

A VIEW FROM BRUSSELS

Secret NATO Reports about the East European Transition, 1988–1991

Edited by
Gusztáv D. Kecskés

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SECRET NATO REPORTS ABOUT
THE EAST EUROPEAN TRANSITION, 1988–1991

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Edited, compiled, and introductory study by

Gusztáv D. Kecskés



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Foreword of the Editor

The relationship between the western alliance system led by the US and the East European socialist bloc dominated by the Soviet Union fundamentally changed in 1988–1991. With the weakening of Moscow and the subsequent, sudden collapse of its empire, the political, cultural, military, and ideological confrontation called the Cold War was replaced within months by a new type of cooperation between the two parts of Europe previously divided by the Iron Curtain. The eight reports from the NATO Archives, formerly classified confidential, that are published in English for the first time in the present volume present the events of these stirring four years from the perspective of western experts meeting together in Brussels: how they perceived and interpreted the events in this transforming region.

The term Eastern Europe applied in the title is a political one, and refers to the allies of the Soviet Union, the USSR itself, and Yugoslavia and Albania. In this way we invoke the original term commonly used in these documents (Eastern Europe, in French: Europe orientale) without taking sides in the terminological debate about the proper name for the region.

In the Introduction we seek to illuminate the nature of relations between NATO and Eastern Europe as they evolved in the period when the documents were written. We also highlight the operating principles and structural basis of NATO and analyze the far reaching transformation of the alliance. Finally, we examine the circumstances under which these reports were born, touching also on the work of NATO experts on Eastern Europe as early as the 1950s.

The Documents section publishes these reports in chronological order in their original (English) language. The names and geographical names appear in their original form as written in the reports. In the Biographical Notes and Index of Names both the official English version and the version used in the documents are identified, the latter in brackets. We strove for consistency in the use of abbreviations for organizations; in most cases the English and the native forms are given. In the footnotes we provided additional information for the better understanding of events discussed in the documents. In case of recurring problems the footnotes always refer back to the first detailed mention of the problem. The original footnotes of the documents are in brackets.

The Biographical Notes in the Appendix contain the persons occurring in the reports; biographical data relevant for the reports are summarized here. The List of Abbreviations contains acronyms and abbreviations: in case of acronyms in foreign languages the English translation is always given. The Figures promote the better understanding of the military and political structure and organizations of NATO. The Bibliography contains literature used for the completion of the footnotes of the documents and the Appendix, while the literature used in the Introduction can be found after the study itself. The Index of Names refers to the whole volume (including the Introduction, footnotes, etc.) and not only to the Documents. In the List of Geographical Names one can find the name of the geographical or political entity, and the adjectives formed from the noun are also mentioned here.

Introduction

NATO and the Transformation of Eastern Europe 1988–1991

It is not easy to predict the future course of events, which will depend to a large extent on the overall political situation in the USSR is the cautious evaluation of the confidential expert report for the North Atlantic Council in October 1989.¹ But how was the transformation of Eastern Europe as the result of the collapse of communism perceived by NATO officials? In order to understand the meaning and circumstances of the confidential reports published in this volume more clearly, first the tasks, structure, and the organization of the western political and military alliance (based on the official documents) should be discussed. After this the radical change in the policies of NATO as approaching the end of the Cold War will be evaluated, and finally the administrative framework for NATO experts on Eastern Europe will be discussed.

NATO: Its Principles, Structure, and Operation in 1989

NATO is a political and military alliance that was established on April 4, 1949 with the signature of the North Atlantic Treaty (also referred to as the Washington Treaty). It was intended to function as a counterweight to the Soviet army deployed in Central and Eastern Europe after the Second World War. The founding members were Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States. In 1952 Greece and Turkey joined the alliance, in 1955 West Germany, and in 1982 Spain also became a member. In 1966 France left the military organization of NATO, but remained a member of the political alliance.

Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty states: *The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognised by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain*

1 NA: The Situation in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, C-M(89)57 (November 8, 1989). Document No. 4.

*the security of the North Atlantic area.*² Article 5 also regulates the geographical scope of the treaty: *armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America.* Other paragraphs of the Treaty identify other basic principles, like the strengthening of democracy, the development of joint military capacities and capabilities, and consultation between the members.

The primary aim of NATO during the Cold War was to unify and strengthen the military response of the western alliance in the case of an attack on Western Europe by the Soviet Union and its allies.³

NATO consists of sovereign countries, which preserve their independence in foreign as well as domestic policy. According to the founding documents all members have equal rights and possibilities to express their views through public forums of the organization regardless of the size, population, or political influence of the country. Decisions are achieved by consensus and not by majority vote. This implies that all decisions should enjoy the full support of all member states and express the common decisions of all sovereign member states. To achieve close political cooperation, the member states undertake to inform one another about the goals of their foreign policies and about their changing views with regard to each issue that arises.⁴

Pursuant to Article 9, the governments of the member states established the NAC (North Atlantic Council), in which each government is represented. This is the highest political decision making forum of the organization, whose task is to realize the aims laid down in the treaty. This is the only organization created directly by the Treaty with full legal and political authority in decision making. It constitutes the highest authority, which coordinates the network of subordinated committees and working groups. The decisions of the Council are often based on the reports and recommendations of these committees. Each member state sends one representative to the NAC, which can convene at the level of permanent delegates, foreign, or defense ministers and at the level of prime ministers or presidents (heads of state). Decisions made are compulsory and bear full authority regardless of the level at which the decisions were made. The sessions are chaired by the Secretary General of NATO. The International Secretariat located at the NATO Headquarters supports the entire work of the NAC, under the direction of the Secretary General.⁵

2 The North Atlantic Treaty, 1949.

3 Haglund. For the organizational structure, strategy, and activity of NATO see details in: *The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation*, 1989; and *Encyclopedia of NATO Topics*, see further: De Velasco Vallejo, 2002. 505–520. For a general history of NATO see: Zörgbibe, 2002; Kaplan, 2004; Risso, 2014; *Manuel de l'OTAN. Chronologie*, 1999. See also the following volumes: *The Atlantic Pact Forty Years Later*, 1991; *A History of NATO. The First Fifty Years*, 2001.; *Open Door*, 2019.

4 *The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation*, 1989. 185. Provides information on the structure and operating principles of NATO.

5 *The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation*, 1989. 321–328. See also the website of NA: <http://archives.nato.int/north-atlantic-council-2> (date of last download: August 2, 2018.)

The Political Committee of NATO also supports the activity of the NAC. The members of this forum are the deputy permanent representatives or political experts of the member states' delegations. Besides the regular exchange of information and discussion of problems, the Political Committee prepares reports requested by the Council. Its sessions are chaired by the Deputy Secretary General responsible for political affairs.

Further forums of consultation are the *ad hoc* committees dealing with special topics and the discussions of the experts of certain regions, sent by the member states, held twice a year (for details, see below). The material for working papers and reports is provided by the delegations of the member states, while the editing and coordinating activity is supervised by the Political Affairs Division of the International Staff.

The Political Directorate operating within this division provides the administrative basis for all political activity of NATO. Its sphere of influence includes political aspects of East–West relations, world events concerning non-member states, the observation of European political processes, and negotiations on arms reduction.⁶

Transformation and Continuity: The Activities and Situation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation in 1988–1991

Challenges

Celebrating in 1989 the fortieth anniversary of its establishment, NATO had to face serious challenges. A problem unresolved for a long time was the preponderance of the Soviet Bloc in conventional weapons. General John Galvin, the Commander in Chief of the European Forces of NATO, pointed out in 1989 that Soviet tank and artillery production had steadily increased since March 1985, when Mikhail Gorbachev came to power. The declarations on arms reduction in December 1988 effected only modest changes in this situation. Among the leaders of NATO countries, uncertainty prevailed regarding Soviet goals.⁷

Another problem, which had been unresolved for decades, was the uneven distribution of the cost of defense within NATO. The cost of common defense was primarily borne by the US budget despite the fact that European economies, having overcome the crisis caused by WWII, showed better economic performance year by year.⁸ This problem caused tensions in US government circles from the 1960s on. The presumption of US politicians that the growing European Communities had

⁶ *The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation*, 1989. 191–192, 330.

⁷ Kaplan, 2004. 104.

⁸ *Ibid.* 50–51.

huge unexploited resources for purposes of defense exacerbated the situation further at the end of the 1980s.⁹ On the other hand, there had for a long time been efforts to increase the independence of Europe from the US.

But sudden and radical transformation of East–West relations and the problems related to Eastern Europe exceeded the above mentioned problems in significance. This was considered the main challenge at the end of the 1980s. The bipolar world system dominated by the US and the Soviet Union ceased to exist by 1991: the Soviet Union gradually retreated, first militarily, than politically from the region, the East European communist regimes collapsed, and Germany united. Thus, the eastern safety zone of NATO transformed radically. The competing alliance system, the Warsaw Pact, eroded, then ceased to exist by July 1991.¹⁰ The Soviet Union even disintegrated by the end of that year. The destabilization of an Eastern Europe that had been immobile for decades, the revival of suppressed nationalisms,¹¹ the mass movements generated by social crises, and conflicts within some states of the region posed a persistent threat in the view of the leading circles of NATO.¹² The character of the transformation and its fast pace surprised observers who were unable to clearly foresee the further development of the region of the Soviet bloc.¹³ The US ambassador to NATO shared his doubts with his colleagues with the following words: “we do know nothing sure about the future direction of reforms in the Soviet Union. Are Moscow and his allies heading toward the establishment of stable political systems? The situation is in fact fluid and unpredictable”.¹⁴

It is important to emphasize that archival documents now accessible to researchers, interviews with political decision makers, and diplomatic memoirs agree that the US and its western allies experienced the democratic transformation of Eastern Europe and the loosening control of the USSR over the region with a grow-

9 Ibid. 104.

10 See Horváth, 2016.

11 Experts convening to elaborate the 1988 April report [C-M(88)14, see document No. 1] on Eastern Europe completely agreed that “the question of nationality in its globality” is the most important issue to resolve for Gorbachev. AMAE: Série Europe 1986–1990, 1935INVA, carton 5882. Note de Bernard Fassier, chef de la Section URSS à la Sous-Direction d’Europe orientale, Réunion du groupe d’experts “URSS et Pays de l’Est” de l’OTAN, à Evère les 23, 24 et 25 mars 1988, 995/EU (March 29, 1988).

12 For the latter the evolving conflict between Hungary and Romania is a good example regarding the increasing oppression of the Hungarian minority in Romania, or the tension between Hungary and Czechoslovakia regarding the power plant in Gabčíkovo and Nagymaros. For the impact of this in 1989, see: Békés, 2012. 337–341.

13 The notes of Michael Alexander, the permanent representative of the UK in the NATO Council, to Douglas Richard Hurd, Foreign Secretary of the UK. Revolution of 1989: how should the alliance respond? (January 4, 1990) See: *Britain in the NATO*, 2009. 144–145.

14 AMAE: Série Europe 1986–1990, 1935INVA, carton 5882. Rapport du représentant permanent de la France au Conseil de l’Atlantique Nord au ministre des Affaires étrangères – Affaires Stratégiques et Désarmement, Rapports des groupes d’experts au Conseil, 597/STR (May 17, 1989).

ing fear of the modification of the decades long relative equilibrium. The direction of changes, which were welcomed in accord with their liberal stance and values, were to be accepted only if they happened gradually, with the maintenance of the ruling reform communist elite in power and in parallel with the maximum acceptance of Moscow's desires in security questions. Numerous messages urging caution and deceleration were sent to both the opposition and the government forces in the Soviet bloc. Following the traditions of European power politics, stability was valued more than the desires of the small nations for emancipation.¹⁵

Henning Wegener, Deputy Secretary General of NATO, stated in his public speech in the fall of 1989 that the *Warsaw Pact... could well perform useful functions and enhance stability if reformed on the basis of strict equality*.¹⁶ Half a year later, in February 1990, the spokesman of the alliance replied to the idea of Gyula Horn, Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, that Hungary could become a member of the political organization of NATO, as follows: *Any future political or military reorientation of Hungary is a question that should be left to the Hungarians. However, we are unaware of it arising as a serious question in Hungary*.¹⁷

Another challenge that NATO had to cope with was the deepening, strengthening, and broadening of European integration. With the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in December 1991, the EU was born and demands for a common and independent European foreign and defense policy were interpreted by many as a demand for independence from the USA or from NATO.¹⁸ The alliance also had to react to the Gulf Crisis. It threatened the petroleum supplies of the member states and began with an attack of Iraqi troops on Kuwait on August 2, 1990.

The Impact of Challenges to NATO

The summit meeting of the NAC in July 1990 formally concluded that the military potential and capacity of the Soviet Union vis à vis foreign countries, and thus the threat it could pose to them, had considerably decreased.¹⁹ According to Lawrence S. Kaplan, with the easing of pressure on NATO some politicians of the member states and a part of American and European public opinion questioned the need for

15 The book of László Borhi (Borhi, 2016) provides a thorough overview on the opinions and actions of the western powers. See Chapter 10. "1989: Together We Liberated Eastern Europe", 364–433. Read further: Békés, 2002; Békés, 2012. 330–362; Békés, 2016; Békés–Kalmár, 2019. The same conclusion: Blanton, 2011. Regarding French relations see: *Magyar–francia kapcsolatok, 1945–1990*, 2013. 125–145; Garadnai–Schreiber, 2008.

16 NATO at Forty: New Visions of East–West Relations, November 20, 1989. MNL OL, Külügyminisztérium (National Archives of Hungary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs), NATO, 1989. XIX-J-1-j, 111. box. Cited by: Borhi, 2016. 369.

