issue; Macedonia is a signatory to the international agreement on ozone layer protection.
Cities (1991 est.):	Skopje (563,000), Tetovo (180,000). <i>Thessaloniki (377,000) is the largest city in the Greek state of Macedonia. Approximately 70% of the population is urban.</i>

People

Population:	1,936,877
Pop. Density:	206 sq. mi.
Population growth rate:	0.9%
Ethnic Groups:	Macedonian (67%), Albanian (23%). Turkish (4%), Gypsy (2%), Serbian (2%). <i>Greeks predominate in the south, whereas Slavs -- Serbs and Bulgars -- form the majority in the north. To the west live Albanians, and scattered throughout the region are small communities of Turks and pastoral Vlachs.</i>
Religions:	Eastern Orthodox (67%), Muslim (30%).

Languages:	Macedonian (70%), Albanian (21%), Turkish (3%), Serbo-Croatian (3%).
Literacy (1990):	90% (higher among Macedonians, lower among Albanians).

Economy

Although Macedonia is the poorest republic in the former Yugoslav federation, it can meet basic food and energy needs through its own agricultural and coal resources. Its economic decline will continue unless ties are reformed or enlarged with its neighbors Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece and Bulgaria. The economy depends on outside sources for all of its oil and gas and its modern machinery and parts. Continued political turmoil, both internally and in the region as a whole, prevents any swift readjustments of trade patterns and economic programs. The country's industrial output and GDP are expected to decline further in 1995. Macedonia's geographical isolation, technological backwardness, and potential political instability place it far down the list of countries of interest to Western investors. Resolution of the dispute with Greece and an internal commitment to economic reform would help to encourage foreign investment over the long run. In the immediate future, the worst scenario for the economy would be the spread of fighting across its borders.

Employment:	Manufacturing (25%), mining (15%) and agriculture (8%). There are 507,000 people in the labor force. Unemployment hovers between 27-35%.
Industries:	Steel, metal refining, cement, textiles, wood products, oil (refined from coal). The technology level is low. The IMF estimates industrial output for 1995 will decline 1-3%, an improvement over 1994's decline of 7%.
Mining:	Chromium, lead, zinc, manganese, tungsten, nickel, low-grade iron ore, asbestos, sulfur, copper and coal.
Electricity:	Capacity 1.6 million kW, production 6.3 billion kWh.
Agriculture:	Wheat, corn, tobacco, rice and millet are the major crops. Cotton, sesame, mulberry leaves, citrus fruit and vegetables are also grown. The main agricultural regions are the extensive lowlands along the valleys of the Vardar, Bistrica and Struma rivers. Agricultural production is highly labor intensive. Macedonia is one of the seven legal cultivators of the opium poppy for the world pharmaceutical industry, including some exports to the US.
Livestock (1992):	2.2 million sheep and goats, mostly in the mountainous areas.

Finance

GDP (1993):	\$2.2 billion (down 55% since 1990). The economy continues to shrink by 14.7% per year.
Inflation (1993):	13% per month. The estimate for 1995 is 2.3% per month and perhaps 18% for the year.
Foreign Debt (1992):	\$840 million. On July 21, 1995 Macedonia restructured US\$ 300 million in debt. After a six-year grace period, the arrears will be paid off over a period of 15 years. The 70-75 million due in 1995 was given a two-year grace period and will be paid off over six years.
Economic aid:	Recipient of \$10 million for humanitarian and technical assistance from the US in 1992. In 1993 the EC promised a 100 million ECU economic aid package.

Currency:	The denar, which was adopted by the Macedonian legislature 26 April 1992, was initially issued in the form of a coupon pegged to the German mark; it was subsequently repegged to a basket of seven currencies
Fiscal year:	Calendar year.
Major Trading Partners:	Yugoslavia, Greece, Albania, Bulgaria and Germany.
Exports:	\$889 million in 1993. Manufactured goods (40%), machinery and transport equipment (14%), miscellaneous manufactured articles (23%), raw materials (8%), food (rice) and live animals (6%), beverages and tobacco (4%) and chemicals (4%) in 1990.
Imports:	\$963 million in 1993. Fuels and lubricants (19%), manufactured goods (18%), machinery and transport equipment (15%), food and live animals (14%), chemicals (11%), raw materials (10%), miscellaneous manufactured articles (8%), beverages and tobacco (4%) in 1990.

Transport

Railroads (1990):	431 mi. Cargo tons transported is down 27%, while ridership is down 2%, between January-May, 1995, over the same period last year.
Vehicles in Use (1990):	230,000 passenger cars, 23,000 commercial vehicles.
Airports:	16 airports. Ten airports have permanent surface runways. Two airports have runways of 2,440-3,659m, two others have runways of 1,220-2,439m.
Roads (1991):	5,091 km paved, 1,404 km gravel, 4,096 km dirt. Cargo tons transported is down 6%, while passengers transported is down 17%, between January-May, 1995, over the same period last year.
Inland Waterways:	The major rivers are not navigable.

Communications

Broadcast Stations:	AM radio (6), FM radio (2), television (3), TV relays (2) government owned. There are numerous private broadcast stations. There are no satellite communications ground stations.
Television Sets:	1 per 6.0 persons.
Radios:	1 per 5.3 persons.
Telephones:	1 per 15.7 persons.
Newspaper Circ. (1990):	26 per 1,000 pop.

Health

Hospital Beds:	1 per 171 persons.
Physicians:	1 per 464 persons.
Birth rate:	1.6%
Death rate:	0.7%

Infant mortality rate:	2.8%
Life expectancy at birth:	Men (71.6 years). Women (75.9 years).
Total fertility rate:	1.98 children born/woman

Government

Type:	Republic, emerging democracy.
Legal System:	Based on civil law system, with judicial review of legislative acts.
Capital:	Skopje
Head of State:	Speaker of Parliament Stojan Andov is the interim president while President Kiro Gligorov recovers from an October, 1995, car-bomb attack. Gligorov was first elected in January, 1991; he was reelected in October, 1994
Head of Government:	Prime Minister Branko Crenkovski (since Sept'92).
Legislative Branch:	Unicameral parliament with 140 seats.
Local Divisions:	34 counties.
Suffrage:	Universal at 18 years of age.
US Recognition:	February 9, 1994.
Flag:	16-point gold sun (Vergina, Sun) centered on a red field. The September, 1995, peace agreement with Greece calls for the flag to be changed. (Greece considers the Vergina an appropriation of a Greek symbol and thus a threat to Greek sovereignty.)
Digraph:	MK
Member of:	OSCE, CE (guest), EBRD, ECE, ICAO, ILO, IMF, INTELSTAT (nonsignatory user), ITU, UN, UNCTAD, UNESCO, UNIDO, UPU, WHO, WIPO, WMO
International Disputes:	Greece claims the republic's name implies territorial claims against Aegean Macedonia.

Skopje

Skopje is the capital of Macedonia. It lies on the upper course of the Vardar River on a major north-south Balkan route between Belgrade and Athens. Skopje is about 320 km (200 mi) south of Belgrade.

Skopje was founded as an Illyrian city. In the 4th century AD it became a Roman post called Scupi. It was taken by the Serbs in 1189 and by Ottoman Turks in 1392. In 1913, during the Balkan Wars, the city came under Serbian control, and in 1918 it became part of Yugoslavia.

Skopje is the business and political center of Macedonia. Skopje is a trading center for the cotton, tobacco, grains and livestock produced in the surrounding region; the city manufactures iron and steel, electrical machinery, chemicals, textiles, carpets and foodstuffs. Landmarks include a 12th-century monastery, a medieval Turkish inn, and several baths, churches and mosques. Cultural institutions include a library, a university, schools of medicine and engineering, and several museums and concert halls.

Skopje was struck by a devastating earthquake in 1963. Skopje has since been rebuilt and the new residential quarters bear little resemblance to old Skopje. The center was given a "city wall" of high-rise buildings, while the banks of the Vardar were laid out as pleasant tree-lined promenades. The ancient trading quarter (charshija) has been completely renovated, but has preserved all the notable features of its original architecture.

In this setting the old buildings of cultural and historical interest are seen to even better advantage. They include the Kale Fortress raised in the 6th century (its present appearance dates from the Turkish period), Daut-pasha's baths (15th c., now the Art Gallery), and Mustafa-pasha's mosque (15th c.). The stone bridge over the Vardar gives access to the old part of the city of Skopje with its many cultural and historical monuments. Built by the Turks on the site of a Roman bridge, it has eleven arches and bears a plaque in middle stating that it was restored by Sultan Murat II (first half of the 15th century).

The 19th-century iconostasis of the church of the Holi Saviour (Sveti Spas) (17th c.), carved in walnut, combines a profusion of plant and animal motifs with the figures of saints in local costumes. This realistic high-relief carving is the work of skillful craftsmen of the Debar area, who included their own figures in one corner of the iconostasis. The iconostasis at Holi Saviour church is one of the finest samples of traditional woodcarving in Macedonia (along with the iconostasis of St. John Bigorski Monastery).

On the slopes of nearby Mt. Vodna stands the famous church of St. Panteleimon from 1164, decorated with frescoes of exceptional artistic value.

The Slavic People

The Slavs are the largest mass of European peoples sharing common ethnic and linguistic roots. Classical authors during the 1st century AD mention Slavs, and some scholars maintain that the Greek historian Herodotus wrote of the Slavs in the 5th century BC. The Lusatian culture, which dates back to the 2d millennium BC, is believed by some archaeologists to have been Slavic. Originally Asian, the Slavs migrated to Europe for economic and political reasons.

Various Slavic groups living in eastern Europe were conquered by the Huns during the late 4th century AD. The subsequent dissolution of the Hun empire during the mid-5th century sparked the great migration of the Slavs westward, southward, and northward. Some eventually settled in Bohemia, Bulgaria, and Macedonia. Others entered what are today Hungary and Romania. These groups have been identified as Antae, or East Slavs (Great Russians, White Russians, and Ukrainians); Sklaveni, or South Slavs (Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, Montenegrins, Bosnians, and Bulgarians); and Venedi, or West Slavs (Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, and Wends).