17 Nem ez a kérdés van ma napirenden, 1990. Quoted by Pietsch, 1998. 11, 57.

18 Kaplan, 2004. 113.

19 Ibid. 109–110. See also: Declaration on a Transformed North Atlantic Alliance, 1990.

an American military presence in Europe. Some leftist circles in the US urged the withdrawal of American forces from Europe. They shared the opinion of the Greens in West Germany and the radical wing of the British Labour Party that the military presence of the US was an obstacle to peace.²⁰ In his study on the commitment of the US to NATO, Robert P. Grant came to the conclusion that after the end of the Cold War European governments showed a greater interest in the maintenance of transatlantic relations and the alliance than did the American leadership.²¹ At the same time, under the circumstances the alternative also arose, that European security might be managed better by other organizations than NATO. In connection with this, the role of the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) came up; both the US and the Soviet Union were members of this organization. The revitalization of the Military Staff Committee, established by the 47th article of the UN Statute to assist the UN Security Council, was also considered.²² The question seeking an answer was: what will ensure the internal cohesion of the alliance if the Soviet threat fades?²³

In his monograph on the history of NATO, Charles Zorgbibe analyzes some of the main contemporary arguments in support of its maintenance. One of these was that the rapid political and ideological transformation of Europe did not immediately change the strategic environment as new dangers arose to threaten the stability of the region. Furthermore, the three key players in the new situation all agreed on this: the US government did not want to abandon Europe militarily, partly in order to maintain its political influence, partly because it was convinced that the withdrawal of US troops would evoke dangers reminiscent of the situation after WWI. The western governments and the majority of their countries' public opinion also wished to prolong the presence of US troops. The liberated nations of Eastern Europe also viewed NATO sympathetically. The American leadership and Atlantic circles persistently emphasized the role of NATO in stabilizing the political situation while considering its military function less significant. They noted that the organization relied from the start on a philosophy of collective security and not on a coalition of "predatory nations": thus, NATO is viable also without an external threat. As President Bush emphasized in his speech at Boston University on May 21, 1989: "NATO is not similar to the cynical alliances of powers of the past. It relies upon ties of common culture...and values."²⁴

20 Kaplan, 2004. 104.

21 Grant, 2001. 43.

22 Kaplan, 2004. 110.

23 Ibid. 109.

24 Zorgbibe, 2002. 184. The NATO representative of the UK, Michael Alexander, in his summary report regarding the year 1989 argued that European states should refrain from expecting their security from an unstable "shifting coalition" again. See the notes of Michael Alexander to Doug-

In her study analyzing internal debates in NATO about changes after the Cold War, Réka Szemerényi points out that, as member states failed to provide a general response to the new challenges, “many officials in Brussels hastened to elaborate their own survival strategy.”²⁵ According to Linda Risso’s book on the information and communication policy of NATO during the Cold War, the intensive participation of General Secretary Manfred Wörner in the contemporary discourse about the future of the organization was part of this process. In his press conferences, speeches, and many articles in the *NATO Review* he emphasized the political role of the alliance, which is “a motor for peaceful change” in Eastern Europe, and which supports the establishment of democratic political culture and a free market economy in the region.²⁶

Thus under the leadership of Wörner NATO participated actively in the debate about the future of the organization, considering itself an independent actor. The Secretary General and the information services of NATO emphasized that, despite the deepening of European integration, there was a persistent need for the organization. They argued that the maintenance of NATO secures the participation of Canada and the USA, and, furthermore, from among the competing security organizations “NATO alone had ‘the binding treaty commitments among its members and common military assets to act as well as consult’...”²⁷

The Birth of a New Concept

In a study dealing with the adaptation to the new situation after the Cold War, Kori Schake emphasized that for its members NATO always had other functions besides averting the Soviet threat. It secured the possibility for Washington to intervene in European affairs, it made the Europeans more comfortable with the cooperation with increasingly powerful West Germany, and decreased the member countries’ defense costs. But these factors were difficult to demonstrate to the broader public when it recognized the rapid decrease in the Soviet threat. Therefore, for the governments of the allied countries it became important to articulate new goals that could be communicated better.²⁸ And, in the decision making centers of the member states the opinion was gaining strength that, despite the positive direction of the East European changes, there was still need for military and security cooperation

las Richard Hurd. Revolution of 1989: how should the alliance respond? January 4, 1990. See: *Britain in the NATO*, 2009. 143.

25 Szemerényi, 1997. 93. The author refers to: Clarke, 1993–1994. 22–40.

26 Risso, 2014. 141.

27 Ibid. 142–143. Cites an article from Wörner as an example: Wörner, 1991. In his book Ryan C. Hendrickson emphasizes the significant role of the first four NATO general secretaries after the Cold War (including Manfred Wörner) influences the policies of NATO: Hendrickson, 2006. 4.

28 Schake, 2001. 31.

between the member states. In other words, the NATO is necessary, but with a more flexible approach²⁹ and a new mission: instead of serving as a deterrent against the Soviet bloc, emphasis shifted to conflict prevention and crisis management. In this process the First Gulf War played a catalyzing role.

Though the war waged against Iraq in January–February 1991 was not led by NATO but by the US at the head of an international coalition, the participation of member states in the campaign exerted strong influence on the development of the alliance. Twelve member states out of sixteen participated in the war, and Great Britain and France even sent troops.³⁰ The session of the NAC on June 7, 1991 in Copenhagen pointed out in this connection that *the long practice of cooperation, common procedures, collective defence arrangements and infrastructure developed by NATO provided valuable assistance to those Allies that chose to make use of them.*³¹ The joint victory over Saddam Hussein contributed greatly to the unity and the future mission of NATO, namely organizing crisis management. At the meeting of NATO defense ministers in May 1991, plans for handling conflicts with smaller forces were negotiated and the plan for a multinational rapid reaction force also arose.³²

According to Zorgbibe, the lack of unity among Europeans regarding common defense within the framework of European integration provided a favorable circumstance for promoting the dynamic transformation of NATO. France, having seceded from the integrated military organization of NATO early in 1966, was not able to influence the process. Germany was focused on its own unification, and sought solutions within the familiar framework of NATO. The British government proved to be an ideal partner for Washington. These two countries seem to have been the motor for the transformation of NATO. And in the final analysis the member states were reluctant to take on the financial burden of European strategic independence.³³

According to the New Strategic Concept accepted by the NATO summit held in Rome in November 1991, *Risks to Allied security are less likely to result from calculated aggression against the territory of the Allies, but rather from the adverse consequences of instabilities that may arise from the serious economic, social and political difficulties, including ethnic rivalries and territorial disputes, which are faced by many countries in central and eastern Europe.*³⁴ The new concept and tasks emerged more vigorously in the meeting, as there were not only predictions of new threats coming from the area of the disintegrating Soviet Union, but the first concrete experiences:

29 Risso, 2014. 142.

30 Kaplan, 2004. 111–112.

31 Zorgbibe, 2002. 185. See: Final Communiqué, 1991.

32 Kaplan, 2004. 112–113.

33 Zorgbibe, 2002. 185.

34 The Alliance's New Strategic Concept, 1991.

ethnic clashes on the territory of the former Soviet Union. The unsuccessful coup d'état against Gorbachev was especially disturbing. Thus crisis management arose as a new task in view of the politically unconsolidated neighboring regions. NATO extended its routine monitoring to the southern Mediterranean and the Middle East. The formulation of this new concept strengthened cooperation between the two pillars of the transatlantic alliance, North America and Europe.³⁵

An essay of Frédéric Bozo puts the “survival” and “new tasks” of NATO into historical perspective. He points out that an important factor in the capacity of the alliance for adaptability in the beginning of the 1990s was the fact that the NAC had accepted in 1967 a report of Pierre Harmel, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Belgium. The Détente of the 1960s brought a perceived decrease of the Soviet threat and this threatened to weaken the unity of the alliance. Functioning as a political actor, in addition to military deterrence, helped to resolve the crisis of legitimacy and serve an active role in East–West relations. The transformation of NATO as a consequence of regime change in Eastern Europe in 1989 brought the continuation and actualization of this new direction that had begun in 1967. That is why many now considered the Harmel Report a “self-fulfilling prophecy”.³⁶

The Transformation of the Alliance

In accord with Zorgbibe I will examine three aspects of the transformation of NATO: changes in the military doctrine and technology, new tasks, and the opening toward Eastern Europe. The doctrine for the implementation of military force and the possibilities for intervention changed radically. The deepening of the military operational zone allowed the alliance to warn any aggressors in time, thus the threat to use nuclear weapons now became only a last resort. Furthermore, the capacity for intervention and the multinational character of the integrated military organization of NATO both increased.³⁷ The authority of the military command was transformed: the whole of the European part of the alliance now constituted one large district. The operational superiority of the US continued to be evident, as verified by the experience in the Gulf War. The power of the Commander in Chief of the European Forces of NATO further increased at the expense of the political institutions of NATO.³⁸

The emerging crisis management function of NATO became evident when the organization undertook to provide military assistance to the UN and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The session of the Foreign Ministers of the NAC held in Oslo on July 4, 1992 stated, in accord with the proposal of the

35 Kaplan, 2004. 114–116.

36 Bozo, 2001. 70–80. The Harmel Report is accessible: “The Harmel Report,” 1967.

37 Schake, 2001. 33–34.

38 Zorgbibe, 2002. 186–187, 189.

Netherlands, that NATO member states were ready to support the activity of the CSCE in maintaining peace *on a case-by-case basis in accordance with... [NATO's] own procedures offering alliance resources and expertise*. The Brussels session of the NAC on December 17, 1992 extended the same offer to the UN, subject to the authority of the UN Security Council.³⁹ The war beginning in Yugoslavia in July 1991 offered an excellent opportunity for the practical application of the crisis management function of NATO.⁴⁰

Kori Schake correctly points out that, despite significant changes in the western alliance after the end of the Cold War, its most characteristic features remained unchanged: the mechanism of decision making based on consensus, the integrated military command, and the commitment to collective defense.⁴¹

An Opening towards Eastern Europe

The foreign ministers of NATO countries already in their meeting at Turnberry (Scotland) on June 7–8, 1990 sent a message offering friendly relations to the Soviet Union and the other European countries.⁴² Soon the establishment of military and political relations with Eastern Europe got underway.

With regard to military affairs, the NATO Council stated at its July 1990 session in London: *We are ready to intensify military contacts, including those of NATO military commanders with Moscow and other Central and Eastern European capitals.*⁴³ By increasing contacts, the military leaders of the alliance wanted to increase trust and the sense of community. Another goal was to promote the establishment of civilian control over the forces of the Warsaw Pact.⁴⁴

To realize this in practice, a direct link was established between NATO institutions and the general staffs of East European countries. In order to make the political and military elite well prepared and compatible with the Euroatlantic system, training courses were organized beginning in October 1991 for the military officers of the region.⁴⁵ Thus in the fall of 1991 special courses began in the NATO Defense College in Rome and the school of SHAPE in Oberammergau.⁴⁶ Based on the proposal of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, German Foreign Minister, and James Baker, US

39 Zorgbibe, 2002. 191–192. Final communiqué, 1992a; Final communiqué, 1992b. For the relation between NATO and UN in historical perspective after the Cold War see: Gardner, 2001.

40 Kaplan, 2004. 116. See also Spohr, 2012. 53.

41 Schake, 2001. 30.

42 *Manuel de l'OTAN. Chronologie*, 1999. 37.

43 Declaration on a Transformed North Atlantic Alliance, 1990. The Verbatim Record of the London Summit [C-VR(90)36] has been published: 1990 Summit.

44 Schake, 2001. 31.

45 Zorgbibe, 2002. 189.

46 Rizzo, 2014. 151. Cites the article of Wörner (already mentioned): Wörner, 1991.

Secretary of State, on December 20, 1991 the North Atlantic Coordinating Council, NACC, was established in order to strengthen cooperation with the states of the former Soviet Bloc, creating an “interlocking network” to discuss any defense policy questions.

NATO also aspired to establish tight connections with Russia, in part because of the danger that nuclear weapons could fall into unauthorized hands.⁴⁷ The establishment of the NACC served to realize the “euroatlantic community from Vancouver to Vladivostok,” a concept favoured by Baker.⁴⁸ Moscow yielded and accepted that American forces should remain garrisoned in Europe, while Washington accepted that the security concept of NATO be broadened to take into consideration Russian interests.⁴⁹ The first assembly of defense ministers of the countries participating in the NACC was held on April 1, 1992, and ten days later the Chiefs of the General Staffs established its Military Committee. The NACC also participated in the solution of practical questions, like sending food aid to Russian towns. The session on December 18, 1992 even dealt with the civil war in Tadjikistan.⁵⁰ However, the effective operation of the NACC was limited, because it was only a consultative forum without authority to make decisions, the number of participants was too high and, because of Soviet and Russian participation, concerns of restoration of the old regime in Moscow and Eastern Europe could not be discussed on their merits.⁵¹

The first significant event in this opening toward the East was the visit of Eduard Shevardnadze, Soviet Foreign Minister, to NATO Headquarters in Brussels on December 19, 1989. By receiving him, the Alliance expressed its desire to play a crucial role in the support of the transformation process in Eastern Europe.⁵² The leaders of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe were also invited by the London summit of the NAC on July 5–6, 1990, *to come to NATO, not just to visit, but to establish regular diplomatic liaison with NATO. This will make it possible for us to share with them our thinking and deliberations in this historic period of change.*⁵³ Wörner himself travelled to Moscow in July 1990, but in the next months he also visited Prague, Warsaw, and Budapest. NATO Headquarters received several high ranking East European politicians, first of all the foreign and defense ministers, later the prime ministers and heads of state⁵⁴ including Vacláv Havel and Lech Wałęsa. In June 1990 Géza Jeszenszky, Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, in July and Oc-

47 Kaplan, 2004. 115–116. See also: Schake, 2001. 35–36.

48 Zorgbibe, 2002. 190.

49 Soutou, 2001. 715.

50 Zorgbibe, 2002. 190.

51 Valki, 2001. 389.

52 Risso, 2014. 141.

53 Declaration on a Transformed North Atlantic Alliance, 1990.

54 Risso, 2014. 141.

tober 1991 József Antall, Prime Minister of Hungary, then Lajos Für, Minister of Defense, visited NATO Headquarters.⁵⁵ The information service of the alliance put emphasis on the media effect of these visits.⁵⁶ The Political Committee of NATO visited many former member states of the Warsaw Pact and gave advice regarding the ongoing political transformation.⁵⁷

Another tool that served the deepening of the cooperation and broadening of relations was the system of scholarships. From among the 70 grants for 1990/1991, 55 were available to applicants from East European countries as well as member states in order to study the operation of democratic institutions.⁵⁸ The Information and Press Office of NATO organized several seminars on the future of European security questions, for which decision makers and government officials of East European countries also received invitations.⁵⁹

Among the countries belonging to the former, now disintegrating Soviet bloc, the GDR (united with West Germany in October, 1990) received special treatment. The Soviet Union agreed to reunited Germany's full membership in NATO after a long negotiation. This agreement became one of the most important pillars of the contemporary European security system. US President Bush stated at the NATO summit in Brussels in December 1989 that he considered the fulfillment of the American demand for the approval of full membership to be one of the basic preconditions of German unification.⁶⁰ The NATO institutions also promoted the process of unification. The closing statement of the London NATO summit in July proposed that the members of the Warsaw Pact send envoys to the alliance and pledge their mutual non-aggression; it invited Gorbachev to the meeting of the NATO Council; and it expressed the willingness of the Alliance to revise its strategy by giving it a more defensive character. These gestures induced Gorbachev to accept the German unification as the Americans demanded, and made it easier for

55 For the chronology of the visits of eastern European leaders at NATO Headquarters between December 1989 and 1991 see: *Manuel de l'OTAN. Chronologie*, 1999. 34–48.

56 Risso, 2014. 141. The same happened during the visit of Géza Jeszenszky on June 29, 1990, after which the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs and the General Secretary of NATO held a joint press conference, then gave exclusive interviews for the Belgian and Hungarian journalists. MNL OL: Külügyminisztérium, 001822/3/1990, VI–L//NATO. [National Archives of Hungary: Foreign Ministry]. Jelentés a Minisztertanácsnak Dr. Jeszenszky Géza külügyminiszter és Manfred Wörner NATO-főtítkárról és Peter Corterier, az Észak-atlanti Közgyűlés főtitkára közötti megbeszélésekről [Report to the Council of Ministers on the talks between Dr. Géza Jeszenszky, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Manfred Wörner, NATO Secretary General, and Peter Corterier, Secretary of the North Atlantic Assembly] (July 5, 1990). Source: *Iratok az Antall-kormány külpolitikájához és diplomáciájához*, 2015. 352.

57 Risso, 2014. 141.

58 *Manuel de l'OTAN. Chronologie*, 1999. 37.