HISTORY

Early Macedonia

640 BC	The ancient Kingdom of Macedonia, situated in the north of modern Greece, established by Perdiccas I. Perdiccas I was a Dorian, although the Macedonian tribes included Thracian and Illyrian elements. (Thrace is now the European part of Turkey. Illyria roughly corresponds to Yugoslavia and Albania.) Originally a semi-barbarous and fragmented power, Macedonia became a tributary to Persia under the Persian kings Darius I and Xerxes I. Macedon thereafter struggled to maintain itself against Sparta, Athens, Chalcidice (the promontory southeast of modern Thessaloniki), the Thracians and barbarians.
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Empire

399 BC	King Archelaus dies. He had centralized Macedonia with a system of roads and forts; he also fostered the Hellenization of his people by inviting famous Greek artists to his court.
359 - 336 BC	Philip II completed Archelaus's work by making Macedon the greatest power in the Greek world. By brilliant diplomacy and military genius he divided up and conquered the city-states ringing his borders. In 338 he decisively ended Greek liberty by defeating Thebes and Athens at the battle of Chaeronea. After installing friendly governments in most cities and garrisons in some, Philip II resettled Macedonians in the conquered lands, laying the foundation for Alexander's conquest of the East. Philip II was assassinated.
336 - 323 BC	Macedonia generals install Philip's son, Alexander (356-323), as king. By the time he died in Egypt, Alexander the Great had created the largest empire of antiquity: Modern Macedonia, Greece, Bulgaria, Turkey, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Israel, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and even part of India.
307 - 295 BC	Macedonia descends into civil war as Alexander's would be successor's battle for the throne. Aligned against the co-kings Antigonus I (c.382-301) and Demetrius I (336-283), his son, was the anti-king Cassander (358-297). Cassander was the assassin of Alexander's mother, widow and son, and the founder of Thessaloniki. Demetrius I was an incompetent land commander, losing Macedonia to Cassander, failing in a siege of Rhodes (305) and partly responsible for his father's defeat and death at Ipsus (301).
294 - 283 BC	Demetrius I re-seizes the throne of Macedonia only to lose it to Lysimachus (c.360-281) and Pyrrhus (who divide the kingdom) after an unsuccessful invasion of Anatolia in 287. Demetrius I drank himself to death in captivity.
283 - 239 BC	Antigonus II (319-239) succeeds Demetrius I, his father as king of Macedonia. Antigonus II did not gain control of Macedonia from the anti-king until 276. Despite several wars, Antigonus II was successful in maintaining control of Greece until his death.
227 - 221 BC	Antigonus III (263-220), a regent for the child king Philip V, proclaims himself king of Macedonia. Antigonus defeated Sparta and Corinth, before abdicating in favor of an adult Philip V.
220 - 179 BC	Philip V (238-179) becomes king of Macedonia. Philip V was initially successful, defeating the Aetolian League, but fought a thirty-year running battle against Rome after antagonizing the rising empire by joining Hannibal in attacking it during the Second Punic War. Attacks on one-time allies eventually antagonized all of Macedonia's neighbors, leading to the decisive defeat of Philip V at Cynoscephalae in 197. Philip V retained his throne, despite a Roman plot to install his youngest son as king, until his death.
179 - 165 BC	Perseus (212-165), the last king of Macedonia, peacefully succeeds his father, Philip V. Perseus established connections with other royal families, won friends in Greece and in neighboring countries, and tried to avoid provoking Rome. (Perseus had helped Philip V defeat the coup d'état.) In 171, Rome attacked Macedonia, decisively defeating it at Paullus in 168. Perseus died in confinement in Italy three years later. Macedonian independence had lasted only two centuries. Macedonia would remain under the rule of Rome and its eastern successor, Byzantium, until split by the Serbs and Turks in the 14th century AD. It would not become independent again for over 2000 years.

Rome & Byzantium

200 - 400 AD	Romans settle in the Balkans.
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400 - 600 AD	Slavs enter the Balkans from the north. After settling, they mix with the local natives, eventually splitting into the distinct tribes that are reflected in the different languages remaining today: Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, and Macedonian, spoken primarily in Yugoslavia; and Bulgarian, in Bulgaria.
800 - 900 AD	Saints Cyril and Methodius convert the Slavs to Christianity. Their followers established the Macedonian Orthodox church and Europe's oldest university.
1189	Serbia seizes Scupi (the modern Skopje) from Byzantium.
1334	Byzantium loses western Macedonia to Serbia.
1343	Serbia conquers Albania and seizes more Macedonian territory from Byzantium.

Ottoman Rule

1389	The Ottomans crush the fledgling Serbian Empire at the battle of Kosovo.
1699	The Ottoman Empire cedes Transylvania, Croatia and Slavonia to Austria-Hungary. The Ottomans also cede Dalmatia and Peloponesus to Venice.
1804	Serbia revolts against the Ottomans, provoking a century of revolutions and wars involving local states, Russia, France and England. Serbia was granted limited autonomy in 1815.
1830	Greece achieves independence. Walachia and Moldova granted autonomy.
1861	Walachia and Moldova form Romania.
1878	The Treaty of Berlin forces the Ottomans to grant independence to Serbia and Montenegro and to cede administrative control over Bosnia and Hercegovina to Austria-Hungary.
1908	In contravention to the Treaty of Berlin, Austria-Hungary annexes Bosnia and Hercegovina. The annexation outraged Serbia and Montenegro, which had regarded the provinces as potential elements of a united Slav state in the Balkans. Russia backed Serbia, and Germany affirmed its support of Austria-Hungary, but armed hostilities were avoided. Nonetheless, the incident resulted in increased bitterness between Serbia and Austria-Hungary.
1912	The Balkan League -- Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia and Montenegro -- expel the Ottomans from the Balkans in the First Balkan War, dividing the territory of Macedonia between them.
1913	The Second Balkan War erupts when Bulgaria, hoping to seize disputed parts of Macedonia, launches a surprise attack Serbia and Greece. Romania and Turkey joined the defense and Bulgaria was defeated. The Treaty of Bucharest awards Serbia and Greece those parts of Macedonia they had claimed. Albania is formed after the war.

The World Wars

1914	World War I begins after a Serbian nationalist assassinates Austrian Archduke Ferdinand in Sarajevo.
1919	The Treaty of Versailles creates the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.
1921	Alexander, a Serbian prince, becomes king.
1929	King Alexander assumes dictatorial powers and changes the name of the country to Yugoslavia.
1934	Alexander assassinated by Croatian extremists. Yugoslavia fragments into hostile factions.
1939	World War II begins.
1941	Germany invades Yugoslavia

1945	World War II ends. Tito gains power after his communist partisans defeat the Croatian ustashi and Serbian chetniks.
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The Rule of Tito

1948	Tito's reluctance to follow Soviet advice and resistance to Soviet exploitation lead to Yugoslavia's expulsion from the Soviet bloc.
1963	A magnitude 6.0 earthquake destroys Skopje.
1971	Tito prepares his legacy, establishing a rotating presidency, which is supposed to be held by a different republic each year.
1980	Tito dies.
1981	First signs of armed struggle appear in Yugoslavia.
Sept 89	Slovenia amends its constitution to allow secession from Yugoslavia.
Dec 89	Serbia severs economic ties with Slovenia, which then closes its border with Serbia. Both are still part of Yugoslavia.
July 90	Yugoslavia removes the autonomy of Vojvodina and Kosovo, provoking Slovenia to declare its own autonomy.
Oct 90	Krajina, an ethnically Serbian part of Croatia, declares independence from Croatia
Dec 90	Croatia amends its constitution to allow secession from Yugoslavia.
Jan 91	Yugoslav army ordered to disarm all paramilitary groups. Macedonia amends its constitution to allow secession from Yugoslavia.
May 91	Serbia, which holds the rotating presidency, prevents Croatia from taking its turn at the job.
Jun 91	Croatia and Slovenia declare independence. Yugoslavia invades both, being defeated by the Slovenes and seizing Slavonia from Croatia.
Sept 91	Fearing a fate similar to Croatia, Macedonia declares independence. The independence vote was boycotted by Macedonia's Albanian minority.
Nov 91	Macedonia adopts a new constitution.

Independence & Current Events

Jan 92	Macedonia amends constitution to comply with European Community (EC) criteria for recognition. However, the EC postpones a decision on Macedonian membership due to opposition from Greece, which fears for the integrity of its northern province by the same name. Another Macedonian amendment which Greece objects to is also contained in the Greek constitution.
11 May 93	Ethnic Albanians threaten to break away from Macedonia. US begins considering sending US troops to Macedonia as peacekeepers.
6 July 93	First US troops begin arriving Macedonia.
23 Aug 93	US troops begin patrolling Macedonia's border with Yugoslavia. The UNPROFOR commander in Macedonia says, "It is more serious for the Serbs if they do something with Americans here."
Oct 93	Socialists gain power in Greece. Greek relations with Macedonia and Albania quickly get worse. Papandreou, Greece's once and present prime minister, threatens to break off talks to agree upon a name for the relevant part of what used to be Yugoslavia, arguing that the name may not contain

the word "Macedonia" (a contiguous part of which is a Greek province). Adding threatened injury to insult, he hints that landlocked Macedonia could not survive if it loses access to Greek ports.

Jan 94	Greece assumes its scheduled six-month turn in the rotating EC presidency.
Feb 94	Greece closes its borders with Macedonia, and cuts the landlocked countries access to the Greek port of Thessaloniki, the gateway for 70% of Macedonia's goods.
9 Feb 94	US recognizes Macedonia after two years of side-stepping in deference to Greece.
26 Feb 94	The European Commission brands Greece's partial trade embargo on Macedonia illegal, saying it would seek a ruling from the European Court of Justice.
15 Mar 94	US announces it will send 500-600 troops to Macedonia to replace 800 Scandinavian troops that are being shifted to Bosnia. 300 US troops are already in Macedonia.
21 Mar 94	Macedonia estimates its losses due the Greek embargo at \$80 million a month.
30 Mar 94	Greece rejects an European Union (EU) demand that it lift the embargo on Macedonia.
6 Apr 94	The EC gives Greece one week to lift its embargo of Macedonia. It did not specify what it would do if Greece persisted. Greece persisted; the EC did nothing.
27 June 94	Macedonia jails 10 ethnic Albanians on charges of weapons smuggling and preparing an armed rebellion. The jailed include a former deputy defense minister.
30 June 94	The European Court of Justice rules that Greece may continue its embargo against Macedonia . The EU, which brought the case to the court's attention, said it would continue working to have the embargo lifted.
	Macedonia imposes a 7.5% tariff on Slovenian goods, depriving Slovenia of its preferential trade status. Macedonia said it was imposing the tariffs because of the trade deficit between the two countries.
2 July 94	The UN recorded 24,420 trucks crossing the Yugoslavia-Macedonia border, in both directions, in the 2nd quarter of this year. That is double the traffic of the 1st quarter. The figure does not include rail traffic or small-time sanctions-busters in buses and cars. A large part of the trade entering Serbia consists of oil, steel and nitrates (used in the manufacture of fertilizers and explosives). Serbia has threatened to cut off Macedonia's supply of electricity, coal and phosphates if Macedonia halts the smugglers.
5 July 94	The deadline for the Macedonian census was extended for five days until July 10. The census began on June 21. So far only about 60% of the population has registered. It is likely that a large part of the Serbian and ethnic Albanian population failed or refused to register. Most Albanians also boycotted the last census in 1991. This time Macedonian authorities have assured them that their claims to citizenship would be recognized, but the Albanians are wary because they are barely represented on the committees that will tally the results. The Albanians need an impressive showing in the census to back up their demands for increased political clout. Albanian leaders are divided on whether their people should register.
6 July 94	Protesting last month's jailing of 10 ethnic Albanians on weapons charges a coalition of Albanian political parties withdraws from Macedonia's ruling coalition. That leaves the coalition without a parliamentary majority. A vote of confidence is scheduled for July 14th.
	Croatia and Macedonia establish diplomatic relations.
12 July 94	Macedonia's State Census Committee reported irregularities in the census. In addition to a number of census regulations being violated, documents have been forged, dead people registered, living people registered twice, etc.
	A Serb platoon, which had occupied a disputed peak 250m inside Macedonia, withdrew to Yugoslavia. UNPROFOR occupied the peak to provide a buffer between the two sides.
	Slovenia and Macedonia agreed to cooperate on military matters. The countries will exchange

military attaché's, and cooperate on information, training, and equipment exchange.

14 July 94	Macedonia's government survives a vote of confidence by a healthy 61-2 vote. The earliest another vote of confidence can be legally held is in three months.
15 July 94	Macedonia and the newly-created demi-state of Palestine plan to establish diplomatic relations.
22 July 94	Defense Secretary Perry canceled a visit to Bosnia after ground fire hit three aircraft, including a US C-141, in Sarajevo. The C-141 was riddled badly enough that it was forced to do a wheels-up landing in Germany. It was the second day in a row that planes landing in Sarajevo had been attacked. The UN reacted by suspending its airlift to the city. Perry's eight nation European tour has taken him to the neighboring countries of Macedonia, Albania and Turkey over the past three days.
7 Aug 94	Macedonia, still being denied access to the Greek port of Thessaloniki, begins planning to lay embargo-busting rail lines. One would run to Bulgaria, the other to Albania. Both would be electric. Both would be open for traffic in the year 2000. Macedonia also completes talks with Turkey about making its ports available for Macedonian freight.
17 Aug 94	Macedonia bans the import of Greek livestock and meat. It blames the action on an "epidemic" of hoof & mouth disease.
20 Aug 94	Macedonian soldiers shoot one of six Yugoslav smugglers attempting to enter Macedonia. The other five flee back to Yugoslavia.
23 Aug 94	A Greek fighter jet violates the Macedonian airspace. The jet flew 7 km into Macedonia, buzzed an army barracks, then returned to Greece.
29 Aug 94	Macedonia uses credits from Italy, Turkey and the US to purchase 55,000 tons of corn from those countries.
	Hungary and Macedonia establish diplomatic relations.
	Macedonian border troops shoot another Yugoslav smuggler after he refuses orders to halt.
31 Aug 94	Saudi Arabia and Macedonia establish diplomatic relations.
16 Oct 94	Macedonia holds presidential elections, in a race pitting moderate incumbent Gligorov against a nationalist challenger. Gligorov's three-party Alliance for Macedonia is expected to return to power, although no one is likely to get an outright majority. The alliance currently holds power as part of a coalition that includes the Albanian bloc.
Nov 94	US 1st Armored Division troops rotate into Macedonia to replace 3rd Infantry Division troops who have been there since June 94.
15 Dec 94	Macedonian police destroy an Albanian university building, arrest a university official, and confiscate equipment from an independent TV station.
23 Dec 94	Macedonia arrests 29 members of the former 'Kosovo Parliament'. The MP's fled Kosovo in September, 1990. At least 18 were deported to Yugoslavia; only two were released.
17 Jan 95	USAREUR Chief-of-Staff General Joulwan meets with Macedonian President Gligorov in Skopje. They discuss military cooperation.
6 Feb 95	UNPROFOR announces it may move its HQ to Skopje if Croatia follows through on its threat to expel it.
15 Feb 95	Brigadier Juha Engstrom takes command of UNPROFOR in Macedonia from Brigadier Tryggve Tellefsen.
	The Macedonian Chamber of Commerce sponsors a week-long visit by 15 leading Macedonian businessmen to Serbia. Macedonia wants to increase bilateral cooperation in agriculture and the production of tobacco and food. Exchange is severely depressed due to international sanctions on Yugoslavia.
17 Feb 95	One ethnic Albanian is killed and 28 people wounded, including nine policemen, when shots are

exchanged during clashes between ethnic Albanians and Macedonian police in Tetovo. The incident begins when police tried to enter a university building while lectures were in progress. The riot is observed by UNPROFOR and OSCE representatives. The rector of the university, Fadil Sulejmani, is arrested. Two police buses and a vehicle belonging to Macedonian Television are also destroyed.

18 Feb 95	10,000 people attend the funeral of the Albanian killed in yesterday's clash with Macedonian police. After the funeral, a group of youths march to the police station to demand the release of university rector Sulejmani. The youths disperse after one of their leaders appeals to them to avoid excesses.
20 Feb 95	A student protest is held in front of the Macedonian embassy in Tirana, Albania. The protest is in support of the students at the university in Tetovo, Macedonia. In Tetovo, seven ethnic Albanians, including university rector Sulejmani, are sentenced to 30 days in prison for their participation in the riot.
	Thirty-five Muslim graves are desecrated in Kumanovo, Macedonia.
22 Feb 95	Macedonian police arrest more Albanian activists in connection with the Tetovo riot: Nevzat Halili, a political leader, and Musli Halimi, a professor at the university, are arrested.
23 Feb 95	Two thousand Macedonian students stage a counter-protest, against the Albanian university in Tetovo, in front of Macedonia's parliament building in Skopje. Though larger than the Albanian protest, there was no violence and no arrests.
26 Feb 95	One thousand Albanians hold a rally in Mala Rechica, Macedonia, to commemorate the victims of the Tetovo riot. The protest is attended by leaders of all the Albanian political parties. The Albanians begin a campaign of "quiet civic revolt."
27 Feb 95	Macedonia brings additional charges against Albanians for their involvement in the Tetovo riot. Arben Rusi, president of the "El Hilal" humanitarian organization and Musli Halimi, who is already in custody are charged with participation in a crowd preventing police officers from exercising their duty. The Macedonian Interior Ministry says it will begin arresting Albanians who hold Albanian-language university classes in private homes.
2 Mar 95	The US begins considering boosting its commitment to Macedonia if UNPROFOR withdraws from Croatia. NATO may put as much as a division into Macedonia, of which the US would provide a brigade.
9 Mar 95	Serbian President Milosevic says he would recognize Slovenia and "The Republic of Skopje" (Macedonia) in return for the lifting of sanctions on Yugoslavia. Serbia had previously recognized Macedonia in 1945.
17 Mar 95	Macedonia wants a deal with UNPROFOR similar to the one Croatia just received. Macedonia wants an independent operation not linked to other countries: Foreign Minister Stevi Crvenkovski says that Macedonia wants a new UN mandate with a "separate military, logistical and administrative structure under a special representative" for the 1,100 peacekeepers in the country.
4 Apr 95	The 1995 US-Macedonian military cooperation program is aimed at reorganizing the Macedonian Army in accordance with NATO standards. The 30 item program includes a meeting in Washington between Macedonian Defense Minister Handziski and US Defense Secretary Perry; a visit by the Macedonian Army CinC to the US European Command; information exchanges; training of officers; and medical cooperation. The total of 30 activities are aimed at reorganizing the Macedonian Army in accordance with NATO standards.
12 Apr 95	Turkish Defense Minister Gulhan meets with Macedonian President Gligorov, Prime Minister Crvenkovski and Defense Minister Handziski.
14 Apr 95	The defense ministers of Macedonia and Turkey, Blagoj Handziski and Mehmed Golhan, sign a military agreement. It is the third Turkish-Macedonian military treaty. It will go into effect after the arms embargo on Macedonia is lifted. Handziski stresses that the agreement is not directed

against other countries (i.e., Greece, a common opponent). Golhan says, "Turkey regards Macedonia's sovereignty and territorial integrity as extremely important. Just as peace in Macedonia is essential to peace in the entire region, it is essential to us that Macedonia has good relations with all its neighbors."

Libya and Macedonia establish diplomatic relations.