59 Risso, 2014. 151.

60 Soutou, 2001. 716. On the so called “Two-Plus-For” negotiation see also: Westad, 2017. 605–607.

his internal opponents to accept it too. The practical realization of the unification of Germany, which had been unresolved for forty years, proceeded according to a “prefab model”, as Mary Elise Sarotte put it. There were no alternatives, which means that the models and instruments already existing in the West and in West Germany were adopted. The triumph of the method supported by the US and Germany had the advantage that the adaptation of existing structures (NATO, the European Union, the institutions of the West German state) made the transition process simpler. Later on, something similar ensued in the case of the states of East Central Europe.⁶¹ The transplantation of western institutions was made easier by the fact that the nations of the region considered them to be an attractive model.⁶²

Regarding the eastern enlargement of NATO, David J. Rösch has noted that the idea occurs in Article 10 of the North Atlantic Treaty:⁶³ *The Parties may, by unanimous agreement, invite any other European State in a position to further the principles of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area to accede to this Treaty.*⁶⁴

Although in 1989–1991 official forums made no mention of the enlargement of NATO, recent studies show there were intensive talks about this question behind the scenes.⁶⁵ During the debates, NATO officials came to the conclusion that it was in the interest of NATO that there be peace, security, and “good governance” to the east.⁶⁶ In an interview by László Borhi with Mark Palmer, the former US ambassador to Budapest mentioned that William Odom, the earlier Director of the National Security Agency, initiated a campaign as early as 1990 to promote NATO membership for the countries of Eastern Europe.⁶⁷ However, US National Security Ad-

61 Sarotte, 2009. 7–8, 201. The author mentions, besides the “prefab model,” the Soviet “restoration model” (the occupation by the four powers in 1945) and the “revivalist model” implemented by Kohl (adaptive reuse of the confederation model of German states) as possibilities for settling the question and the “heroic model of multinationalism” (the concept of the “Common European Home”) advertised by Gorbachev. About the origin and development of the latter see: Savranskaya, 2011. 18–22.

62 Bottoni, 2017. For the attitude of the peoples of the region (especially the Hungarians) towards the adoption of the western European model see: Balázs, 2014. In the case of Hungary even the reform communist leadership tended to strengthen the relations with NATO. In November 1988, Gyula Horn, State Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, participated in a meeting of the Political Committee of the North Atlantic Assembly in Hamburg. In February 1990, in a discussion organized by the Hungarian Association for Political Science, he raised the possibility that Hungary could be a member of the political organization of NATO. See also Pietsch, 1998. 10–11, 61–64.

63 Rösch, 2016. 60.

64 The North Atlantic Treaty, 1949.

65 See: Spohr, 2012. Cited by Risso, 2014. 143.

66 Risso, 2014. 151. See: The Situation in the Soviet Union, 1991. On the eastern enlargement of NATO see: Asmus, 2002 and Grayson, 1999. For Hungarian relations see: Pietsch, 1998.; Valki, 2002.; Jeszenszky, 2016.; Jeszenszky, 2019.; Szenes–Siposné, 2019.

67 Borhi, 2015. 470.

visor Brent Scowcroft proposed prior to the final dissolution of the Warsaw Pact in July 1991 that NATO should negotiate separately with the member states of the East European alliance and (according to Philip David Zelikow, a former member of the National Security Council) this preceded the opening of NATO to the East and Central European states.⁶⁸ According to Ronald D. Asmus, US Deputy Secretary of State responsible for European affairs, the idea of the eastern enlargement of the alliance came from the former opposition politicians of the Soviet bloc who were to become leading politicians and diplomats. For them this step was a *logical extension of their struggle against communism and the culmination of their fight for freedom, democracy, and national independence*.⁶⁹ However, even the ruling politicians of the region raised the demand that the western alliance should provide security and defend the region from the weakening, but still militarily important Soviet Union.

According to the reminiscences of Géza Jeszenszky, early in June 1990 during his visit to NATO Headquarters he told General Secretary Wörner in a one on one meeting that the aim of Hungary was ultimately to achieve NATO membership.⁷⁰ Prime Minister of Hungary József Antall expressed his views in July during a session of the NAC: *It is very important for us that NATO should consider it its duty to stand up against aggression and the violation of frontiers... NATO is for us the guarantor of stability in Europe. We... hold NATO to be a really effective security organization*.⁷¹ The fact that the politicians of the regions usually saw no need to explain their demand for NATO membership and considered it self evident can be explained by the “feeling of insecurity” of the elites in Central and East Europe. This feeling might be explained, in the judgment of László Valki, as a byproduct of the traumas experienced by elites in the twentieth century.⁷²

NATO bodies repeatedly issued forceful statements touching on Soviet internal policies concerning questions that were significant for international affairs. This indicates a noteworthy change in the former European status quo and the growing role of NATO in the region of the former Soviet bloc. On January 11, 1991 NATO warned the Soviet government to refrain from using violence and intimidation in the Baltic States.⁷³ On August 21, 1991 during the unsuccessful coup against Gorbachev, the session of foreign ministers of the NAC in Brussels clearly pointed out that the security of its member states *is inseparably linked to that of all other states in*

68 Sarotte, 2009. 174.

69 Asmus, 2002. xxvi.

70 An interview of the author with Géza Jeszenszky (Budapest, August 27, 2018).

71 Valki, 2002. 464, 483. The author cites: Különleges elbánást a “Visegrádiaknak”, 1990.

72 Valki, 1997. 159.

73 *Manuel de l’OTAN. Chronologie*, 1999. 42.

*Europe, particularly to that of the emerging democracies. We expect the Soviet Union to respect the integrity and security of all states in Europe.*⁷⁴

The Administrative Framework of Expertise on Eastern Europe,
1951–1991

The analysis of the situation of the Soviet Union and its allies in Central and Eastern Europe had a decades long tradition in NATO by 1988.⁷⁵ The task of the Political Working Group, operating in London between March 1951 and March 1952 (besides the reorganization of NATO) was to provide information to the Council of Deputies. The latter held its sessions between those of the NAC, discussing such topics as the situation in the GDR and the Soviet Union and the relative military, political and economic potential and capacity of the Soviet Union compared to that of NATO. After this working group ceased to exist, the NAC had to bear responsibility for proper orientation on political topics until 1957.⁷⁶

The Working Group on Trends of Soviet Policy, established by decision of the North Atlantic Council of October 8, 1952⁷⁷ as an *ad hoc* group, prepared its reports for the sessions of the foreign ministers of the NATO Council.⁷⁸ Its activity was taken over in January 1957 by the Political Committee, which was formed originally as the Committee of Political Advisors following a proposal by the Committee of Three established for the reform of the alliance. There were five experts' working groups belonging to the Committee of Political Advisors, among them the ones examining trends in Soviet politics and in the East European satellite states. In their reports they also dealt with East–West relations, the development of the states in the Soviet bloc, and their relation to the Soviet Union.⁷⁹ In accordance with the general goals of NATO, the working group dealing with Eastern Europe was considered the most important one.⁸⁰

74 The situation in the Soviet Union, 1991. Cited by Risso, 2014. 143. During the coup in Moscow in 1991 Manfred Wörner (General Secretary of NATO) called Géza Jeszenszky on phone to assure NATO support for Hungary. See: Jeszenszky, 2002. 172.

75 An excellent good work on NATO expertise regarding the Soviet Bloc: Hatzivassiliou, 2014. See also: Hatzivassiliou, 2018.

76 The website of NA: <http://archives.nato.int/political-working-group> (date of last download: August 4, 2018).

77 NA: C-R(52)24, item 5.

78 The website of NA: <http://archives.nato.int/working-group-on-trends-of-soviet-policy> (date of last download: August 4, 2018).

79 The website of NA: <http://archives.nato.int/political-committee> (date of last download: August 4, 2018). Documents published in English from the series up to now: North Atlantic Council Document C-M(56)110, 2002.

80 See also: NA: United Kingdom Delegation to the North Atlantic Council NATO/OTAN, Meetings of the NATO Experts, POL 4/13/1 [annex II to POLADS(70)46] (September 18, 1970).

In the elaboration of these analyses about the Soviet Union and the other states of the Soviet bloc a great role was played by the preliminary studies of the national diplomatic organs and the consultative discussions of the experts delegated by the individual states. In the spirit of the decision making principles of NATO, the purpose of these meetings was to develop a consensus. Most of the delegated were employees of the sections of their respective foreign ministries that dealt with Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union.⁸¹

From 1961 onward the reports were intended as “background” documents, that is the statements in them *[did] not in any way commit governments or the alliance as a whole on policy questions*. The experts enjoyed great independence in the organization of their work, and in the length and form of their reports. In order to facilitate the formulation of the final version of the reports and to unify the criteria provided in advance by the individual foreign ministries, the political section of NATO International Secretariat sent out preliminary questionnaires.⁸²

Acting on the proposal of West Germany, the NAC decided in 1973 that the expert reports should be submitted to the regular session of the Council right after they were finished. This procedure decreased the number of documents that had to be prepared for the ministerial meetings, and it also provided an opportunity to use these materials in a timely manner, right after their circulation.⁸³

French diplomatic documents provide insight into how the groups of experts worked. In the spring of 1981 the Canadian and Dutch representatives recommended a new method. They proposed that the International Staff should create a preliminary report based on the material submitted by the foreign ministries of the member states, which could then be revised during the experts meeting. According to them this would allow a greater possibility for the exchange of views, yet would reduce the number of days they would need to spend together by one day. Discussions lasted two and a half days according to the old method, and then editorial groups were selected to frame each part of the report. Finally the entire report was

81 AMAE: Série Europe 1971–1976, 1928INVA, carton 2901. Secretary of Political Committee, signed M. J. Jordan to Expert Working Group on the USSR and Eastern Europe (through members of the Political Committee), Meeting of 2nd – 5th May, 1972, MJ/72/35 (April 27, 1972).

82 NA: Note by the Chairman of the Committee of Political Advisers, Reports prepared by expert working groups prior to ministerial meetings, AC/119–WP(62)34 (July 16, 1962). The note refers to the session of the NATO Council on October 4, 1961: C–R(61)50, Item III. Numerous similar notes can be found at the Archives of the French Foreign Ministry. See for example: AMAE: Série Europe 1981–1985, 1930INVA, carton 5753. Mémorandum du Président du Groupe d’expert (signé M. Leveque) au Comité politique, Groupe d’expert sur l’Union soviétique et l’Europe de l’Est (du 20 au 23 octobre 1981), POLADS(81)25 (July 22, 1981).

83 NA: Report by the Acting Chairman of the Political Committee, Change in procedures for the regional expert working groups, signed: Georges R. Andrews, C–M(73)25 (April 5, 1973).

approved at a session where all delegates were present.⁸⁴ Although the Canadian–Dutch initiative did not yet meet full consent, it is evident from a report of the French NATO ambassador in May 1986 that at least some of the half year reports was now compiled using this method.⁸⁵

For the period of the eight reports published in this volume, four documents may be found in the French Foreign Ministry Archives (AMAE) where the French delegates of the working groups report on the sessions. These documents shed light on the character of the debates and on the evaluation methods used in the experts' reports. While the reports' conclusions reflected a consensus, sharp disagreements can be detected in the discussions. For instance, in the course of the meeting in March 1988 the West German expert forcefully requested that a statement from the British draft be removed from the final text according to which the Brezhnev doctrine was still valid in relations between the Soviet Union and the allied states, and that therefore Moscow might still intervene if some of the East European communist regimes were threatened by sudden collapse. But the French delegation, supported by the Americans and British, spoke out against deleting those sentences.⁸⁶ But there was general agreement with the statement during the April talks in 1990 that *in the final analysis, Hungary is a nationalist country, where the removal of the prohibitions imposed by communism coercion makes it possible for 'chauvinism' to reappear*.⁸⁷

Western diplomatic representatives in the Soviet bloc from the very beginning of the Cold War often had to face with obstacles in obtaining valuable and reliable information on the relations between political leaders in the countries where they were stationed.⁸⁸ This situation prevailed until the end of the 1980s, as demonstrated by a French document from the meeting of experts in March 1988. In order to overcome these obstacles, and also to measure the internal support for Gorbachev

84 AMAE: Série Europe 1981–1985, 1930INVA, carton 5753. Note de la Sous-direction d'Europe orientale, Nouvelle méthode de travail du groupe d'experts "URSS–Démocraties populaires" de l'OTAN, 211/EU (March 13, 1981).

85 AMAE: Série Europe 1986–1990, 1935INVA, carton 5882. Rapport de Gilles Curien, représentant permanent de la France au Conseil de l'Atlantique Nord au ministre des Affaires étrangères – Affaires Stratégiques et Désarmement, Modalité de fonctionnement des groupes d'experts régionaux, 436/STR (May 14, 1986).

86 AMAE: Série Europe 1986–1990, 1935INVA, carton 5882, Note de Jacques Faure, chef de la Section Pays de l'Est à la Sous-Direction d'Europe orientale, Réunion du groupe d'experts "Pays de l'Est" à l'OTAN, les 24 et 25 mars 1988, 993/EU (March 30, 1988).

87 AMAE: Série Europe 1986–1990, 1935INVA, carton 5882, Note de Christine Toudic, Sous-Direction d'Europe Orientale et Centrale, Compte-rendu de la réunion du groupe d'experts "pays de l'Est" de l'OTAN (9–11 avril 1990), 1118/EU (April 19, 1990).

88 See NA: Note du secrétaire général de la Commission permanente du Traité de Bruxelles, Situation des missions occidentales dans les pays au delà du rideau de fer, A/1111 (définitif) (March 27, 1951). Also: AMAE: Europe, 1944–1970, Généralités, 248QO, dossier 80. Note de la Sous-Direction d'Europe orientale, Attaques des pays de démocraties populaires contre la France (February 13, 1954).

among Soviet party leaders, the French delegates proposed a peculiar method. They defined “concentric zones” with the first circle for those questions on which all significant leaders agreed (for instance, the necessity of deep structural reforms in the economy and society), and continuing with the next zone, where opinions were less likely to coincide (as in the differing content of “democratization”), finally ending with the most debated questions in the outermost zone. This method reflected deviations in opinion regarding the limits of reforms or their speed. According to the French report, this method of evaluation aroused great interest, and it strengthened the general view that Gorbachev’s influence had significantly increased since his accession to power in 1985.⁸⁹

The remarks of the Turkish delegate added a special element to the discussions. He expressed strong opinions on questions in which Turkey was deeply concerned, like the fate of the Muslim minority in Bulgaria or the case of Nagorno Karabakh, where he tried to represent the interests of the Azeri population against the Armenians.⁹⁰

The NAC approved new procedures for the working groups on July 17, 1991.⁹¹ They stipulated that the last report of the working group dealing with the Soviet Union and other Central and East European countries had to be finished by the fall of 1991.⁹²

The documents published in this volume reveal how the situation in the Soviet bloc was evaluated by the foreign ministries of the NATO powers in 1988–1991 on the basis of their internal documentation, the consultations in NATO and among each of the foreign ministries, and other sources. But it should be emphasized that the NATO states that played a key role in the elaboration of these reports, that is, the United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany, did not share all available information with their allies. They prepared summaries for the ministerial sessions of the North Atlantic Council, which occurred twice a year. These documents, which review the previous six months of the Soviet bloc, constitute an excellent source for the views about Eastern Europe held in the important decision making centers of NATO in a given period.

The eight experts’ reports give a comprehensive overview about an Eastern Europe that was experiencing cataclysmic changes in this period. In the reports the summary and the main conclusions typically appear in the introduction. The first

89 AMAE: Série Europe 1986–1990, 1935INVA, carton 5882. Note de Bernard Fassier, chef de la Section URSS à la Sous-Direction d’Europe orientale, Réunion du groupe d’experts “URSS et Pays de l’Est” de l’OTAN, à Evère les 23, 24 et 25 mars 1988, 995/EU (March 29, 1988).

90 Ibid.

91 NA: C-M(91)54 report.

92 NA: Note by the Secretary General, signed M. Wörner, The Situation in the Soviet Union and the other Central and Eastern European countries, March to October 1991, C-M(91)93 (November 22, 1991). See Document No. 8.