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| 15 Apr 95 | Macedonian border patrol kills an Albanian who was illegally crossing the border. Macedonia claims the man was part of a criminal group, while Albania said the shooting was a "premeditated killing". |
| 18 Apr 95 | Macedonian police dismantle a mosque in Kocivari. Government building inspectors say the structure failed to meet legal requirements. Local Albanians are bitter, but do not resist the action. |
| 19 Apr 95 | Macedonian police dismantle an Albanian high school in Radolishta. Government education officials say the children will be incorporated in the 'legal education system'. |
| 25 Apr 95 | In what has almost become a daily occurrence, the Macedonian Ministry of Education closes an Albanian high school in Bacista. |
| 26 Apr 95 | The court in Tetovo, Macedonia, suspends its proceedings for several hours when 10,000 Albanian protesters show up outside it. The Albanians protest the "fabricated court proceedings against Albanians." The march coincides with the trial of Fadil Sulejmani, rector of Tetovo's Albanian university. The marchers disperse peaceably after several speeches by Albanian politicians. The proceedings are monitored by OSCE and UNPREDEP officials. |
| May 95 | Greek customs agents in the port city of Thessaloniki seize parts of two disassembled oil rigs aboard an Iranian-flagged cargo ship. The equipment was shipped from Iran by a Canadian company owned by a Serb immigrant. Original documents describe the shipment as being oil-drilling equipment for Russia, via Bulgaria. The documents were altered in Bulgaria to call the shipment "hydrological equipment" bound for Macedonia. At least 100 truckloads of the equipment were off-loaded at Thessaloniki. Sixty of those made it to Macedonia, thirteen of which were seized by Macedonia. The rigs' final destination probably was the oil fields in northern Serbia or Serb-held Slavonia, in Croatia. Both Greece (a Serb ally) and Macedonia made the seizures only after the US pressured them to do so. |
| 1 May 95 | Hours before the expiration of the current peacekeeping mandate in the former Yugoslavia, the UN Security Council restructures the operation into three contingents: one each for Croatia, Bosnia and Macedonia. The mandates are good for eight months, being due to expire at the end of November. Resolution 983 creates the UN Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP) for Macedonia. |
| 3 May 95 | A Macedonian court finds Fadil Sulejmani guilty of inciting a riot, then sentences him to 2-5 years in jail. Sulejmani was rector of the Albanian university in Tetovo. A co-defendant, found guilty of "participation in crowds", is released. |
| 15 May 95 | Macedonian Defense Minister Handziski meets with US Defense Secretary Perry in Washington, DC. The visit is part of the US-Macedonia military cooperation program signed last month. Also attending the meeting is Macedonian ambassador to the US Ljubica Achevska, several Macedonian generals, US Vice-Secretary of Defense Walter Slowcombe, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrook (the United States' pointman on Yugoslav policy), Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Joseph Crusel, US Director of Balkan Tactical Forces James Pardue and Admiral Owens. Handziski wants the US to help Macedonia gain exemption from the international embargo against the former Yugoslavia, arguing that Macedonia should be excluded because it has not contributed to the reasons for the embargo. Crusel says that "Macedonia is very important to security and stability in the entire Balkan region," and that it ranks "very high in our strategic calculations". Perry says that if necessary, the US will send additional troops to Macedonia to help boost its security. |
| 16 May 95 | Nevzat Halili, a professor at the Albanian university in Tetovo and president of an Albanian |

political party, goes on trial in Macedonia. Halili is charged with leading a crowd that prevented police officers from closing the university down.

17 May 95	The Macedonian Ministry of Transport and Communication banned 250 private radio and TV stations. Minister Dimitar Buzlevski gave the order because of 'technical reasons': chaos and piracy in the public broadcasting system. So far, 24 have received the order, but not all are complying.
19 May 95	Nevzat Halili is sentenced by a Macedonian court to 1.5 years in prison for "participation in crowds" and "preventing police officers from executing their duty". The charges stem from February's confrontation between ethnic Albanian students and Macedonian police in Tetovo.
21 May 95	Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine, Moldova, Albania and Macedonia sign a letter to UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali asking that the sanctions against Yugoslavia be lifted. (Although neither Albania nor Macedonia are any great friend of Yugoslavia or Greece -- or each for that matter -- both have suffered extreme economical hardship due to the sanctions because Yugoslavia is their major trading partner.)
22 May 95	Operation New Spirit -- a five-day exercise involving the US, Greece, Bulgaria, Romania and Albania -- is being held near Kalamata, in southern Greece. New Spirit is focusing on the distribution of humanitarian aid. The US is also planning a joint exercise involving the US, Albania and Macedonia.
23 May 95	A Greek newspaper reported that Greece, Macedonia, Albania, Moldova, Ukraine, Bulgaria and Romania requested UN compensation for losses due to the UN embargo on Yugoslavia. Macedonia immediately denied the report. Albania also denied it had asked the UN to lift the sanctions.
	A Macedonian court sets bail at 200,000 DM for Fadil Sulejmani. Sulejmani, an ethnic Albanian, is in custody waiting to begin his 2.5 year sentence for inciting the riot at Tetovo University. The court also sentences ethnic Albanian Arben Rusim, president of the humanitarian organization El Hilal, to eight months in prison for participation in crowds and preventing police officers from exercising their duty during a similar incident in Poroy.
24 May 95	Ukraine and Macedonia establish diplomatic relations.
26 May 95	Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Joseph Crusel says Macedonia would join the Partnership for Peace and be included in multinational military exercises. He also said Macedonian cadets would train at US military academies. While Crusel said the US has "no present plans to increase the number of our troops in Macedonia", he appeared to contradict himself by saying that "I hope we [the US and Macedonia] will come to a common appreciation of a need for changes in the number and deployment of troops."
	Henrik Sokalski is appointed the new Chief of Mission of UNPREDEP in Macedonia. He replaces Hugo Anson, who leaves on good terms. Macedonian President Gligorov 'expressed deep appreciation'.
28 May 95	The Albanian Democratic People's Party, passed two resolutions: the first dealing with economic and social questions, the second demanding improved Albanian-language education and the closer integration of ethnic Albanians in the fields of culture and science. A proposal to change the party's name to Democratic Party of Albanians was rejected.
31 May 95	Fadil Sulejmani is released by a Macedonian court after making a reduced bail of 100,000 DM. Suleimani was convicted for inciting the riot at Tetovo University.
	Ethnic Albanian editorial staff at TV Macedonia went on strike over the appointment of Hisen Shakiri as chief editor. They believe Hakiri is anti-Albanian, whereas the fired chief editorialized in favor of the Albanian language university in Tetovo.
6 July 95	Heavy rain, storms, and subsequent flooding on caused enormous damage in southeastern Macedonia. The regions of Kavadarci and Negotino were hardest hit, where two-thirds of the

crops were destroyed and 3,000 houses damaged.

20 July 95	Macedonia and Turkey signed an agreement on military cooperation. The two militaries will observe each others' exercises, maintain contacts, and exchange personnel and units. Also, Macedonian officer cadets will train at Turkish academies. Karadayi stressed that the accord "is not directed against the security of a third country." (<i>i.e., Greece</i>). It is the third and broadest document that the two countries have signed on military cooperation.
21 July 95	The Law Regarding the Courts -- "a basic act for constitution of the third judiciary authority" was passed by parliament. The law, which takes effect on July 1, 1996, was debated for almost three years. It establishes basic and appellate courts, for judges to be elected and dismissed by parliament, and for federal funding of the seats.
27 July 95	Macedonia and the Vatican established diplomatic relations.
4 Aug 95	Macedonian custom officers at the Deve Bair border-crossing between Macedonia and Bulgaria confiscated 37.4 kilos of heroin worth DM 10 million. The drugs were found in a bus with Turkish license plates. Macedonian police have seized more than 300 kilos of heroin, 65 kilos of raw opium and 57 kilos of marijuana in the last four years.
7 Aug 95	70,000 people, or approximately 1/6 of the work force, has not been paid for three or more months.
14 Sept 95	In a meeting at the UN in New York, Macedonia and Greece signed an agreement normalizing relations. UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali presided over the ceremony. The agreement was the result of 29 months of negotiations.
	Macedonia and the US established diplomatic relations.
4 Oct 95	President Kiro Gligorov barely survived an assassination attempt. Speaker of Parliament Stojan Andov was named interim president.
15 Oct 95	Greece lifted the embargo against Macedonia, which was started in February, 1994.
23 Oct 95	Macedonia and Australia established diplomatic relations.
26 Oct 95	Macedonian Minister of Internal Affairs Ljubomir Frckovski tendered his resignation to Prime Minister Crvenkovski. Frckovski's confusing statement claimed Macedonian police were not following the normal security procedure; did not have any prior information notice of the attack on President Gligorov; and that the attack was staged by a "multinational business-financial company in a neighboring country." Crvenkovski has yet to accept the resignation.

Albania & Kosovo

May, 1994

More than two million Albanians live outside their country, mostly in Kosovo but also in Macedonia. Albanian nationalists have always regarded as unjust the 1913 territorial settlement that left so many of their people outside.

Albanian President Sali Berisha is demanding that foreign leaders not forget the issue of Serbia's province of Kosovo, with its overwhelmingly ethnic Albanian population. He has also been telling Albanians in Kosovo that they must, for the foreseeable future, give up their dreams of independence and union with Albania. Why? If war were to break out, all would be lost. Hundreds of thousands of refugees would pour into and Albania would lose its chance to join the European mainstream.

Kosovo's Albanian leaders have never disguised the fact that their struggle for independence is only a prelude to union with Albania. Yet short of a wholesale slaughter of Albanians in Kosovo, few in the mother country care much about their fate. Many actively dislike their Kosovo cousins. (Some Kosovo businessmen have perpetrated scams against the less experienced former communists).

For the moment, Ibrahim Rugova's Democratic League of Kosovo has rejected compromise, but rumors have been circulating in Pristina and Belgrade that both Rugova and the Serbs may be discreetly groping towards a compromise.