INTRODUCTION

sections generally describe the development of Soviet domestic and foreign policy. The parts exploring the situation of the allied states are presented in the order of importance ascribed to them by the authors, focusing on the issues considered most pressing. Although they were not parts of the Soviet bloc in this period, the analyses examining “Eastern Europe” report, as in the past, on communist Albania and on Yugoslavia, which was sinking into an increasingly serious crisis.

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C-M(88)14

THE SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE
OCTOBER 1987 – MARCH 1988

Note by the Secretary General¹

1. I attach the report on “The Situation in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe” submitted to me by the Chairman of the Expert Working Group, which met at NATO Headquarters from 23rd to 25th March 1988.
2. This report engages only the responsibility of the experts who participated in the Working Group.
3. It will be placed on the Agenda of the Council meeting on 11th May 1988.

(Signed) CARRINGTON

NATO,
1110 Brussels.

THE SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE

Note by the Chairman of the Expert Working Group

1. Experts from Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States met at NATO Headquarters from 23rd to 25th March 1988 to prepare the attached report.
2. This report covers the period from 17th October 1987 to 25th March 1988.

(Signed) D. I. MILLER

¹ The official leader of the NATO is the General Secretary, who is responsible for the coordination of work. As chairman he is a member of the North Atlantic Council, he organizes the work of the organization's staff, and he represents the alliance in external communications and relations.

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I. GENERAL TRENDS AND OUTLOOK

1. Over the past six months, Gorbachev has been forced to slow down somewhat in his efforts to reform Soviet society. The Eltsin affair in particular exposed differences within the regime over the *pace of reform*. Gorbachev's statement at the 70th anniversary of the October revolution seemed to reflect a need to consolidate forces.

2. The slowdown may be only temporary and not likely to affect Gorbachev's personal authority in the longer term. His speech at the February 1988 CPSU Plenum suggested a determination to continue with his offensive, in preparing for the *19th Party Conference*, due to start on 28th June, he may make a stronger attempt to extend his control of the Party machinery and to impart new momentum to the reform programme.

3. The Soviet leadership has been treating *nationalities issues* on a case-by-case basis. There have been public protests by both Russian and non-Russian groups, and growing demands from Party officials in both Moscow and the periphery for a re-

2 Transcaucasia in the Southern Caucasus is a geographical region in the southern part of the mountains, which refers to the area of present day Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan.

3 Perestroika: the name for the socioeconomic reforms in the Soviet Union initiated by Gorbachev (the original meaning of the word is restructuring or reconstruction). Its goal was the total reorganization of the stagnating Soviet economy.

turn to a more ideological approach. The outbursts in Armenia and Azerbaidzhan in February and March underscored the new urgency of the problem: Gorbachev had already called for a Central Committee plenum to review the long-neglected but crucial policy on nationalities. His ability to control the situation in the originally may affect his capacity to achieve his aims at the Party Conference.

4. The *economic reform* process has continued, with 60% of productive capacity now said to be operating under conditions of self-financing and cost accounting. It is clear however, that reform has already encountered considerable resistance. Moreover, through use of state orders, normatives, and other administrative measures, central planning still dominates the production process and allows little scope for initiative and autonomy on the part of individual enterprises.

5. A discussion on the nature of *defence planning* is underway in politico-capacitym-litery circles, with special reference to the “reasonable sufficiency” concept. This remains a political theory for the time being and has yet to be translated into practical consequences for military strength, posture and tactics. A distinction is seemingly made in this connection. Soviet “military doctrine” forms a whole, of which military means are only one part, and which is presented as a policy aimed at safeguarding the achievements of socialism. “Military art”, by contrast, represents a combination of exclusively military means and is offensive in character.

6. In the international sphere, *long-term objectives* remain constant, though there continue to be adjustments to policy. The Soviets continue in their efforts to achieve accommodation with the West, striving to convince the international community that the USSR is a country playing a responsible role in the pursuit of legitimate national interests. Developments include the INF agreement and the Washington Summit of December 1987⁴; the fixing of dates for the Moscow Summit (29th May–2nd June); confirmation of the Soviet intention to withdraw from Afghanistan⁵; more flexibility on regional issues; progress in talks with the EC⁶; and a greater interest in the United Nations and other international institutions.

7. The most prominent feature of the evolving Soviet attitude towards *East European states* has been more explicit emphasis on the absence of a Soviet “model”, and renewed stress on the need for each East European leadership to come to terms with its own situation. The limitations on this freedom of action are by no means

4 The INF contract (Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty), which dealt with the intermediate-range traditional and nuclear ballistic weapons (missiles) and cruise missiles was signed by Ronald Reagan, US President and Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CC of the CPSU on 8 December 1987 in Washington.

5 The Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan began in December 1979 and ended with the withdrawal of Soviet forces in February 1989.

6 European Communities (EC): the common name for the Montanunion (European Coal and Steel Community), European Economic Community (EEC) and the Euratom (European Atomic Energy Community) between 1967 and 1993.

apparent yet, but East European regimes seem to be operating cautiously in the certain expectation that there are boundaries which cannot be overstepped.

8. Gorbachev's push to get the Soviet Party out of the business of detailed management has also been construed in some quarters, both in the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries, as putting the Party more on the sidelines in overall economic and political policy formulation. But there have also been efforts to counter such an interpretation, including continuing public insistence on the Party's leading role and direct criticism of the Bulgarian Party's mistakes in the restructuring process.⁷

9. East European responses to Gorbachev's initiatives vary widely. Internal dynamics are driving *Poland* and *Hungary* to support restructuring, though individual measures are subject to modification by inter-Party discussion. *Bulgaria's* imitation of Soviet policies resulted in "confusion", but Zhivkov has promised to comply with Soviet advice. *Czechoslovakia* has resolved its internal debates, at least on the surface, and is proceeding to restructure at a slow pace. The *German Democratic Republic* rejects the applicability of Soviet reforms to its economy or to East German society as a whole. *Romania's* stubborn refusal to reform, even in the face of economic near-collapse, may end only with a change of leadership in Bucharest. Varying threats to stability in coming months may result from public reaction to economic austerity in the hardest-hit countries and the possibility of unrest in one or more countries exists.

10. There have been no major developments in the human rights situation in the region. The German Democratic Republic has however, taken a new, much tougher line towards would-be emigrants. The plight of the *Turkish minority in Bulgaria*⁸ continued to be raised in the relevant international fora and in bilateral contacts between certain Western and Islamic countries and the Bulgarian government. Extensive reporting of the issue continued to appear in the international press.

* * *

11. In *Yugoslavia*, the government introduced a controversial programme of economic reform, together with proposed constitutional amendments intended to strengthen economic levers. Progress in restoring economic equilibrium will de-

7 Viktor Vasilevich Sharapov, ambassador of the USSR, then of the Russian Federation to Sofia in 1988–1992, pointed out in an interview conducted in Moscow in 2009 that "in 1988–1989 it became clear that Todor Zhivkov had his own ideas regarding the transformations. Instead of economic reforms, he initiated massive, but unfruitful administrative changes, like creating a new bureau of administration." The interview of Petar-Emil Mitev (http://www.kultura.bg/bg/print_article/view/26648 (date of last download: July 13, 2018).

8 [The Greek expert deemed it necessary to note that the term used in the international treaties fixing the Bulgarian obligations on the matter and reflecting reality is "Moslem minorities" composed of various ethnic groups.]

pend not only on the reform package, but also on Yugoslavia's negotiations with the IMF⁹ and the Paris Club.¹⁰ Gorbachev's visit to Yugoslavia in March may lead towards a more confident and relaxed relationship between Moscow and Belgrade. The joint Declaration adopted could also have implications for relations between the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe as a whole.

12. Movement in *Albania's* foreign relations in the past few months has tended to overshadow domestic developments. In particular, its performance at the Balkan Foreign Ministers' meeting in Belgrade in March showed a change in Albania's attitude towards Balkan co-operation from which it had previously stood aloof. In the same period there have been several visits by high level Western officials to Tirana. Some further normalization with Eastern Europe has also taken place.

II. USSR: TOWARDS THE 19TH PARTY CONFERENCE

13. The 19th Conference of the CPSU, which begins on 28th June, is expected to be a major political event, almost equivalent in importance to a Party Congress. The first to be held since 1941, the Conference is timed to coincide with the half-way mark in the current, 12th Five Year Plan, and falls approximately mid-way between Party Congresses, thus providing an opportunity to review the progress of perestroika, the current 5 year plan, and to tackle major policy issues. Personnel changes at the Conference would give an indication of Gorbachev's political strength. He himself referred last June to the fact that previous conferences had made changes in the composition of central Party organs. A number of articles in the Soviet press have drawn attention to the provision in the 1939 Party Statutes (now superseded) for replacement of up to 20% of Central Committee members. (This would more than allow for the removal of the "dead souls"¹¹ in the Central Committee at present – i.e. people no longer in jobs with which their CC membership was associated).

14. The idea of holding a Conference was first mooted by Gorbachev at the January 1987 Party plenum, but it was only given full Central Committee endorsement at the plenum in June. There are two items on the agenda:

9 The International Monetary Fund (IMF) was established in 1945 with its seat in Washington. It is a central organization of the international financial system. The goal of its establishment was to promote international financial cooperation and exchange rate stability, to enhance economic growth, and to create full employment. Furthermore, it issued loans to member countries with financial-budgetary problems.

10 The Paris Club is an informal group of officials of lending countries searching for integrated and sustainable solutions to indebted states suffering from difficulties. If indebted states are willing to accept the economic and financial reforms proposed by the lending countries, the latter offer reasonable terms. The first meeting of the club members was organized in 1956.

11 Reference to the novel of Nikolay Vasilevich Gogol, *Dead souls*, first published in 1842. The "hero" of the novel, Chichikov, buys up the property rights for dead peasants.

– progress in the implementation of decisions of the 27th Party Congress, the basic results of the first half of the 12th Five Year Plan and tasks of Party organisations in deepening the process of perestroika; and

– measures for the further democratisation of the life of the Party and society.

15. The election of delegates to the Conference, one for every 3,780 Party members, is to take place in April–May at plenums of regional Party committees in the 5 largest republics, and of Central Committees of the smaller republics. Delegates from Party organisations of the armed forces, internal and border troops will be elected at the same meetings.

16. The current Party Statutes say very little about the holding of Party Conferences, except that they can be convened to discuss pressing matters of Party policy, and that procedures for them are decided by the Central Committee. But there have been strong hints that amendments will be made to the Party Statutes, in particular concerning “démocratisation” of elections to Party organs, and possibly concerning limits to the number of terms officials may remain in office, such as were agreed recently at the Bulgarian Communist Party Conference, and which existed under Khrushchev and until the 23rd Party Congress in 1966.

17. Other suggestions have been put forward, mostly concerned with procedures in local Party organisations. They include:

– the selection of Party officials no longer by written application and interviews alone, but on the basis of proven ability;

– in reducing the overall size of the Party apparatus, the pay of certain categories of Party worker should be raised, so as to attract people with high political and operational qualifications;

– amendment to Article 12 of the Statutes, concerning Party membership after prosecution in a court;

– reviewing procedures and documents which specify the frequency of holding Party meetings and plenums;

– redefining the tasks, rights and obligations of Party control commissions;

– reorganising regional Party apparatus, especially their organisational-Party work (i.e. personnel), ideology and economic departments;

– decentralising decisions concerning the structure and staffing of local Party organisations;

– amending the Party rules for elections to local organisations (e.g. direct elections of officials by all Party members, not only committee members; genuine secret ballots, and multiple candidate elections without pre-selected candidates).

18. These issues will probably be discussed under item 2 on the agenda, as well as other aspects of electoral reform, e.g. elections to local soviets and the Supreme Soviet (the first multiple candidate election for a USSR Supreme Soviet seat took place in January). Progress of legal reforms may also be discussed.

19. The first item on the agenda will provide an opportunity for an assessment of the economic reforms introduced this year and perhaps for some fine-tuning. There may be further discussion of sensitive aspects such as price reform and unemployment. But above all it will be an opportunity to give a further push to perestroika, to try to convince the naturally conservative institutions and population of the Soviet Union that the reforms are essential.

III. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE BALTIC STATES

20. The politically unsettling effect of *glasnost*¹² and other developments set in train by Gorbachev have been particularly marked in the three Baltic Republics of the USSR. Even if similar strands can be found in their recent histories, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia have important historical, linguistic and religious differences. It is still relatively unusual to find nationals of all three Republics taking a common stand against Russian/Soviet political or cultural dominance. The co-ordinated mass demonstrations which occurred in the capitals of the Republics and elsewhere on 23rd August 1987, the anniversary of the German Soviet non-aggression Pact of 1939,¹³ set them apart from several others which preceded and followed them in the individual Republics. As in the case of the other demonstrations, the Baltic media did their best to condemn these events (although the demonstrations were not banned outright) and to attack individual ringleaders, to minimise the turn-outs and – particularly – to allege Western incitement. Some of the leading organisers were severely harassed [harassed] subsequently.

21. In Estonia, one of the unofficial groups behind these demonstrations was pressing for publication of the secret protocols of the two German–Soviet agreements of 1939 (the non-aggression Pact of 23rd August and the Agreement on friendship and frontiers signed on 28th September¹⁴). These secret protocols, which touch on the sensitive issue of spheres of influence in the Baltic area and in Poland, have never been published in the USSR and their existence is not admitted by most Soviet historians.

12 *Glasnost*: new political style in the Soviet Union, implemented by Gorbachev in 1985. The original meaning of the Russian word is “publicity, openness, overtness,” the abandonment of restrictions. Its goal was to convince the “hardliner” conservative communists to accept the necessity of economic transformation.

13 The bilateral treaty signed by Joachim von Ribbentrop, German Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Vyatcheslav Molotov, Soviet People’s Commissar for Foreign Affairs, on August 23, 1939 contains a public agreement on cooperation and non-aggression and a secret protocol delimiting spheres of influence. The latter stipulates that the future German–Soviet boundary should run on the northern boundary of Lithuania.

14 The German–Soviet Friendship Agreement, signed on September 28, 1939 also had a secret annex, which modified the agreement of August 23. The Germans were allowed to keep more Polish areas, and in return Lithuania was moved to the Russian sphere of influence.

22. Emotive historical issues have featured in other historical writings, both unpublished and published. The Estonian cultural weekly *Sirp ja Vasar* of 27th November provided detailed statistics of the deportations which took place on 14th June 1941, as well as further figures on an even larger deportation in 1949. Figures were also given about the number of Estonian partisans who had taken up an armed struggle against the postwar Soviet occupants. These exceeded estimates published in the West by 50%. In July, the Estonian literary monthly *Looming* published the first part of a novel, written about a decade previously, dealing with the fate of sixteen Estonian families deported to Siberia. Another remarkable example of *glasnost* in Estonia was the publication in the cultural monthly *Vikerkaar* in July 1987 of a survey of (mainly literary) samizdat writing which had appeared in Estonia over the last 20 years.

23. Both the Finnish press and Estonian samizdat have reported that the Central Committee in Moscow issued a secret resolution about nationalism in the Baltic Republics on 14th December 1987 which condemned liberal publications. A meeting was reportedly held on 22nd December to discuss ideological issues in Estonia at which several individual authors, editors and publications were sharply attacked by name.

24. There are numerous overt indications that the groundswell of nationalism is still high in the Baltic Republics. Demonstrations continued in Vilnius on 16th February 1988, the anniversary of the proclamation of an independent Lithuania¹⁵; in Parnu and Tartu on 7th November and 2nd February respectively; other anti-Russian incidents were reported by the Soviet press to have taken place in Estonia earlier. Official attempts were made to counter the demonstrations by a variety of means, including regulations on procedures to be followed by would-be demonstrators, and a massive counter-propaganda effort which has even included the wheeling-out of Kim Philby on Latvian television in October and December in order to suggest that Western intelligence services, with the aid of emigres, were behind such disturbances.