US Troops on the Edge

June, 1994

The American presence in Macedonia has expanded in the past month from 300 to more than 520 troops, representing nearly half the total UN force. The soldiers are from the 1/6 Infantry and 7/1 Aviation regiments of the 3rd Infantry Division. (Another 300 US troops are attached to a field hospital in Croatia.)

Until April the US force was limited to patrolling a remote mountainous region in the eastern border sector, not far from Bulgaria. Now they have taken over the old Swedish sector, which straddles the Belgrade-Athens highway.

At least one US patrol, mounted or dismounted, is launched daily from each of the nine OP's operated by the US force along its 45-mile border sector. The patrols are to show the flag as much as to monitor the border for activity. To emphasize the UN presence, outposts are lit up like Christmas trees in very visible sites; patrols walk on roads and high ridges; radios have been set to the same frequency since the US arrived; and guns are not normally mounted on APC's.

The UN soldiers have no mandate to stop border traffic, only to monitor it. "At times it looks like a major interstate," said a US soldier. It's not soldiers the US troops are watching, but donkeys. Macedonia, a traditional Serb trading partner, is a hotbed of smuggling activity. The soldiers count 200-400 donkeys daily; the record is 538.

US Customs officials working the border confirm that there is widespread corruption in the Macedonian border operation. The smuggling benefits Serbia, but Serb soldiers patrolling their side of the border still exact payments from the smugglers. Some smugglers have been shot for failing to pay. (Serb forces regularly conduct patrols that cross into Macedonia. The border is so nebulous that the UN uses two different sets of maps.)

In one incident, two Americans and three Norwegians were detained by Serb soldiers for 11 hours after the UN patrol entered a village UN maps showed to be within Macedonia.

In another incident, a US patrol being accompanied by a military video team was confronted by Macedonian police. The Macedonians first demanded a camera permit, then tried to confiscate the videotape.

In a third incident, a UN helicopter was pursued three miles into Macedonian airspace by a Yugoslav MiG fighter.

In the most serious incident, the day after the NATO's April 22 deadline for the end of Serb attacks on Gorazde, Serb soldiers began setting up a machine-gun on a ridge overlooking a US outpost. They then began establishing fighting positions. Finally, the Serbs set up an 82mm mortar within easy lobbing range of the American camp a half-mile away. Following UN 'consultation' with Belgrade, the Serbs retreated from the ridge line after five tense days. US soldiers believe the incident was not a coincidence. "I think if we had bombed [Gorazde], they would have retaliated," said one.

Macedonia blames the border problems with Yugoslavia on the line not being internationally demarcated despite Macedonia "simply [taking] over the border lines it had during the former Yugoslavia."

Yugoslavia, for its part, blames the concentration of Yugoslav army units on the border, violations of the border and the seizure of the border post by Serbs, on Macedonian claims of "danger from the north" leading to the "engagement and increasing presence of foreign military" units along the border.

Effects of the Tetovo Riot

April, 1995

The riot, and the death of one Albanian protester could lead to wider and more risky conflict. Ethnic Albanians in Macedonia, comprising one fourth of the state's 2-million population, believe that the university would be a simple example of equality in terms of education. For the Macedonian government and many Macedonians, this is intimidating and could initiate Albanian radicalism and destabilization of the country which has been in a permanent geopolitical crisis ever since its secession from the former Yugoslavia in 1991. On the north, Serbia is hesitating whether to recognize this former republic of Yugoslavia. On the south, Greece has imposed a diplomatic and trade embargo on Macedonia, accusing it of usurping the name "Macedonia" -- which Greece regards as its own property. The largest problem, however, are possible ethnic conflicts in the Macedonia, which could be used by either Serbia or Greece to invade the country. The Macedonian Government believes that a large-scale war could also be caused by the possible demands of Albanians, from Kosovo and Macedonia, to have their regions annexed to Albania.

Heading Off War in the Southern Balkans

By Misha Glenny

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The article first draws the geostrategic parallels between Bosnia and Macedonia, then contrasts US stumbling in the north Balkans with our competence in the south Balkans. That competence has so far prevented a widening of the conflict to regional powers -- and ancient enemies -- Greece and Turkey. Such a conflict, besides involving two NATO allies, would threaten vital US lines of communication with the Middle East. The article concludes that a matter of special urgency is keeping a lid on the growing conflict between Macedonia and its indigenous Albanian population.

BOSNIA AND MACEDONIA: TWINS

In the month prior to late June 1991, when war engulfed the former Yugoslavia, the presidents of two constituent republics, Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia and Kiro Gligorov of Macedonia, spared no effort trying to close the widening chasm between Serbia and Croatia. Both men understood that in the event of armed conflict their republics could be the bloodiest theaters of war. Bosnia was especially threatened because it formed a wedge between Serbs and Croats as they attempted to establish the borders of their new nation-states by force.

Macedonia, so far, has escaped the horrors that its twin, Bosnia, has suffered. Yet if war continues in the northern Balkans, a gradual destabilization of Macedonia is almost certain to magnify the threat to its existence and to the wider security of the southern Balkan region. Even with relative peace in the northern Balkans, the tensions between ethnic Albanians and Macedonians make for a fragile state.

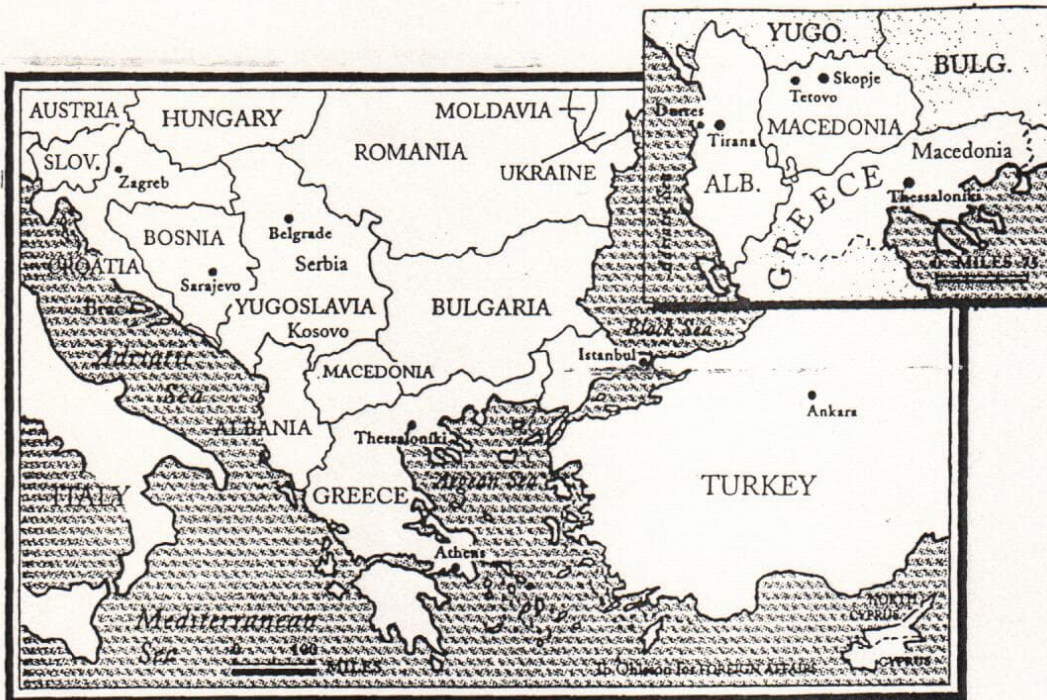
The political problems facing Macedonia are remarkably similar to those that destroyed Bosnia. Throughout the Cold War, both republics depended on the Yugoslav federation to ward off the territorial claims of their more powerful neighbors. The majority populations of Bosnia and Macedonia are relative newcomers to the Balkan drama. The Muslim and Slavic Macedonians have assumed the character of a modern nation only since 1945, partly due to a gradual historical maturation and partly due to Marshal Josip Tito, the former Yugoslav dictator, who encouraged Macedonian development to dilute the influence of Serbs and Croats in Yugoslavia. Macedonians are no longer satisfied to be cast as extras, the role allotted them during World War II. This time they have claimed center stage by

asserting the right to form the core of two new nation-states in the Balkans. This makes the current conflict more complicated than its predecessor of 1941-45.

But the chief similarity lies in the two nations' strategic importance for the region. Dominance of Bosnia is the key to control of the Adriatic coast. Macedonia is the only territory where the Balkan mountains can be traversed from north to south, from Belgrade to Thessaloniki, and west to east, from Durres to Istanbul. Consequently, these two territories have repeatedly suffered as the main theaters of war when European turmoil has thrown the constitutional order of the Balkan region into question. Their geostrategic importance is paramount.

In modern times, Bosnia and Macedonia have always required the protection of an external power to survive, be it the Austro-Hungarians, the Ottomans, or a federal Yugoslavia. Without such guarantees both republics have had

to rely on the goodwill of their minority populations for stability and security: the Serbs and Croats in Bosnia, the Albanians in Macedonia. If that goodwill is withdrawn -- as happened in Bosnia in 1992 -- the republic is finished. Macedonia is now heading down the same path as Bosnia. Although ethnic Albanians do not have nearly the Serbs' and Croats' military power, Macedonia is even less well-equipped to defend itself than Bosnia was.



STUMBLING IN THE NORTH BALKANS

Ignorance of this political reality has led to grave mistake by international actors in the ongoing drama among Bosnians, Serbs and Croats. A glaring example has been the Clinton administration's Bosnia policy, which has been ridiculed comprehensively by both opponents and supporters of the Bosnian government. The Bosnian government in Sarajevo feels betrayed because Washington's rhetoric in favor of a unified Bosnia was never backed by force. One should either wage war on behalf of the Bosnian government or clearly state that one has no intention of doing so. Washington's great mistake was that it did neither: it held out the prospect of intervention if the Bosnian government's position continued to deteriorate, then did nothing when it came to the crunch.