25. On another level, steps have been taken to placate public opinion over issues tinged to a greater or lesser extent with nationalism. For example, some old street names have been restored in Vilnius and Riga; pressure has been stepped up on the non-indigenous inhabitants of the Republics to learn the local languages; the Queen of Peace Cathedral in Klaipeda, built at the expense of believers but confiscated in 1962 and turned into a concert hall, has been restored to its congregation;

15 On September 22, 1917 began the first session of the Conference of Vilnius with the permission of the occupying German authorities to discuss organizational issues for a Lithuanian state to be established within ethnic boundaries. The conference created a council of twenty (Taryba, Lithuanian Council), which declared the independence of Lithuania on December 11, 1917 as a German protectorate. The Declaration of Independence was issued on February 16, 1918, which defined Lithuania as a democratic state.

also in Lithuania, increasing numbers of students are being permitted to study in the Kaunas Catholic seminary; work on the Daugava river hydro-electric project, which evoked strong protest in Latvia and Lithuania, has been officially abandoned, while a hotly-disputed plan to mine phosphorite in Estonia has been shelved.

26. In the meantime expressions of nationalism have diversified even further. One of the most remarkable examples was a call published in September 1987 by four people with entirely conformist track-records to turn Estonia into an “economic development zone”¹⁶ similar to those established in China. A central feature of their plan was the reorienting of the Estonian economy towards the international market, based on direct links. Their proposals also referred to the sensitive issue of the movement of labour from other regions of the USSR into the Republic. Similar ideas are being discussed in the other Baltic Republics.

IV. NATIONALIST DEMONSTRATIONS IN TRANSCAUCASIA

27. In February–March 1988, nationalist demonstrations of unprecedented scope took place in Erevan, capital of the Soviet Armenian Republic, and in the autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh, 76% of whose population are Armenian. Their proportion in terms of the overall population of the autonomous region is constantly waning, by contrast with the Azerbaijani inhabitants of the same administrative unit. Nagorno-Karabakh has formed part of Azerbaijan since the latter’s declaration of independence in 1918. It was declared an autonomous region in 1923 and became an enclave in the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan.

28. These events are important, as is shown by the scale of the demonstrations, their diversity, duration and resolve: gatherings, strikes of both workers and students and public discussions were organised for several successive days. Even though the agitation in Erevan was sparked off by a local problem (pollution), all the demonstrations seemed designed to support the call for the incorporation of Nagorno-Karabakh into the Armenian Republic. This is a long-standing and seemingly well organised movement: the Erevan demonstrations went off quietly, in compliance with the law, and dispersed in an orderly manner. Local Communist Party officials were involved in the unrest: and on 20th February, the 110 Armenian deputies in the Nagorno-Karabakh Soviet voted massively for its incorporation in the Armenian Republic. This was firmly rejected by Moscow’s emissary (Demichev) on 23rd February and by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet on 23rd March. The First

16 As a part of the policy of opening up in China in 1978, the Communist Party of China created special economic zones in 1980 functioning as duty free areas. Investors received large tax exemptions and other advantages. In 1984 fourteen coastal towns also received these privileges. Thus separated zones were created similar to “free ports” and “free trade zones,” with considerable foreign trade, where enterprises produced for external markets.

Secretary of the region's CP, Kevorkov, was dismissed. These events were bound to have an impact abroad, not only because of the scale of Armenian emigration and the trans-national dimension of the Armenian Church but also owing to the solicitude for Soviet Azerbaijanis of some peoples who have blood and religious ties with them, both inside and outside the Soviet Union.¹⁷

29. Nor was their importance underestimated by the Soviet leadership, which dispatched to the area several leading CPSU officials, including three candidate members of the Politburo. On 26th February, Gorbachev called on the peoples of Armenia and Azerbaijan to remain calm. On the next day, the General Secretary received two Armenian literary notabilities, the poetess Sylvia Kaputikyan and the writer Zori Balayan. Gorbachev is reported to have promised them a "just solution" to the problem, while making it clear that this would take time. It is highly unusual for a Soviet leader to receive people with no official standing.

30. The announcement that two Azerbaijanis had died in Agdam¹⁸ during the Armenian demonstrations of 28th February led, on the same day, to violent clashes at Sumgait¹⁹ between Azerbaijanis and Armenians, in which over thirty people were killed.

31. The Armenian problem, is a special one for, unlike expressions of nationalism in other regions of the USSR (especially the Baltic countries), the Armenian events do not signify a protest against the policy of Russification. The aim (for the present, at any rate) is not to hark back to past independence but to seek the incorporation in a single administrative entity – the Armenian Republic – within the Soviet State, of ethnically identical peoples. Also, unlike other peoples which have recently experienced national demonstrations but are primarily (the Kazakhs) or almost exclusively (the Yakutis) located in the USSR, many Armenians have been dispersed abroad. Approximately four million live in the USSR, including 2.7 million in the Armenian Republic, and some 2–3 million abroad, mainly in the United States, Europe and the Middle East. The Armenian Church, too, serves as a powerful link between all Armenians living in the USSR and in the diaspora.

32. The Soviet leaders have little room for manoeuvre. A brutal clampdown on the demonstrations, together with the outright and sustained rejection of all the demands underlying them, would be perceived, both in the USSR and abroad, as testifying to certain limitations in the "democratization" process. The immense effort that has been made to enhance the USSR's image in the outside world could be partly compromised. Also, the situation in Transcaucasia is so complex (overlapping

17 Azeri people: A Turkish-speaking nation living in the southern foothills of the Caucasus Mountains. Besides Azerbaijan, Azeri people also live in Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and in Georgia and Russia.

18 Ağdam: town located at the border of the former Nagorno (Mountainous) Karabakh Autonomous Region and Azerbaijan.

19 Sumgait, Sumqayit: towns in the area of the former SSR of Azerbaijan.

of ethnic, religious and administrative problems, impact of history, implications for relations with neighbouring Turkey – Moscow and Kars agreements²⁰ – and Iran) that the status quo is particularly difficult to alter. In addition, any major change in the administrative order inherited from the Stalin era would inevitably encourage the Armenians to press ahead with their demands (another enclave, with a small Armenian minority – Nakhichevan, on the Iranian frontier, is likewise attached to Azerbaijan²¹) and harden those of other ethnic groups which consider themselves prejudiced (Tartars, Balts, Moldavians, etc.). Finally, should it persist, this instability in the outlying Republics could combine with that encouraged in certain East European countries by the USSR's internal reform policy.

33. However, there seems to be no prospect of evading the nationalities issue. In fact, the problem is now one of the Soviet leaders' main concerns, as was emphasised by both Ligachev and Gorbachev at the February 1988 Plenum. The General Secretary even stated that a future Plenum should be devoted to the nationalities question, which he described as "a vital problem, the most essential for Soviet society". For a time, Gorbachev engaged in stalling tactics; in his appeal to the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples, he was careful to point out the need for a "patient approach". But the Supreme Soviet subsequently came down clearly against any idea of territorial changes.

34. What sort of measures could be taken in future? Generally speaking, the Soviet leaders can be expected to have to reckon with inevitable irritation at the growing disturbances on the part of a Soviet people inured to order, and which looks to the authorities to take a firm line. It could have implications for a slowing down of the "democratization" process within Soviet society. Where the nationalities issue is concerned, restructuring is an especially delicate process (given the complexity of the measures needed and the prospect that the movement might spread), but some arrangements catering more effectively for cultural identities are certainly feasible, even if they do not necessarily settle the basic problems in the long term.

20 The Peace Treaty of Moscow was concluded on March 16, 1921 between the Great Assembly of Turkey and the Russian SSR (neither the Republic of Turkey nor the Soviet Union had yet been established at that date). Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and Lenin undertook to establish friendly relations between the two countries. Former agreements between the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire were nullified. The Turks handed over Batumi and areas north of Sarp village to Georgia, while Turkey received Kars in return. (These were acquired by the Russians as the result of the war in 1877–78.) The boundary between Turkey and the Transcaucasian SSR (from 1936 onward Georgian SSR, Armenian SSR and SSR of Azerbaijan) was officially defined on October 13, 1921 in the Peace Treaty of Kars.

21 The history of the area of Nakhchivan is usually considered as a part of the Armenian history. However, due to the increasing Persian influence and Muslim penetration, it became a multiethnic region of tsarist Russia by the beginning of the twentieth century. Paragraph five of the convention of Kars defined Nakhchivan as an autonomous exclave under the administration of the Azeri SSR.

V. POLAND: THE NATURE AND STRENGTH OF POLITICAL OPPOSITION

35. The major domestic problem facing the Polish authorities is still the economy's poor performance and difficulties in implementation of the economic reforms. The referendum held on 29th November asked in effect for a mandate for tough economic austerity measures while holding out the prospect of political concessions.²² The authorities have used consultations on price rises in recent years, in the hope that public discussion would both prepare the population and provide a safety valve for discontent. A clear mandate from the referendum would have made it easier to defuse resistance to change from within the establishment and from the workers themselves. The authorities appeared embarrassed by the result, which gave less than the 51% majority required to make the referendum binding. But there is speculation that at least some at the top may have wanted a more cautious approach. The authorities made it clear afterwards that the changes would go ahead, but more slowly. Politically, it remains an important fact that for the first time an unmanipulated consultation of the population has taken place.

36. On the economic side, the clearest example yet of the slowing of the pace is on prices. The announcement of some very steep proposed price rises just before the referendum was considered partly responsible for the failure to reach the 51% majority. After the referendum, the proposals were revised to spread one year's price rises over 3 years. Even so, the authorities were obliged, not least by heavy pressure from the official trade unions, to cover over half the increase in the cost of living by additional wage supplements. Shortly before the referendum, the Sejm²³ passed a series of laws aimed chiefly at the restructuring and decentralisation of the economy – the “second stage” of reform. Many of the points covered, such as reductions in subsidies and in central control of factories, had been tried over the last 5 years without success.

37. The authorities' ability and political will to implement their economic policy, including this new legislation, must be questioned: as before, they are likely to be faced with passive and even active, if unco-ordinated, opposition from many quarters including local party and administration, factory management, and workers. Moreover, the underlying problems facing the economy, in which growth fell below 1986 levels and failed to meet plan targets, are so severe that it will take years for any noticeable improvement to appear, let alone be felt by the man in the street.

22 The questions raised at the referendum by the Polish authorities on November 29, 1987 were mainly of general character, like a “sane economic life,” and “deep democratization of the political life.” At least half of the electors would have needed to vote “yes” to consider the referendum valid. The opposition recommended either a boycott or a “double no” vote. According to official data, the participation rate reached 63.3%, but the “yes” voters did not exceed 50%.

23 The name of the Parliament in Poland.

38. The emphasis may now be shifting from the debate on how far to take economic reform to a more political/ideological campaign aimed at convincing all levels of society and all political groups of the importance of implementing reform. The appointment of Rakowski to the Politburo in December may be in preparation for this. He has some experience in operating this kind of consultative machinery favoured by Jaruzelski,²⁴ but he is not a person who has the confidence of the population in view of his somewhat dubious role in 1980.²⁵ A Politburo report on proposed political changes was published before the referendum, after apparently heated internal Party discussions on how far to go. It includes a number of ideas that have been in circulation for some time, e.g. amendments to the Constitution, a new law on associations, and expansion of powers of local government. Many of these will take some time to come to fruition.

39. Meanwhile, the regime still refuses to deal with Solidarity as such,²⁶ to avoid legitimising it as the representative of Polish society. Instead, Jaruzelski seems to be probing at the margins of the opposition, seeking to draw so-called moderate elements into discussions without making major concessions to the opposition as a whole, in effect splitting it.

40. Though its active membership has declined with society's general withdrawal into political apathy, Solidarity is still the major opposition force for political change in Poland. Nevertheless it has had difficulties co-ordinating timely decisions on major issues at the national level and exercising real leadership to take advantage of its considerable strength at the grass roots. For the most part, these problems stem from the fact that Solidarity is forced to operate clandestinely. However, they also reflect internal policy disputes regarding appropriate tactical approaches towards the Jaruzelski regime. The movement is faced with a major dilemma because the government's economic reform programme parallels many of its own demands.

24 The unsuccessful referendum (November 29, 1987) and the increasing strike movement in 1988 led to the fall of the Messner government. Jaruzelski, as he did not want to implement martial law again, then initiated consultations with Wałęsa. Interior Minister Kiszczak led the secret negotiations from August onward, which became official on September 16. This was the precursor of Round Table negotiations.

25 The report rather refers to the 1981 role of Rakowski, when he became the deputy of Premier Jaruzelski, and was appointed as leader of the government committee negotiating with the trade unions. Beginning in spring 1981 he negotiated with Solidarity. He was considered a "reformist" but even after the implementation of the state of emergency and martial law he remained Deputy Prime Minister until 1985. In December 1987 he became a member of the Political Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party as a reformer. See more about him in the Appendix (Biographical notes).

26 Solidarity (in Polish: *Solidarność*), a Polish trade union established in August 1980 in the Lenin Shipyard of Gdańsk to secure workers' rights. It became the largest oppositional mass movement against the socialist regime up to 1989.

41. In the absence of a strong central leadership, regional activists have seized the initiative and tailored their response to regime tactics in ways best suited to the local situation. Solidarity members have infiltrated regime-inspired workers' councils and, to a lesser degree, official unions. Moreover, local activists are preserving close ties to the Church even though, at the national level, Church-opposition dialogue shows signs of strain.

42. The public, however, shares Solidarity's skepticism about regime-proposed reforms in general, and all opposition circles are apprehensive about getting ahead of public sentiment by appearing to make pre-emptive concessions to the authorities.

VI. HUNGARY: THE PROSPECTS FOR POLITICAL CHANGE

43. After decades of relative tranquility, the Hungarian regime is now beset by factionalism over necessary economic and political change.

44. The most significant event in the last six months was the parliamentary session of mid-December which marked a start on streamlining the administration. The changes include the reduction of the number of Deputy Prime Ministers from 5 to 2 (dealing only with economic affairs) and the merger of the separate Internal and Foreign Trade Ministries into a single Ministry.

45. Hungary's economy came back in the second half of 1987 from over three years of relative stagnation, but is still not performing well. There is a hard-currency debt of over \$17 billion – the highest per capita debt in Eastern Europe. The simultaneous introduction of personal income tax and value added tax together with steep price rises at the beginning of the year has been criticised in many quarters, most especially by the trade unions. In addition to this, the closure of some loss-making enterprises with inevitable unemployment, especially in certain areas of heavy industry such as the North East, has created a climate of apprehension. Hungarians were faced for the first time in many years with shortages as a wave of panic-buying occurred at the end of the year. The Party/Government calculation is that Hungarians can take a great deal more economic pain, and that they have too much at stake to take to the streets. Polling, however, shows a growing alienation that, unchecked, could threaten the status quo. The trade off has been a renewed stress on the priority of political reform.

46. The ideological debate continues, particularly over the extension of democracy to the political as well as the economic field. So far there has been little progress in this, despite a gradual increase in the role of parliament. Attempts are being made to redefine the leading role of the party; this concerns a reduction in the involvement of the Party from direct detailed administration.

47. The Party Conference to be held in May 1988 is clearly intended to be an event of significance, both for policy and the future leadership. However, rumours of Kadar's departure from office at the Conference, together with fears of radical change seem to have caused disquiet in the Party and recent signs indicate that the scope and significance of the Conference could be limited. The succession to Kadar continues to be the subject of constant discussion.