Clinton's pusillanimity, however, did not endear him to others. The Serbs perceive the Americans as chiefly responsible for the hardships created by UN sanctions (even though the sanctions were, of course, approved by all five permanent members of the Security Council). In addition, they believe that the demonization of the Serbs was designed in Germany and manufactured in the United States. The Russians have been alarmed by Clinton's apparent willingness to consider NATO air attacks without consulting them, in a region where Russia believes it has vital interests. The Europeans have been exasperated by Washington's vacillation, provoking one senior official involved in the mediation of the Yugoslav wars to tell the Americans "to piss or get off the pot." Indeed, US presidential hopeful Senator Robert Dole's decision to introduce legislation calling for the lifting of the arms embargo on Bosnia was probably motivated more by the Senate majority leader's wish to embarrass the president at his weakest foreign policy point than by an overwhelming commitment to restoring peace in the northern Balkans.

Some sympathy must be extended to the White House and State Department. In the 1992 presidential campaign, Clinton seized on the public disgust provoked by television coverage of the detention camps run by the Bosnian Serbs. Holding this banner of moral outrage aloft when he assumed office, he remained unaware that it was an insufficient weapon with which to attack the politically complex collapse of the Yugoslav federation. Moreover, the range and depth of foreign policy problems confronting the new Democratic administration were far greater than those facing President Bush even in his last two years in office.

The core problem was the administration's inability to identify any US interests in Croatia and Bosnia. Initially policy was guided purely by an emotional response to Serbian atrocities. However, the more deeply the United States became involved, the more this moral position was muddled by security implications. The conflict in the northern Balkans involves two key relationships -- one with Russia, the other with Turkey -- that America must redefine following the collapse of communism. In the case of Bosnia, Washington was unable to satisfy Turkish demands without alienating the Russians and vice versa, and this contributed to wild zig-zags in policy. The growing catalogue of failures, however, did not deter the United States from stepping up its interest and diplomatic activity in the area. Vice President Gore became the chief sponsor of the Washington accords, signed in March 1994, which envisaged a federation of Bosnia's Muslims and Croats and a confederation of this new Bosnian entity and Croatia. Following the Washington accords, the Croatian government agreed to lease part of the Adriatic island of Brac to the US military, which established an intelligence-gathering center there.

The accords further increased the influence of Peter Galbraith, the US ambassador to Zagreb, who became the key architect of a plan to reintegrate the rebel areas now controlled by separatist Croatian Serbs into Croatia proper. The plan would give the half million Croatian Serbs far more political autonomy than they held before the war in exchange for the reintegration of the territories they now hold -- roughly 27 percent of the prewar nation. Throughout 1994, many commentators considered Galbraith's statements on domestic Croatian politics as authoritative as those of President Franjo Tudjman. Despite universal criticism, the White House clearly had no intention of running away from Balkan politics with its tail between its legs.

US COMPETENCE IN THE SOUTH BALKANS

If the Bosnian and Croatian policies of the United States have been such a failure, how is it that the American approach to the delicate web restraining conflict in the southern Balkans has been so mature? It has been particularly impressive compared with the clownish efforts of the European Union (EU).

A breakdown in relations between Macedonia's Slav majority and Albanian minority would provoke an internal collapse. In such an event, three of Macedonia's neighbors (Albania, Serbia, and Bulgaria), if not more, would be forced to consider filling the resultant power vacuum. If war reaches Macedonia, it will no longer matter whether a solution to the Bosnian and Croatian wars can be found a whole new series of conflicts, distinct from the northern Balkans except in their common origin, would begin.

Two axes are emerging, one dressed in the garb of Eastern Orthodoxy, one veiled in Islamic raiment. These axes run roughly along the geopolitical lines that divide Macedonia. Bulgaria plays a maverick role, entrenched in the Eastern Orthodox camp but historically at odds with both Greece and Serbia over a number of issues. Macedonia is isolated and caught between a unilateral commercial blockade by Greece, which has made fuel and raw materials scarce, and the UN sanctions against the rump Yugoslavia, which have deprived Macedonia of its major trading partner. Nevertheless, its very existence as a multinational state prevents the hardening of the two axes. If a war were fought over its territory, it is likely that the conflict would quickly assume some characteristics of an ethnic and religious war such as Bosnia's. This implies an ever-greater struggle for influence between the Belgrade/Athens axis and the Albanian/Turkish alliance.

The spillover of this struggle into the Aegean Sea would be most disturbing. Such a conflict would be much more disruptive to the immediate interests of the United States than the Bosnian war has been. In particular, it would threaten American lines of communication with the Middle East. The EU has never been as concerned as the United

States with the strategic importance of the southern Balkans and the Aegean Sea. But the EU does have a special responsibility in the region because Greece is a member state.

The disputes between Greece and three of its neighbors -- Macedonia, Albania, and Turkey highlight the extreme difficulties the EU faces in establishing a common foreign and security policy. Greece has used a variety of reasons to justify its persistent obstructionism. Athens has blocked an EU aid package to Albania (although it relented late last year), resisted Turkey's bid to enter a customs union with the EU (this too has been overcome), and imposed a blockade on Macedonia. Greece has asserted that use of the name "Macedonia" by the former Yugoslav republic implied a claim on the neighboring Greek province of Macedonia. It also objected to Macedonia's use of a Hellenic symbol, the Star of Vergina, which consists of 16 rays surrounding a sun-like disk. It was the emblem of Alexander the Great's dynasty in the fourth century BC; Alexander was an ancient Makedon (who bear no relation to the Slav Macedonians of today) whose dominion included Greece. Western diplomats and UN officials stationed in Macedonia argue that the blockade worsens the economic difficulties the landlocked state faces. This in turn, they say, undermines relations between Albania and Macedonia, the cornerstone of the latter's stability.

Legally challenged by the EU, Athens justified its actions by claiming that Macedonia was a national security threat. This was a ludicrous argument, but legally the only one that Greece could use to override Maastricht treaty trade statutes. The remaining 11 EU members oppose Greece's regional policy, but they can do nothing about it, and the blockade remains in effect. Public admonishments and mediation efforts have only raised anti-EU sentiment in Greece. While Greece's stance on Macedonia is self-defeating and presented in an infuriatingly emotional manner, the EU's inability to conduct subtle and effective diplomacy in a region where major armed conflict remains a distinct possibility is disturbing. The contrast is stark between the chaotic, failed diplomacy of the EU and the subtle, if sometimes opaque, American strategy. US policy in the southern Balkans generally suffers from agency overkill. The White House, the State and Defense Departments, and the local embassies are all running apparently separate programs that seem to be heading generally in the same direction but often along different paths. In addition, there have been sharp differences of interpretation among the US diplomatic missions in Belgrade, Zagreb, Sarajevo, Skopje, Sofia, Tirana, Athens, and Ankara.

TURKEY'S SHIFTING SIGNIFICANCE

The strengthening of American influence in the southern Balkans began after Bulgaria's revolution of 1989, after which the United States intensified its interest in Bulgarian domestic politics. Following communism's collapse in Albania, the United States again invested an inordinate amount of diplomatic capital in a relatively obscure Balkan state, a move that slowly eroded the political influence of Italy and Greece and the military influence of France and Britain. As Albania's ties with the United States have become closer, so has its relationship with Ankara.

The American fascination with picaresque and slightly wacky Balkan bit players was due partly to the shift in Turkey's geostrategic significance after 1989 and partly to a misinterpretation of the Yugoslavian conflict that has been adjusted somewhat since Richard Holbrooke's appointment as assistant US secretary of state. Until 1989, Turkey was important mainly for its role as the most southeasterly bulwark against Soviet access to the Mediterranean Sea and as the only large secular democracy with an overwhelmingly Muslim population. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Turkey's role has changed. It has competed energetically but largely in vain with Russia for influence in the Caucasus and former Soviet Central Asia. Despite this failure, its voice is not disregarded, especially in complex matters like the route of the The US viewed the proposed pipeline that would transport oil from Azerbaijan to the West.

The United States considers Turkey vital to blocking Iranian and Iraqi influence in the region. It served as a base for UN operations inside northern Iraq while fighting a vicious war against its own Kurdish population in the southeast of the country. The value of Turkish support for the Middle East peace process would immediately become evident if it were withdrawn. In the Balkans, Turkey's troops are participating in authorized peacekeeping, and Turkey's diplomats, together with the Americans, are attempting to soothe the bitter relationship between Bosnia and Croatia. Turkey has also committed to supplying Albania with weaponry and other military supplies should Albania find itself at war with Serbia over Kosovo.

Dramatic changes in Europe have had a profound impact on domestic Turkish politics. Failed economic stabilization policies, particularly of the current Ciller government, have fueled the electoral successes of the Islamic Welfare Party. But disaffection with traditional secular politics has been strengthened by a widespread perception that the wars in Bosnia and Chechnya are Christian crusades against helpless Muslim populations (and that the West is standing by and letting them happen). Although less radical than other political movements, such as Iran's clerics, Algeria's Islamic Salvation Front and Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, Turkey's Welfare Party could jeopardize American interests in the region were it to become the leading force in Turkish politics.

The United States' increased interest in the southern Balkans was prompted primarily by its concern about Turkey. However, during the Bush administration and the first half of President Clinton's term, there were indications that the policy was also informed by a desire to isolate Serbia. During that time US policy makers appeared to believe that the spark that could light a wider Balkan war was not Macedonia but Kosovo. This was due in part to the misperception that irrational blood lust rather than calculated territorial expansion was the cause of the Balkan conflict. Warnings issued by both Bush and Clinton to the Serbian government not to stir up trouble in Kosovo were redundant. Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic had no intention of opening up a southern front of military conflict on territory that the Serbs already controlled. The US stress on Kosovo was due in part to the pronounced Albanophilia and Serbophobia within State Department ranks.

American attention first focused on the fragility of Macedonia and the ambiguous Albanian role there in early 1994, when Albania's state-controlled media began supporting radicals in the Albanian community of western Macedonia. These radicals wanted no participation by the ethnic Albanians' Democratic Prosperity Party in Macedonia's governing coalition. Understanding the incendiary potential of polarization, American officials warned against meddling, and Albanian President Sali Berisha did as he was told and snuggled back up to his benefactors. Since this incident, American policy has shifted away from the issue of Kosovo and toward four more likely flash points: Albanian-Greek relations, the Macedonian question, and the two Turkish-Greek disputes, over the Aegean and over Cyprus.

A DELICATE BALANCING ACT

American diplomats are working hard to reverse the growing polarization of Greek and Turkish positions and to keep those tensions from exacerbating the Aegean and Cyprus disputes. One senior US official in Washington explained that "in order to keep Turkey happy, we have become involved in a delicate balancing act in the southern Balkans. If you appear to favor Turkey too much, Greece becomes nervous and so you need to find a way to calm Athens."

The US State Department has put the juggling act required in the region into the capable hands of three envoys. In negotiating with Greece and Macedonia, Matthew Nimetz has exhibited patience, skill, and an ability to gain both parties' trust, but has yet to overcome the diplomatic gulf between the two and achieve a lifting of the Greek blockade of Macedonia. Richard Shifter sought to broker a normalization of Greek-Albanian relations, and America's overall diplomacy has now borne real fruit. Fresh mediation between Greece and Turkey by US special representative Richard Beattie on the divisive Cyprus issue is just getting under way. President Clinton has supported his envoys with letters to the regions' political leaders and given special attention to the war-threatening controversy between Greece and Turkey over Greek territorial claims in the Aegean Sea. He has sent letters to the prime ministers of both countries and dispatched a US battle cruiser to the scene.

Operating largely outside the auspices of NATO, the US Defense Department has stationed two spy planes in northern Albania to monitor troop movements in Bosnia and Serbia. In addition, it has deployed 500 marines in Macedonia, who operate largely on orders from Washington, not from the UN peacekeeping mission of which they are theoretically a part. More recently, Clinton has lifted the arms embargo on Romania, Albania, and Bulgaria and promised increased military cooperation between Macedonia and the United States.

This activity may not yet amount to a coherent military strategy for the southern Balkans, but it cannot be entirely haphazard. In the minds of government officials of the southern Balkan region, it makes sense. From Belgrade to Ankara, they are convinced that the United States has a grand regional design. Although each government has a

different interpretation, they all exaggerate the importance of even the most innocent American move, increasing expectations of and alarm over American policy.

A MATTER OF URGENCY

The United States is still unsure how to deal with the most likely cause of instability in the region -- relations between ethnic Albanians and Macedonians inside Macedonia. There are now strong indications that Washington understands this to be a matter of some urgency. Since the elections in Macedonia last October, ethnic Albanians and Macedonians have clashed over the former's attempt to establish an Albanian-language university in Tetovo, the center of Albanian politics in Macedonia. In January, the leading moderate in the PDP, Abdurahman Aliti, warned in an interview that his party might walk out of both the governing coalition and the parliament in Skopje as a possible prelude to establishing an Albanian assembly in Tetovo. In early February, fears of a breakdown were confirmed when Haliti resigned as vice chairman of parliament over a dispute about the use of identification cards in Macedonia.

Unfortunately, the US mission in Skopje is very weak and has contributed little to attempts at settling the university dispute. If the United States is unable to bring the two sides together and reduce the growing tension in Macedonia, much of its good diplomatic work in the area will have been wasted.

American policy in the region is not borne of altruism but of a clear understanding of Washington's interests. The southern Balkans region remains exceptionally unstable, and its myriad conflicts are probably more than one foreign service can cope with, especially while more pressing catastrophes are nearby. One reason the US State Department has sought to dissuade Croatia from expelling UN peacekeepers there is that a massive escalation of fighting in Croatia and Bosnia, which most international agencies fear would result, would further threaten Macedonia's stability. Nonetheless, the United States has done more in the southern Balkans than anybody else and is to be congratulated for its perspicacity. This has been a quiet, if crucially unfinished, triumph for which the Clinton administration deserves due credit.

Misha Glenny is the author of "The Fall of Yugoslavia: The Third Balkan War" and "The Rebirth of History: Eastern Europe in the Age of Democracy" and a former correspondent for the BBC World Service.

Gligorov Assassination Attempt

October, 1995

Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov was seriously wounded on October 4 in a car-bomb attack that killed his driver. Gligorov, 78, was struck in the head by three pieces of shrapnel, suffering a fractured skull. He also suffered heavy internal bleeding and may have lost an eye.

In accordance with Macedonia's constitution, Speaker of Parliament Stojan Andov, was named as interim president after Parliament determined Gligorov was incapable of carrying out his duties. It is unlikely that Gligorov will ever work again.

The explosion took place on a central street in Skopje as Gligorov drove to his office in the National Parliament in a four door Mercedes-Benz sedan. The bomb was in a parked car 250 yards from the building, triggered by remote control. Three bystanders were also wounded.

Macedonian police arrested two men who tried to flee the scene in a car. The owner of the car used for concealing the bomb has been identified. The borders were sealed.

Gligorov was scheduled to address the UN General Assembly later this week.

Several theories have been floated as explanations. One diplomat suspects Bulgarian extremists, as Bulgaria has not recognized that Macedonians are a separate ethnic group, saying that they are Bulgarians. Another possible

group is extreme Macedonian nationalists, angry because Gligorov agreed to change the country's flag and constitution to settle a dispute with Greece. Another suspected group are extremist Albanians living in western Macedonia, who have been campaigning for more cultural autonomy and others for secession. No one has claimed responsibility for the attack.

The assassination was described as "very professional", leading to speculation that the attackers were trained outside Macedonia.

The US sent FBI and BATF agents, and Britain sent Scotland Yard detectives, to aid the investigation.

Responsibility Comes Early

By Jim Tice
Army Times
October 30, 1995

Junior enlisteds on this front revel in their newfound leadership roles

CAMP ABLE SENTRY, Macedonia - Talk to any corporal, sergeant or staff sergeant manning the U.S. observation posts along the northern border of this newly independent Balkan republic, and you'll be talking to a junior leader with responsibilities rarely assigned to soldiers of those ranks.

"I know I will never see responsibilities like this again said SSgt. James Nowitzke with Alpha Company of 1st Armored Division's 3d Battalion, 12th Infantry Regiment.

"When we trained for the mission, I heard all the hoopla that squad leaders would run this, and team leaders would run that, and I didn't believe it," Nowitzke said; "But this is reality. If anything goes wrong, it's my fault, or it's the team leader's fault. They have placed great trust and responsibility in us, and that is a good thing for a leader. We couldn't ask for more."

Nowitzke and about 540 other soldiers normally based in Germany are assigned to Task Force Able Sentry, the U.S. contribution to an 1,100-member United Nations Preventive Deployment Force stationed along Macedonia's northern border with Serbia, and a portion of its western border with Albania.

The United Nations approved the deployment of forces to this former Yugoslavian republic in 1992. Out of concern that the fighting in Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia would trickle southward, it is the first time the United Nations has authorized such a deployment before the outbreak of war.

A GOOD JOB IN A SENSITIVE AREA

A U.N. official said the troops have done a good job of monitoring border activities in one of the most politically sensitive regions of the world. "The big challenge now is to see how we can help politically. It is very difficult for this country to survive at the moment," he said.

The difficulty of that challenge was amplified Oct. 3 when Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov was gravely wounded in a car bomb attack in the capital city of Skopje. Gligorov, 78, was viewed as a close ally of the United States, and a strong supporter of the U.N. peacekeeping effort in his country. The assassination attempt came just hours before Gligorov was scheduled to visit U.S. forces at observation posts north of Skopje.

No groups have as yet claimed responsibility for the assassination attempt. Macedonia, the southernmost republic of the former Yugoslavia has tense relations with Greece, and restive minority populations of Albanians, Serbs, Turks and other Balkan nationalities.

Task Force Able Sentry is a V Corps responsibility, with infantry battalions of the 1st Armored Division and 3d Infantry Division (Mechanized) rotating deployments every six months. The other major component of the U.N. force is the Nordic Battalion, a multinational task force of soldiers from Norway, Sweden and Finland.

For the past 5 1/2 months, the primary unit comprising the U.S. task force has been 1st Armored Division's 3d Battalion, 12th Infantry Regiment. The unit, called Task Force 3-12, is scheduled to return to its home station at Baumholder, Germany, Oct. 31. It will be replaced by the 3d Infantry Division's 1st Battalion, 15th Infantry Regiment, from Schweinfurt, Germany.

The headquarters and main support base for U.S. soldiers in Macedonia is Camp Able Sentry, a fenced compound inside Petrovac Airfield, a Macedonian military installation just southeast of Skopje.

The task force's area of responsibility is 40 miles wide and 22 miles deep. The right side of the line ends at the Bulgarian border, and the left side abuts the observation line manned by the Nordic Battalion north and northeast of Skopje.

U.S. troops man 10 observation posts and two company command posts along the border. Their mission, according to TF 3-12 spokesman Maj. Darrell Bowman, "is to observe, monitor and report any activity along the border."

The mission is described by U.S. Army Europe officials as a classic stability operation that is a good model for other peacekeeping efforts, including the possible deployment of several thousand troops to Bosnia-Herzegovina. One of the distinguishing characteristics of stability operations, these officials say, is the empowerment and increased responsibilities of junior non-commissioned officers.

Cpl. Gregg Holland, a team leader with Alpha company, said he feels he has as much responsibility as a sergeant or staff sergeant in other units. "My main concern, the one above all others," he said, "is the safety of the soldiers."

As a team leader, Holland supervises three other soldiers. Their mission is to conduct patrols to nearby villages, and U.S. observation posts several kilometers away.

"When we conduct dismounted patrols to the villages, we have a Macedonian interpreter with us. The village people normally come out and talk to us, and will tell us if there has been any trouble or unusual activities," he said.