48. Since he became Prime Minister, Grosz has improved his own image by his energy, frankness and high profile. It remains to be seen whether popular discontent, arising from the austerity measures, can be used against Grosz by the more conservative elements in the Party, or those Kadarist elements anxious for the continuation of the consensus on which Hungary's past stability was based, or even by opportunist political rivals such as Berecz, the equally youthful and energetic ideological chief.

49. Grosz has, however, been getting the limelight normally reserved for Party chiefs as he courts dialogue with the "non-hostile" factions of the opposition, and tries to align himself with liberal elements in the Party. He is probably the more outspoken public figure in Eastern Europe, and has managed to soften his hardline image while administering a highly unpalatable package of austerity measures.

VII. CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN THE POST-HUSAK ERA

50. Czechoslovak domestic policy, characterized by the conservatism of President Husak, who had ruled the country since 1969, underwent a long-awaited change in December 1987, when Husak relinquished – with due ceremony – his post of Party General Secretary and was succeeded by Milos Jakes, eleven years younger than Husak but, like him, one of the group which eliminated Dubcek in 1969 and has since directed the country's "normalization".

51. This changeover – partly accounted for by Husak's age (75) and delicate health – also marks the first instance since Gorbachev assumed power in Moscow of the replacement of an East European leader who was a contemporary of Brezhnev. The Party Central Committee's choice of Jakes is undoubtedly intended to strike a balance between the Soviet leader's desire to promote a change, generation-and style-wise, in Eastern leaders, and the conservative reaction of a party born of the normalisation process, which is reluctant to see what it has achieved (gradual improvement of the Czechoslovaks' standard of living in return for their renunciation of the ideas of the Prague Spring²⁷) implicitly challenged by new Soviet policies.

27 "Prague Spring": a Czechoslovak attempt to reform the economy and democratize the state and the communist party, to create a "Socialism with a human face" in January–August 1968. The intervention of Soviet, Polish, Hungarian and Bulgarian troops put an end to these efforts.

And, as though to underline that there has been no break with the past, Husak retains his seat in the Politburo.

52. It is true that Jakes offers all the guarantees of continuity and resolve needed to ensure a smooth transition devoid of political adventurism, for it was he who, in 1969 and 1970, purged the Czechoslovak Party of all its “Dubcekist” elements by devising and carrying out the Party “card exchange” operation. Thus, the Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak communists need have no fear that certain “Prague Spring” ideas, or even leaders, could come into vogue again on the pretext of modernisation. There seems to be every prospect that, in this respect, Jakes will not deviate from the conservative line taken by Husak. Even though in January 1988 Dubcek was able, for the first time since 1969, to grant an interview to Italian journalists²⁸ from *l’Unità*,²⁹ in which he drew attention to the similarity between Soviet “perestroika” and the “Prague Spring”, the Czechoslovak Communist Party took care to reaffirm in clear terms that it was “out of the question” for the “opportunistic” leaders of 1968 to return to public life.

53. Few changes have been noted in the authorities’ reaction to dissidence (Charter 77³⁰ and Committee for the Unjustly Persecuted – “VONS”³¹), which combines strict ideological vigilance with moderate repressive measures, designed not to blacken Czechoslovakia’s public image abroad. The policy is thus one of prevention, involving detention for short periods, house arrest or even occupational changes, and is applied as soon as dissidents³² try to exert pressure as a political opposition force. This new line has replaced the arrests and imprisonments prevalent in the late 1970s. A noteworthy feature is that the authorities no longer try to prevent meetings between prominent dissidents and Western notabilities during the

28 In 1988 Dubček was allowed to travel to Italy in order to receive an honorary doctorate at the University of Bologna. During his stay he was interviewed by *L’Unità*. This was his first public appearance since 1970.

29 *L’Unità*: the official organ of the Italian Communist Party between 1924 and 1991.

30 Charter 77 was the political declaration of the opposition originally signed by more than 200 persons, mainly from the intelligentsia, addressed to the government in Prague. The document objected to the violation of human rights in Czechoslovakia defined by the UN and the Helsinki Declaration, which had been accepted at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (1973–1975) in Helsinki.

31 Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Prosecuted (VONS): as a committee established in April 27, 1978 by the persons signing the Charter ’77, the goal of which was to trace the cases of persons prosecuted by the state in different forms (unfair jurisdiction, harassment by the police, etc.). The members of the committee worked for financial support, legal representation, or other forms of relief.

32 The term “dissident” in the document should be interpreted as it was used in the Soviet Union. It was used from the death of Stalin to the fall of the communist regimes. In official communications it originally served to label those who exerted criticism on the activity and authority of the party. Later the word became the part of the self-identification of those who were unsatisfied with the communist regime, and they began to call themselves dissidents.

latter's visits to Prague. However, there are still twenty or so prisoners of conscience and, in particular, people sentenced for religious "proselytism".

54. In the economic sphere, Jakes and his associates are faced with the need to modernise Czechoslovak industry – now obsolescent – to meet the new Soviet requirements for larger supplies of good-quality products from the East European States. Czechoslovakia's eighth Five-Year Plan (1986-1990) has, moreover, allocated extensive resources to sectors (electrotechnology, robotics, general mechanical engineering, biotechnology) corresponding to Soviet desired priorities. At the same time, however, Prague remains concerned not to penalise the consumers or sacrifice other traditional sectors.

55. The economic reform is being cautiously implemented. The resolution passed by the December plenum is a blue-print for gradual change and it indicates that the reform is an open-ended process. The system proposed is some way from the market model – but, it is claimed, there will be room for competition within the new system. The next three years are to be treated as preparatory years and full implementation of the new economic system is to begin in 1991. The first step was in fact taken with its application to the catering sector from 1st January 1988. A price reform is to come into effect from 1st January 1989 and other elements including a revised (and more stringent) credit policy from 1988–1990. The plenum also passed a resolution on cadres which re-emphasises the growing importance this subject has acquired in recent years. Whether the two resolutions will in the long run produce the results hoped for, is open to question, but changes in middle ranking personnel have been taking place quite steadily over the past year.

VIII. THE TURKISH MUSLIM MINORITY IN BULGARIA: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

56. No change has been observed in the implementation of the forcible assimilation policy to which the Turkish minority in Bulgaria³³ has been subjected since late 1984. All bans and restrictions imposed on ethnic Turks with respect to their national, cultural and religious identity continue. Lately, the issue has been taken up in two important reports of an international character. In his report submitted to the 44th session of the UN Commission on Human Rights,³⁴ Dr. Ribeiro, Special

33 [The Greek expert deemed it necessary to note that the term used in the international treaties fixing the Bulgarian obligations on the matter and reflecting reality is "Moslem minorities" composed of various ethnic groups.]

34 The United Nations' Committee for Human Rights (UNCHR) was a committee operating between 1946 and 2006 within the UN. It operated under the UN's Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). It was the most important forum for defending, securing, and promoting human rights.

Rapporteur on religious intolerance,³⁵ underlined the difficulties the Turkish minority in Bulgaria faces and called for bilateral negotiations for securing respect for its religious rights and freedoms.

57. The Islamic Contact Group, which submitted its report on the Plight of Muslims in Bulgaria to the Seventeenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers³⁶ (Amman, 21st–25th March 1988), came to the conclusion that Muslims in Bulgaria had been subjected to official pressure and coercion in changing their Islamic names into Slavic ones; that they are denied the right to follow their religion freely; that Muslims in that country, the majority of whom are of Turkish origin, are forbidden to use their own language and to protect their cultural heritage; that, taking account of the various bilateral and international instruments to which Bulgaria is a party, the violation of their rights cannot be regarded as an internal matter of Bulgaria. The Contact Group also elaborated a set of recommendations with a view to saving the Muslims in Bulgaria from the total destruction of their identity.

58. The signing of the Protocol of 23rd February 1988 between Turkey and Bulgaria has been a positive development opening the way to negotiations for normalizing bilateral relations. In this negotiation process, Turkey intends to focus particularly on the plight of ethnic Turks in Bulgaria. International pressure on Bulgaria has been instrumental in forcing the Bulgarian Government to engage in negotiations with Turkey, and it is therefore important that this pressure continue.

IX. THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS EAST EUROPEAN PARTNERS: IS PERESTROIKA CHANGING THE RELATIONSHIP?

59. It is still too early to draw firm conclusions about the impact of Soviet reform policy on the relations between the USSR and its East European allies. In particular it is not yet clear whether it has given these countries more room for manoeuvre. It seems however to have had an encouraging effect on pro-reform elements in Eastern Europe. Some doubt has been cast on the continuing validity of the “Brezhnev doc-

35 The General Assembly of the United Nations accepted the declaration on the abolition of intolerance and discrimination of any kind based on religion or belief in 1981. In order to promote its declared goals, like the development of freedom to practice religion as a general human right, the UNCHR created the position of “Special Rapporteur on Religion Intolerance.” His task was to identify the problems that hinder the realization religious freedom and propose solutions to overcome them. The first “Special Rapporteur” was the Portuguese Angelo d’Almeida Ribeiro between 1986 and 1993.

36 The Organization of the Islamic Conference was established on 25 September 1969 in Rabat, Morocco. The main goal of the organization is to strengthen solidarity between Islamic states. The Islamic Summit Conference is the highest organ of the organization, which convenes every three years with the participation of the rulers, presidents, and prime ministers of the member states. The Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers convenes each year and studies the progress in the execution of decisions made at the Summit.

trine”.³⁷ But it must be assumed that the Soviet Union would be prepared to use force as a last resort in Eastern Europe to preserve a regime in danger of collapse, though it obviously aims to prevent such a situation arising. In practice Gorbachev’s intentions have not been put to the test. He has shown tolerance to regimes whose coolness to perestroika is manifest. Clearly, however, relations with like-minded regimes such as Hungary and Poland are likely to be better than with the more conservative regimes, like the GDR (which enjoyed easier relations in the past) and Romania (which did not).

60. The trend towards improving consultation and cohesion in the Warsaw Pact in the foreign relations and defence field has been maintained. Member countries have for instance been kept informed of the outcome of the Shultz-Shevardnadze talks,³⁸ and Gorbachev himself, as on previous occasions, briefed Warsaw Pact leaders on 11th December in East Berlin immediately after the Washington Summit.³⁹

61. New mechanisms are being put to considerable use, although their significance is not yet entirely clear, e.g. the Pact information group and the special committee to co-ordinate arms control policy. Many of the apparent East European manifestations of “independence” in foreign policy may actually be the result of a Soviet effort to push other leaders more to the forefront of Warsaw Pact diplomacy, and one function of the new Pact bodies is to co-ordinate such moves.

62. Economic matters are currently receiving particular emphasis in Soviet contacts with East European countries; CMEA reform is a key Gorbachev concern. The main event was the 43rd extraordinary CMEA Council session held in Moscow in October and attended by Prime Ministers. It once again demonstrated East European resistance to regional economic integration; Romanian opposition was to be expected, but the firm GDR objections were more unusual.

NA: The Situation in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, C-M(88)14 (April 27, 1988).

37 The Brezhnev doctrine: one of the basic principles or geopolitical theories of the Soviet Union in foreign policy, which delimited the boundaries of the sovereignty of socialist countries in order to keep the Soviet alliance system intact. It was adopted in practice from the 1960s to the end of the 1980s. The communist parties of the allied countries had limited sovereignty: countries were not permitted to leave the Warsaw Pact, and the primacy of the interests of communist parties could not be questioned. According to the doctrine, the Soviet Union as the strongest socialist country had the right to defend socialism in those countries, at the same time declaring these friendly states as its own sphere of influence. This meant that intervention in these friendly states is not aggression but self-defence.

38 On November 23, 1987 Shultz US and Shevardnadze Soviet Ministers of Foreign affairs entered into talks. They discussed the preparations for the Washington Summit (planned to take place between December 7–10, 1987), including the agreement on the elimination of intermediate range missiles.

39 See footnote 4.

CONSEIL DE L'ATLANTIQUE NORD
NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL

NATO CONFIDENTIAL

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/FRENCH CORRIGENDUM to DOCUMENT
C-M(88)14

10th May 1988

THE SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE
OCTOBER 1987 – MARCH 1988

Corrigendum to C-M(88)14, dated 27th April 1988

Paragraph 12

Second sentence: "... the Foreign Ministers' meeting in Belgrade in *February* ...".

Insert the following paragraphs after paragraph 31

"Expressions of nationalism, which have been frequent for over a year (riots at Alma-Ata in Kazakhstan at the end of 1986 following the dismissal of the Kazakh First Secretary, who was replaced by a Russian, and demonstrations in Moldavia and Yakutiya) have been gathering pace in the past six months: demands by Tartars unjustly deported during the last war⁴⁰ to return to Crimea (in August 1987, late 1987 and March 1988); protest demonstrations in the Baltic Republics on the anniversaries of their short-lived independence⁴¹ (early 1988).

Nationalist issues which, from the outset, have been an underlying feature of Soviet history, have thus come sharply and acutely to the forefront again since the introduction of the new Soviet leadership's reform policy, the cadre policy, with the reshuffles it entails, and the new approach to economic problems, which jeopardiz-

⁴⁰ In WWII the whole Crimean Tatar population of Crimea fell victim to the Soviet policy. Though their numbers in the Red Army was not low and they even participated in local guerilla actions, due to the organization of the Tatar Legion within the Wehrmacht and the cooperation between the Germans and the religious leaders of the community the Soviet leaders declared the whole population to be "Nazi collaborators". As punishment, all Crimean Tatars were deported to the Uzbek SSR and to other special settlements in the Soviet Union. Their repatriation began only in the 1980s.

⁴¹ Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania gained their independence after WWI. After having declared their freedom and independence in 1918 they waged war against the German and Soviet troops. By 1920 the Soviets acknowledged their independence. But on August 23, 1939 the Molotov–Ribbentrop pact incorporated the region into the Soviet sphere of influence and due to the increasing pressure they "willingly" joined the Soviet Union.

es certain vested interests. The “glasnost” policy, coupled with the proclaimed desire to encourage the “democratization of Soviet society”, has created small pockets of freedom (growth of groups and associations, demonstrations allowed within certain limits, greater openness of the media, etc.) which now make it easier to voice nationalist demands and mobilise individuals more effectively; they also lend greater resonance to these demands, thereby encouraging the emergence of other movements of the same type”.

NATO, 1110 Brussels.

DOCUMENT 2.
CONSEIL DE L'ATLANTIQUE NORD
NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL
NATO CONFIDENTIAL
ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/FRENCH DOCUMENT
10th November 1988

C-M(88)47

THE SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE
MARCH 1988 – OCTOBER 1988

Note by the Secretary General

1. I attach the report on “The Situation in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe” submitted to me by the Chairman of the Expert Working Group, which met at NATO Headquarters from 19th to 21st October 1988.
2. This report engages only the responsibility of the experts who participated in the Working Group.
3. It will be placed on the Agenda of the Council meeting on 22nd November 1988.

(Signed) M. WÖRNER

NATO, 1110 Brussels.

THE SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE

Note by the Chairman of the Expert Working Group

1. Experts from Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States met at NATO Headquarters from 19th to 21st October 1988 to prepare the attached report.
2. This report covers the period from 26th March 1988 to 21st October 1988.