Holland said his team constantly sees smuggling activities. "We have farmers with donkeys and people with itty-bitty cars trying to take something across the border, mainly gasoline. We just watch 'em, wave at 'em, and they wave back."

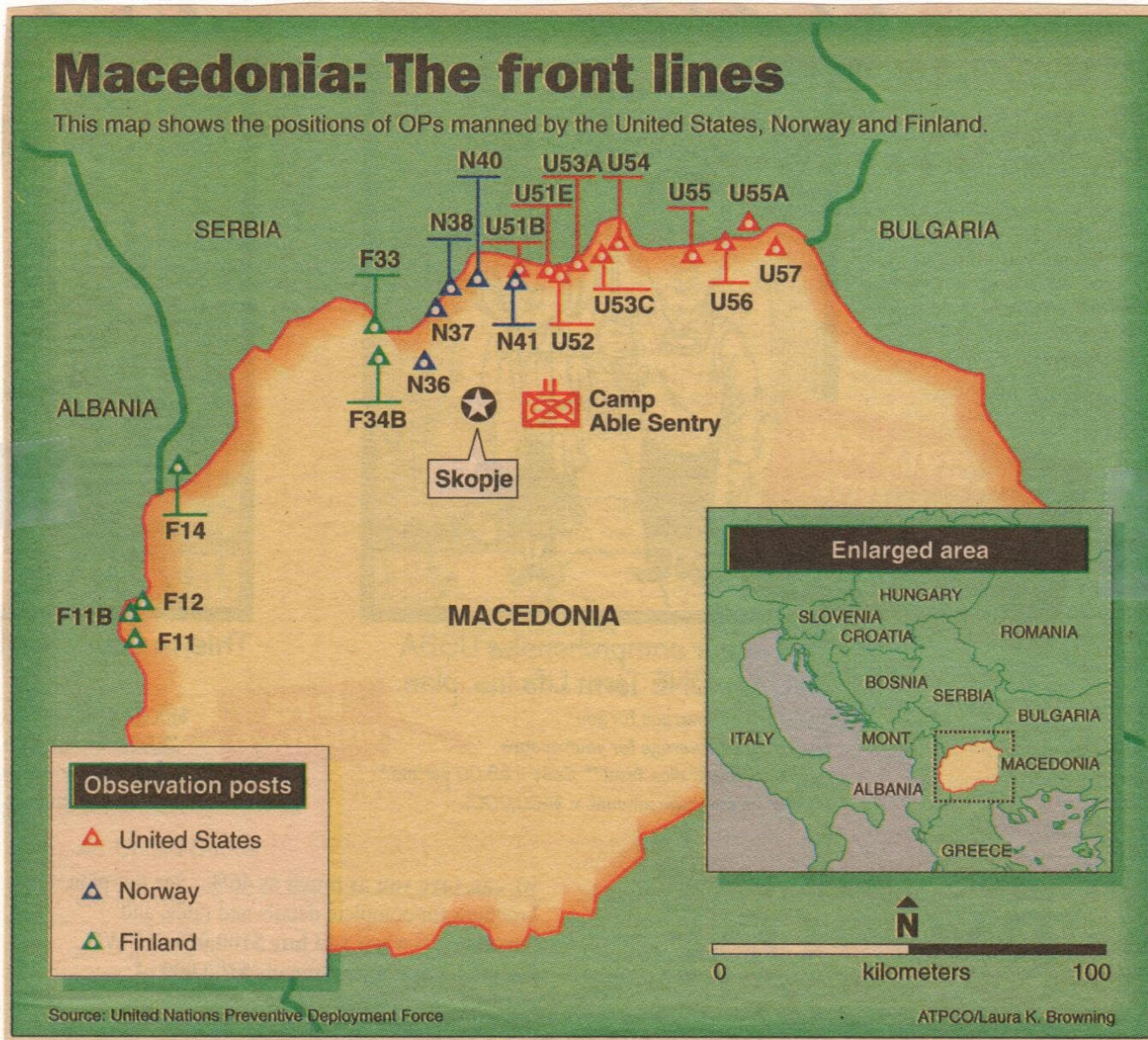
IN-COUNTRY TRAINING

Before their deployment to Macedonia, the cadre of participating battalions spend a week with their counterparts in country to learn the tricks of the trade. They then return to home stations in Germany, and prepare a four-week unit training program, according to Sgt. Jimmy Jackson, a team leader with A Company. TF 3-12's replacement unit, TF 1-15th Infantry, conducted its in-country training in July, he said.

"We patrol by foot, helicopter and Humvee," said Nowitzke. "Normally I have my entire nine-man squad and a medic on the OP, and sometimes a platoon sergeant or platoon leader. So it varies between 10 and 11 people on the OPs."

During the six-month tour here, soldiers serve 21 days at the remote OPs, and 21 days back at Camp Able Sentry. During their time at Able Sentry, soldiers provide installation security and force protection, and would comprise a quick-reaction force in the event of trouble along the observation line.

Soldiers receive two weeks of leave during the six-month tour, and a 60-hour pass halfway through the tour, according to Bowman. They also draw hazardous duty pay and separation pay during the deployment.



Government Ministries

Office of the Prime Minister	91000 Skopje, Dame Grueva 6	voice: (91) 201211; fax: (91) 211393
Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Resources Management	91000 Skopje, Vasil Gavinov bb	voice: (91) 231812
Ministry of Culture	91000 Skopje, Veljka Vlahovica bb	voice: (91) 223574
Ministry of Defense	91000 Skopje, Dimce Mirceva bb	voice: (91) 237373
Ministry of Development	91000 Skopje, Tiranska 2	voice: (91) 220678

Ministry of the Economy	91000 Skopje, Bhacka bb	voice: (91) 231259
Ministry of Education and Physical Culture	91000 Skopje, Veljka Vlahovica bb	voice: (91) 223548
Ministry of Finance	91000 Skopje, Dame Grueva 14	voice: (91) 228411
Ministry of Foreign Relations	91000 Skopje, Dame Grueva bb	voice: (91) 236311
Ministry of Information	91000 Skopje, 11 Oktomvri 25	voice: (91) 221913
Ministry of Justice and Administration	91000 Skope, Veljka Vlahovica bb	voice: (91) 223065
Ministry of Labor and Social Policy	91000 Skopje, Dame Grueva 14	voice: (91) 228411
Ministry of Public Health	91000 Skopje, Dame Grueva 14	voice: (91) 228411
Ministry of Science	91000 Skopje, Veljka Vlahovica bb	voice: (91) 223574
Ministry of Urban Planning, Construction, Transport and Environmental Protection	91000 Skopje, Nikole Vapcarova bb	voice: (91) 239521
Macedonia's US Representative	1015 15th Street NW, Suite 402 Washington, DC 20005	voice: (202) 682-0519

Macedonian Travel Information

Mitrev Antonie, Secretary, MIC

The Macedonian Information Center (MIC) has printed an English-language tourist guide, "This is Macedonia". The guide contains all necessary information about Macedonia, its hotels and motels, spas, best restaurants, monuments and old architecture. Special attention is devoted to the leisure activities, but the guide also includes information about the cultural events, fairs, shopping, sports and recreation, national parks and night life in the Macedonia. A special chapter is devoted to travel information: trains, buses and international airlines. The guide includes a travel map of Macedonia.

Printed in English, 56 pages - 22 x 13 cm, in color. More than 80 colored photos
 Price: US\$ 10.00 per copy (US\$ 7.00 + US\$ 3.00 postal fees)

Delivery is carried out after payment to:
 Stopanska Banka A.D. - Skopje
 WORLD MACEDONIAN CONGRESS (for MIC)
 708100000 - 4209/04 STOB MK 2X

After payment is carried out please send via fax your receipt:
 MIC tel/fax: + 389 91/ 117-834; 117-876; 221-842

State Department Travel Information

May 5, 1994

Medical Information: Health facilities in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia are limited. Medicines are in short supply. Doctors and hospitals usually expect immediate cash payment for health services. US medical insurance is not always valid outside the United States. Travelers have found that in some cases, supplemental medical insurance with specific overseas coverage has proved to be useful. Further information on health matters can be obtained from the Centers for Disease Control's international travelers' hotline on (404) 332-4559.

Crime Information: Theft and other petty crimes are on the rise in the FYROM, but are still low by US standards. Emergency police assistance can be obtained by dialing 92. Response time varies, but is generally considered to be effective. The loss or theft abroad of a US passport should be reported immediately to the local police and the nearest US embassy or consulate. Useful information on guarding valuables and protecting personal security while traveling abroad is provided in the Department of State pamphlet "A Safe Trip Abroad," available from the Superintendent of Documents, US Government Printing Office, Washington DC 20402.

Other Information: Westerners who travel to the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia can expect shortages of fuel, and in some cases, long waits for processing at the border. To date, the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and tensions in parts of Serbia-Montenegro have not otherwise significantly affected the FYROM.

Registration: US citizens who register at the US Embassy in Belgrade, Serbia-Montenegro or the US Embassy in Sofia, Bulgaria can obtain updated information on travel and security in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

Embassy Location: The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has been recognized as an independent country by the United States along with several other Western nations. However, although officially recognized by the United States, no full diplomatic relations between the FYROM and the United States have been established. In December 1993, the United States opened a liaison office in Skopje, which provides only emergency services to American citizens. The US Liaison Office is located at 27 Mart Street, No 5, Skopje, Macedonia. The telephone number is (389-91) 116-180, and the fax is (389-91) 117-103. US citizens seeking non-emergency assistance can contact the US Embassy in Sofia, Bulgaria or the US Embassy in Belgrade, Serbia-Montenegro. The US Embassy in Sofia, Bulgaria is located at 1 Saborna, telephone (359-2) 88-48-01 through 88-48-05. The Consular Section of the US Embassy is located at 1 Kapitan Andreev Street; the telephone numbers are the same. The US Embassy in Belgrade is located at Kneza Milosa 50; telephone (381-11) 645-655. It provides limited assistance to US citizens because of conflict in the general area and reduced US Embassy staffing.