(Signed) D. I. MILLER

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THE SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE

I. GENERAL TRENDS AND OUTLOOK

1. The Soviet Party Conference in June set in train a programme of political, constitutional and legal reforms, many of which are to be in place by the middle of next year. The extraordinary meetings of the Central Committee on 30th September and the Supreme Soviet on 1st October further strengthened Gorbachev’s personal authority and shifted the balance in the Politburo significantly in his favour. He may not, however, have achieved all that he intended. There are apparent anomalies in the new leadership structure which suggest unfinished business, and possibly that Gorbachev compromised at some points.

2. National grievances and frustrations have led to a continuing crisis in the Transcaucasus.⁴³ In the Baltic States, the Soviet leadership is hoping that the more extreme demands expressed in certain areas can be defused through greater economic autonomy, giving official [official] status to the local language, the resurrection of national symbols, and the airing of sensitive historical issues. Gorbachev seems to be encouraging these developments, but he is probably aware of the threat nationalism could pose to his reform programme if it gets out of control. His prob-

⁴² The Peoples’ Front of the Baltic member states, originally established to support the reforms of Gorbachev, soon turned into a collecting point and instrument of forces supporting independence.

⁴³ See footnote 2.

lem is one of managing rising expectations without jeopardising the future of his policies. So far the authorities have taken care to contain nationalist aspirations in other regions, e.g. the Western Ukraine and Belorussia.

3. A new sense of urgency to achieve visible improvement in living standards in order to win popular support for reform became evident following the 19th Party Conference. The economic reform programme, while experiencing quite serious difficulties, took another step forward with the adoption in May of the law on co-operatives; the progressive tax arrangements on earnings in co-operatives, however, were prohibitively tough and may now be reduced. Lease-contracting has been introduced in agriculture and industry. But industrial reforms are making little obvious progress and decentralisation of economic management is running into serious problems. No decision has yet been taken on the question of price reform.

4. In foreign policy, the main Soviet objective continues to be a search for external stability in which to allow reform to proceed at home. A major step in this direction was taken with the signing of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan in April and the subsequent beginning of Soviet troop withdrawals.⁴⁴ Moscow signalled that this should serve as a model for the resolution of other regional conflicts, and it has played an important role in urging its clients to adopt more flexible positions in the conflicts in Southern Africa and Cambodia. At Krasnoyarsk, Gorbachev reiterated the Soviet Union's interest in Asia and the Pacific region and prospects for a Sino-Soviet summit are now much firmer. At the same time, the Soviets have continued to strengthen their economic and political involvement with international organizations, notably the UN, the EC and GATT.⁴⁵

5. By launching further peace proposals, Gorbachev has continued to reduce Western public perception of the Soviet threat. Moscow's arms control focus shows a shift in emphasis, at least temporarily, from nuclear to conventional forces, and from bilateral US–Soviet negotiations to even more complex multilateral European talks.

6. The nature of the political relationship between the Soviet Union and its East European partners remains a live issue. The 20th anniversary in August of the Soviet-led intervention in Czechoslovakia again served to focus attention on the so-called “Brezhnev doctrine”.⁴⁶ While some Soviet commentators have expressly

⁴⁴ The Conference on Afghanistan took place in Geneva on April 14, 1988 with the participation of the USA, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the USSR. The treaty was signed after six years of negotiation with UN mediation. According to the agreement, all Soviet units had to leave Afghanistan by February 15, 1989. The fulfillment of the agreement was initiated by the Soviet party on May 15, 1988.

⁴⁵ GATT: the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade was signed on October 30, 1947 by 23 countries in Geneva. The aim of the Organization was to promote international trade by removing or diminishing tariffs and quotas.

⁴⁶ See footnote 37.

condemned the 1968 intervention, there has been no change in the official position and Soviet armed intervention for political reasons in its allies' affairs can still not be excluded.

7. In the general framework of increased economic difficulties for the civil population and of varying responsiveness in different countries to the reforms desired by Gorbachev, the predominant trend in Eastern Europe is a growing process of diversification. Moscow's more flexible attitude has also made it easier for the East European countries to build relations with Western Europe, and especially the EC,⁴⁷ which is increasingly perceived as an economic focal point and as a political entity in its own right.

8. *Hungary* is the country where progress is most evident, both in the renewal of the leadership and in terms of debate within and outside the Party on the need for political reform. The appointment of a non-Party member – Bruno Straub – as President of the Republic⁴⁸ was a symbolic event. Nonetheless, the boldness of certain ideas voiced in Budapest, such as that of “party plurality”, could elicit opposition, either locally or from Moscow. These discussions are being pursued against a background of greater economic problems for the Hungarian people.

9. In *Poland*, despite the airing of reformist ideas, the situation remains difficult, after two waves of spontaneous strikes which again brought to the fore the issue of trade union pluralism – something which General Jaruzelski's regime had, in fact, been trying to prevent since 1981. The “Round Table” which should have begun in mid-October might discuss this matter. However, its precise composition and agenda still have to be worked out at preparatory meetings. Divergencies within the opposition (between hardliners and advocates of a more pragmatic approach) are now clearly apparent. The Church is both a mediator and a party to the negotiations. The authorities' weakness is manifest; moreover, the entire Messner government tendered its resignation to Parliament – the first time this has happened [happened] in communist Poland. So far, the new Prime Minister, Rakowski, has been unable to form the broadly-based government which he promised.

10. In *Czechoslovakia*, the succession by Jakes as Party General Secretary is a sign that the process of political change will be slow. In particular, there has still been no historical reappraisal of the events of the Prague Spring⁴⁹ and its suppression and the long-serving Prime Minister, Strougal, who openly complained that the years since 1968 had been lost in terms of reform, was excluded from the new government in October.

⁴⁷ See footnote 6.

⁴⁸ On June 29, 1988 Brunó Straub was elected as the last chairman of the Presidential Council of the People's Republic of Hungary. He remained in this position until the dissolution of the Council on October 23, 1989.

⁴⁹ See footnote 27.

11. Opposition to Soviet-type reforms remains firm in the *GDR*, although discontent, particularly among young people, is growing. With inevitable leadership change in the offing, some form of restructuring becomes increasingly likely – though probably not before Honecker’s retirement.

12. In *Bulgaria*, Zhivkov continues to drag his feet on the nomination of his successor and, in particular, his support for Gorbachev’s ideas on reform and economic restructuring seems mainly verbal. The resignation of Aleksandrov in July removed another potential successor to Zhivkov, who remains firmly in control.

13. Despite two rounds of Turkish–Bulgarian talks following the signing of the Belgrade Protocol,⁵⁰ no improvement has been observed in the situation of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria.⁵¹ The forced assimilation policy to which ethnic Turks in Bulgaria have been subjected since late 1984 continues to be the most serious and flagrant violation of human rights in NSWP countries as it aims at the complete eradication of the national, cultural and religious identity of a large minority representing over 10% of the total population of Bulgaria.

14. In *Romania*, the situation is deadlocked, nor has there been any slackening of Ceausescu’s grip on the country. The Romanian leader rejects outright the reforms advocated by Gorbachev and argues that in view of his long term of office and the successes allegedly achieved under his leadership, he has no reason to change course. The renewal of the rural “systematization” policy, begun in the 1970s, and since implemented only to a limited extent, is compounding Romania’s International isolation. Another problem, the treatment of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania, is impairing relations with Budapest. The August meeting in Arad between Ceausescu and Grosz failed to produce a solution.⁵² It is noteworthy that on the Romanian National Day,⁵³ the address was, for the first time, given by Mrs. Ceausescu.

* * *

15. In *Yugoslavia*, Serbian nationalist demonstrations grew during the summer and autumn, spurred on by the leader of the Serbian League of Communists, Milosevic.

50 During the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan states in Belgrade (February 24–26, 1988), the Bulgarian and the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs signed an agreement to settle the legal questions concerning the human rights of the Bulgarian Muslims, including mutual free visits for the members of separated families.

51 [The Greek expert deemed it necessary to note that the term used in the international treaties fixing the Bulgarian obligations on the matter and reflecting reality is “Moslem minorities” composed of various ethnic groups.]

52 On August 28, 1988 a work meeting took place in Arad between Károly Grósz, General Secretary of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers’ Party (MSZMP), and Nicolae Ceaușescu, General Secretary of the CC of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the Presidium of the State Council of Romania.

53 The national holiday of Romania mentioned here is December 1: the union of Transylvania with Old Romania was declared on December 1, 1918 in the Romanian assembly at Alba Iulia.

These events are causing concern in the other Republics (especially Croatia and Slovenia) and, if they persist, could jeopardize the cohesion of the Yugoslav federal system.

16. *Albania* remains calm and is gradually moving from the Hoxha to the Ramiz Alia era. The Albanian leaders feel the need to broaden their country's economic relations in Europe and, to this end, are prepared to find a compromise arrangement to get round the constitutional ban on the acceptance of foreign credits.

II. POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM IN THE SOVIET UNION

17. The 19th Party conference (28th June – 1st July) and the Central Committee plenum at the end of July set the stage for what could be a comprehensive restructuring of Party and State organs, a process that Gorbachev has concluded must precede the next stage of economic reform. A series of elections over the coming months, with clearly-stated deadlines, are to provide the foundation for a structure in which the soviets (councils) take on real life and the Party withdraws from day-to-day management of the economy. Uncertain at this point is whether such institutional changes will lead to a genuine reallocation of power in the USSR or whether bureaucratic inertia and conservative opposition will succeed in crippling the effort.

18. The reforms projected for the Party have the greatest potential for changing the balance of power within the Soviet system. By the end of 1988, the Party apparatus is to be shrunk substantially and a number of departments dealing with economic management abolished. Party organizations at all levels will go through a round of reports and election meetings. Dead wood is to be cleared out of the machinery in the process and replaced with dedicated supporters of reform.

19. The state structure will undergo a similar process of change. In outline, a new Congress of People's Deputies will be created, with 1,500 members elected by universal suffrage plus 750 members elected by "social organizations", such as the Party, trade unions, and the Komsomol.⁵⁴ This new body, meeting annually to conduct the major business of the country, will in turn elect a smaller Supreme Soviet, which will remain in almost constant session to conduct day-to-day legislative affairs.

20. Heading this structure will be a Chairman of the Supreme Soviet (i.e. President), with as yet unspecified powers. Gorbachev's report to the Conference indicated that this office would be very powerful; neither the Party Conference nor the July Plenum spelled out the role of the President, however. In another innovation,

⁵⁴ The Komsomol or in its full name All-Union Leninist Young Communist League was the state youth organization of the Soviet Union, the youth section of the CPSU (1918–1991).

the Party chief at each level, in most areas, is to stand for election as the head of the soviet at the corresponding level, up to and including the Supreme Soviet.

21. The genesis and purpose of this latter step are not entirely clear.

22. It seems to contradict the general aim of separating the powers of the Party and the State. But the intention appears two-fold: at the national level it has enabled Gorbachev to exercise further power by adding a state position to his General Secretaryship, and at the local level, Party leaders will be subjected to a degree of public scrutiny. This serves Gorbachev's intention of driving out of office the old guard that has resisted reform; it also reflects his belief that the public is more anxious for perestroika than is much of the Party.

23. At this point, it is impossible to say whether the projected institutional changes will lead to a genuine restructuring of political life. If actually implemented, they will increase the reformers' leverage for carrying out their plans, but whether that will make a substantial difference in how politics are practised at the local level is still questionable. Meanwhile, the leadership has excluded any move towards a multi-party system in the Soviet Union.

III. "UNOFFICIAL" GROUPS AND PEOPLE'S FRONTS

24. On the other hand, unofficial groups have proliferated in bewildering number and variety; some sources estimate their nationwide total at 30,000 or more. Many represent themselves as non-political and devoted to environmental, literary, historical, religious, or nationality interests – but virtually all engage in some form of political debate and discussion. During his visit to Latvia and Lithuania in August, Yakovlev twice claimed that more than 4,000 organizations specifically supported restructuring.

25. Those with specific political orientations range, in the Soviet political context, over a wide spectrum from the Russian nationalist and anti-Semitic "Pamyat"⁵⁵ to Western-style democrats and liberal socialists. The most pronounced recent trend has been for like-minded groups to coalesce into associations and for the associations to stage conferences. Contacts and a common outlook are further strengthened through distribution of audio-cassettes of group discussions and lectures by prominent members.

26. In the Baltic States, many of these groups have now come under the umbrella of the People's Fronts which held inaugural congresses in October. They were first organized ostensibly in support of perestroika but are now far more concerned

55 Pamyat': Russian expression, meaning "Remembrance". This organization defined itself as a Popular-National-Patriotic-Orthodox movement. The expressed goal of the association was the preservation of the Russian culture. The organization was also considered by some to be anti-Semitic and chauvinist.

with advocating specific national rights. They have raised overtly the issue of greater economic, cultural and political autonomy within the Soviet Union and have received widespread support from the local populations, including Party members. Their institutionalisation has met with acquiescence [acquiescence] from local Party organizations and encouragement from Moscow which may see more advantage in trying to co-opt Baltic nationalism than suppressing it. But the political status of the People's Fronts, so far confined to the Baltic region, has yet to be defined.

27. The authorities' attitude towards the "unofficial" groups has been much less ambiguous. In May, several unofficial groups took the risky step of establishing a political "party", the Democratic Union. The organization's stated objectives were: the establishment of a multi-party system; the adoption of a new Constitution (because the existing one underwrote the leading role of the CPSU); the creation of independent trade unions and a free press; and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Eastern Europe, the Western Ukraine and the Baltic States, described as territories occupied by the Soviet Union. Subsequently, branches of the Democratic Union were set up in Leningrad and Saratov. Indeed, the Democratic Union's open challenge to the regime in organizing protest demonstrations may have provoked the latter to act against activities it might have tolerated had they been lower profiled.

28. In a Pravda interview (2nd September), the KGB former Chairman warned that Western intelligence services and subversive centres "are endeavouring to stimulate the organization in our country of illegal, semi-legal and even legal formations which would operate at their bidding", seeking to turn them "on to the path of direct struggle against the Soviet state and social system". It is clear, however, from the views of the individuals and groups which he had particularly in mind, that the variety of home-grown grievances and frustrations is entirely sufficient to prompt the activities of the more politicised groups: it is hardly surprising that they have sought to exploit glasnost and restructuring to their advantage.

29. The future of these organizations is problematic. New regulations were enacted without prior discussion in July, laying down procedures for carrying out demonstrations (codifying "temporary" regulations previously passed in a number of areas) and heavy penalties decreed for infringements. Police anti-riot squads were established in Moscow in November 1987 and have made their presence felt. A new law on informal associations is evidently being drafted. As with other developments in the Soviet Union today, its precise terms will ultimately depend on the balance of forces at the highest political level.

IV. GORBACHEV AND THE MILITARY

30. Many aspects of perestroika must have been unwelcome, even painful for the military hierarchy. Nonetheless, they publicly support its long-term goals which they must see as being to their advantage at least in terms of increasing efficiency.

31. As far as the media and the public are concerned the armed forces are no longer a sacred cow. There has been much criticism in the press of corruption, waste and inefficiency in the armed forces. There are reports of impending slimming of the general staff in line with the general reductions in the central bureaucracy. "Democratisation" is also a puzzling concept for the army and difficult to reconcile with discipline and unity of command.

A number of Gorbachev's policies could be seen as threatening military interests:

- as regards arms control, Soviet agreement to asymmetrical cuts in the INF agreement⁵⁶ may have caused concern; acceptance of intrusive verification cuts across traditional ideas of military secrecy;

- "new thinking",⁵⁷ with concepts such as "reasonable sufficiency" and even more so, "non-offensive defence", has not been easily swallowed by the military who prefer the former emphasis on parity and the ability to crush any aggressor. There has been some divergence in tone and in some cases substance between civilian experts on defence affairs and Soviet generals. In a speech at the end of July, Shevardnadze was critical of past military policies and implied that they should be more open and accountable and subordinated to foreign policy interests. Even more significantly, he recognised a multi-polar world in which the Soviet Union should no longer work on the premise that it must be as strong militarily as any conceivable coalition of adversaries;

- the new priorities could threaten the defence budget, while the economic reform in itself prejudices the priority which the military and the defence industry have always enjoyed under the existing fully-centralised system. The military leadership realises the need for a sound economic base which would bring future long-term technological progress, but many may still prefer the certainties of the old system;

- to some extent, the military may see the withdrawal from Afghanistan as relieving them of a painful burden but it must also be seen as, if not a defeat, at any rate a military failure.

⁵⁶ See footnote 4.

⁵⁷ Gorbachev published his work under the title of *Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World* in 1987 (Harper & Row, New York, 1987), where he expressed his reformist thoughts in detail.

32. One might therefore expect some degree of friction between the Party leadership and Gorbachev himself and the military, but there is still no evidence of this. There is a very strong tradition of Party control over the military and of military obedience to the Party. The Defence Minister, General Yazov, was hand-picked by Gorbachev over the heads of about several senior officers and probably therefore feels to some extent indebted to Gorbachev. He is publicly supportive of perestroika in the armed forces. The prominent role played in disarmament negotiations by the Chief of the General Staff, Marshal Akhromeev, gives the impression of consultation with and military agreement to Soviet disarmament policies. His generally high profile role also has the advantage of giving an appearance of direct military involvement and support for the Party's policies.

33. Nonetheless, the military's morale may have suffered most as a result of their reduced role in security decision-making. The divergence in tone in articles on foreign policy and ideological issues in the military and civilian press may be as much a case of division of labour or professional bias as evidence of differences between the political and military leadership. But the acquiescence of the military cannot be totally taken for granted. The new head of the air defence forces, General Tretyak, in an interview in *Moscow News*⁵⁸ in February 1988 seemed to fire a warning shot in the direction of the Politburo when he stated that the sharp reduction in the armed forces which Khrushchev carried out in the 1950s had been "a severe blow to the defence capacity of the Soviet Union and its official personnel". Despite occasional sniping of this kind, however, the loyalty of the military to the present political leadership appears not to be in doubt.

V. THE KGB AND PERESTROIKA

34. The KGB has been the only Soviet institution little affected by glasnost and hardly at all by perestroika. Recently however, the Soviet press has become bolder in publishing occasional criticisms of the activities of the KGB and questioning its role in Soviet society. The KGB itself has responded by seeking to improve its public image and create the impression of greater openness and active participation in the process of democratisation. The interview in *Pravda* of 2nd September with Chebrikov, then head of the KGB, should be seen principally in this context, rather than as an intervention in the recent arguments in the leadership over foreign and do-

58 *The Moscow News* was a Soviet Russian paper, with an original title of *Moskovskie Novosti*. It was published between 1930 and 2014, except for a hiatus in 1949–1956. It was an organ of the CC of the CPSU published in foreign languages, and it was operated for foreign experts working in the Soviet Union in the interwar period. After 1945 it was one of the main journals of Soviet propaganda published in foreign languages. After 1980 it was available also in Russian. During Perestroika it became the most popular publication in the Soviet Union.

mestic policies, although Chebrikov's familiar hard-line views (whether institutional or personal) emerge clearly enough from the interview.

35. There are a variety of reasons for the evident decision by the KGB leadership to adopt a higher public profile of late:

- the need to restore the image of the KGB which has been tarnished by the flood of revelations about secret police terror under Stalin; and by cautious but increasingly critical and irreverent comments about its more recent and current activities, as well as the ultra-secrecy with which it is surrounded;

- the need to respond to discreet but growing pressure in the context of the political reform discussion for the KGB to be brought under public control and constrained by legal and constitutional safeguards;

- the need to counter a certain “loss of vigilance” as the enemy image of the West begins to crumble under the pressures of glasnost and “new thinking”; and to issue public warnings that there are limits to democratisation and that excesses will be firmly dealt with.

36. The KGB leadership seeks to convey the impression that it is taking a normal, open and active part in the political reform process. The propaganda weekly *Argumenty i Fakty* has since April 1988 been publishing a regular communiqué from the KGB (an unprecedented practice) under the rubric “The KGB informs and comments”, featuring the battle against corruption and foreign subversion.

37. The same concern was reflected by an unusual interview, in the Kiev newspaper *Radyanskaya Ukraina* of 9th August, with the head of the Ukrainian KGB, Major-General Golushko. The General rejected attempts by “foreign adversaries” to present the history of the KGB as “an unbroken chain of repression and unlawful acts in order to discredit these organs in the eyes of the people”, and claimed that the KGB were just as interested as anyone else in the “cleansing” of society. Chebrikov's Pravda interview was generally on similar lines. He said that much importance was being attached to new thinking by KGB personnel and to renouncing stereotypes. He also claimed that much was being done to ensure that every security agent strictly observed the spirit and letter of Soviet laws. To this end a new law on state security in the USSR was being prepared.

38. Such legislation would help to give a clearer legal and constitutional status to the KGB (traditionally an instrument of the Party) but would not necessarily reduce its powers or change the nature of its domestic activities. Its activities abroad are still not alluded to, let alone called in question. Apart from the change in its Chairmanship at the beginning of October, the KGB (unlike the MVD⁵⁹ and to some extent the army) has not been subjected to any significant reorganization or purge of its leading cadres or serious public criticism as an institution. It has admit-

59 The Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs. Among its tasks is the struggle against economic crimes. See the list of abbreviations.

tedly been on a much shorter leash under Gorbachev so far as the activities of dissidents are concerned, with many fewer arrests taking place. Press attacks on excessive secrecy, irksome security controls, the difficulty of travelling abroad and visiting frontier areas, psychiatric abuse together with official quasi-toleration of public demonstrations (nearly 50 during the past 6 months in Moscow) may have led to some adjustment of its *modus operandi*. It is significant in itself that the KGB is having to adapt to a new political situation by seeking to polish its image and at least to pay lip service to the principles of “democratisation”, *glasnost* and political reform.

VI. POLAND: THE FUTURE OF THE JARUZELSKI REGIME

39. The situation in Poland is now very fluid and it is difficult to predict the future. The Jaruzelski regime has survived two serious outbreaks of strikes and has shown that, in terms of law and order, it is capable of handling them. The new Prime Minister has not yet succeeded in forming the kind of broadly-based government that he promised.

40. The immediate future must depend on the workers; it is widely predicted that there may be yet further strikes. The leaders of both waves of strikes in April–May and August were, significantly, largely from the post-Solidarity generation. The latter are, it appears, chiefly motivated by the lack of economic prospects. And there is little or nothing the authorities can do to lessen their grievances or alleviate their frustration.

41. The opposition influence on the younger generation has been small. It is too soon to see whether new bonds may have been forged during the most recent outbreak of strikes, when Solidarity showed, as it had failed to do in May, that it was capable of taking over the organization and co-ordination of strikes in its strongholds if not elsewhere. The opposition intellectuals and the most prominent leaders of Solidarity are aware that they cannot offer the workers economic prosperity; and that by becoming involved in discussions with the authorities on political reform, which means little to most workers at present, they risk moving even further away from them, loosening still further the worker/intellectual bond which began with the creation of KOR in 1976⁶⁰ and was a major factor in Solidarity’s success.

60 Owing to the drastic increase in consumption prices in June 1976, a massive wave of strikes spread across in Poland, which was followed by brutal repressions by the authorities. On September 4, fourteen well-known intellectuals of the opposition established the Workers’ Defense Committee, known as KOR after its Polish abbreviation. It was a decisive step to establish the alliance of workers and intellectuals. KOR offered help to those (and their families) who were suffering from punishment. This primarily meant that all these repressions were publicized. See the list of abbreviations.

42. It is difficult to assess to what extent there is hostility in the Party and bureaucracy towards Jaruzelski and his associates. Open criticism is not to be found either in public or, according to Party members, private Party meetings, though attacks on the government and economic policy at the September Party Plenum may have included Jaruzelski, who headed the government until 1985.

43. Resistance behind the scenes to economic reform continues. The Party centre has apparently been unable, or unwilling, to control the bureaucracy, which is considered anti-reform, at least until the appointment of Baka as Party Secretary for the economy in succession to Wozniak. Baka has a reputation as an able reformer and a strong character, but he lacks a power base and it is not yet apparent whether he will be any more successful.

44. Even if there is no more significant industrial unrest, the future of reforms is uncertain. Firstly, a thorough implementation of reform would involve measures such as a reduction in subsidies both on consumer goods and to enterprises, closure of factories, closer relation of work to pay, and, in the longer term, unemployment. The authorities may now try to avoid further steep price rises; recent criticism of economic policy has focused on prices and incomes. Secondly, the consensus among Polish and Western economists is that the economy will take many years to pick up from its present state. The principal reasons for this include Poland's large hard currency debt, poor prospects for further credits, the extent of depredation of most of Poland's plant and machinery and the need for a major restructuring and modernisation of industry. It is unlikely that Polish society is prepared to wait this long for an appreciable difference in the standard of living. Well beforehand, a backlash could occur, favouring recentralisation over reform.

45. It is difficult to tell how far the slow progress of the authorities' programme of political reform has been due to caution by the leadership, and how far to resistance behind the scenes. But the latter certainly exists.

46. The Party itself has recovered from the Solidarity period, but its future is uncertain. Many of the middle-ranking and senior members are of poor calibre and conservative in outlook. Apart from some intellectuals and economists, the skilled worker members are the only major group in the Party likely to give genuine support to economic reform, as the only possible way in which their condition, and the performance of their factory, is likely to be bettered. Moreover the Party has been unable to recruit many young members; and has certainly not attracted the abler part of the younger generation. It also suffers from a dearth of ideas. The initiative for reform has come from outside the Party, which has been unable to regain the offensive.

47. One important factor is what happens to Gorbachev and his perestroika. If he is seen to fail, the Polish course of reform would probably be turned back. The

implications for Jaruzelski's own position would be serious because of his close relationship with Gorbachev, as well as his identification with reform policies.

VII. ALBANIA: NEW TRENDS IN FOREIGN POLICY: A CHANGE OF STYLE OR DIRECTION?

48. The most significant change in Albanian policy has been in its attitude to Balkan co-operation. Tirana tends to steer clear of multilateral initiatives and has stood aloof from all Balkan co-operation initiatives since 1961. Albania, however, attended the Yugoslav-sponsored conference of Balkan Foreign Ministers in February 1988, and was also represented at the follow-up meeting in June of high-ranking representatives from Balkan Foreign Ministries, which was held in Bulgaria. But the Albanians are proving selective when taking up invitations to lower-level Balkan co-operation meetings, attending those concerning certain areas while ignoring others.

49. Albania's relations with its Balkan neighbours have generally improved. This reflects one of Albania's main foreign policy preoccupations – Yugoslavia, in particular the position of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. Relations between the two countries have in the past been volatile, and deteriorated again in 1981 after further disturbances in Kosovo among the Albanian community.⁶¹ As a result Albania turned to its neighbouring countries to offset potential tension. In August 1987, Greece formally renounced the state of war still in existence between the two countries.⁶² Relations with Greece have continued to improve. The Greek Foreign Minister visited Albania in November 1987 and unofficially in July 1988, while the Albanian Foreign Minister visited Athens in April 1988 and signed a border-trade agreement. There are also plans for the Greek Prime Minister to visit Albania, the first by a non-Communist head of government. Turkish–Albanian relations have also improved recently, as was shown by the visit of the Turkish Foreign Minister in August. One outcome of this was an invitation to the Albanian Prime Minister to visit Turkey. This would be the first visit by an Albanian communist head of government to a non-communist state. The Albanian Foreign Minister is set to make a return visit to Turkey later in 1988, which will consolidate advances in relations between the two countries.

61 Albanians were acknowledged as national minorities in Yugoslavia under communist leadership. In 1946 Kosovo became an autonomous area, then an autonomous province. As the political atmosphere became more free, they wanted to broaden their rights. Thus in 1968 demonstrations began in numerous cities and for the first time the Albanians proposed the transformation of Kosovo autonomous province into a federated republic. In March–April the protests began anew and the radicalized participants even declared secession from Yugoslavia. Therefore on April 2, 1981 a state of emergency was implemented in Kosovo and federal forces had to intervene to restore public order.

62 According to Greek law Albania and Greece were *de iure* in a state of war beginning in October 1940, when the Italian troops occupying Albania attacked Greece.

50. Another motivation behind Albania's foreign policy seems to be economic, and this is underlined by the recent improvements in relations with economically strong countries. An agreement on economic co-operation with the Federal Republic of Germany was signed in June and the Albanian Foreign Minister went to Bonn in September. Albania also received the Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister in August who signed a trade agreement. A Swiss parliamentary delegation paid a "friendly official visit" in July. There has also been a further improvement in the formal status of relations between Albania and the NSWP countries.

51. This desire to widen trading and economic contacts may have internal repercussions in Albania. Trade is limited to a balanced exchange of goods due to the ban on raising foreign credits and on concessions to foreign countries and companies. This ban may well be threatened if the Albanian leaders realise the constraints this places on the economy. Furthermore, this desire to widen contacts might encourage Albania to approach international economic bodies. There appears, however, to be little evidence of any of this at present.

52. The marked shift in attitude to Balkan co-operation does suggest a more pragmatic application of Albanian foreign policy. It would be premature, however, to interpret this and other signs as an indication of a fundamental change in the basic principles of Albanian foreign policy as pursued since the late 1970s. From all appearances it seems that Albania is neither turning to the West nor returning to the Warsaw Pact, but is attempting to preserve a balance between the two. As such this is not a new direction in foreign policy, for it demonstrates the Albanian desire to maintain independence while opening up to the rest of the world. At most the only difference appears to be the display of a new style in pursuit of this aim.

VIII. NATIONALITY PROBLEMS IN EASTERN EUROPE

53. Nationality problems in Eastern Europe are of long standing. Hostilities are deep and, even if the regimes were more frank about the situation, it would not be easy to establish the truth of the various claims about discrimination. In addition, many of the complaints – restrictions on travel and so forth – apply, in most countries, as much to the dominant nationality as to the minorities. Recently minorities in Bulgaria and Romania have been the subject of genuine discrimination. The problem of Albanians in the Kosovo Province in Yugoslavia has existed for many years and tensions there have recently increased.

Turkish–Bulgarian talks and the Turkish minority issue

54. Shortly after the signing of the Turkish–Bulgarian Protocol on 23rd February 1988, the Seventeenth Islamic Conference⁶³ of Foreign Ministers (Amman, 21st–25th

⁶³ See footnote 36.

March 1988) adopted a strong resolution on the plight of the Turkish muslim minority in Bulgaria⁶⁴ wherein it endorsed the report of the OIC contact group, deplored the repression against this minority and appealed to the Bulgarian government to observe its obligations arising from bilateral and international instruments. It further decided to mandate the OIC contact group to monitor the situation of muslims in Bulgaria and to report to the Conference annually. This resolution came as a heavy blow to the Bulgarian government which now argues that since the question is being discussed with Turkey other countries should refrain from raising it in their bilateral contacts with Bulgaria or in the international fora. The Bulgarian reality being what it is, the continued interest and support of the international community is in fact indispensable for successfully conducting the Turkish–Bulgarian talks, the second round of which was held in July according to an agenda agreed upon at the first meeting in May.

55. At the second round of talks, the Bulgarians seemed to continue to maintain their basic positions with regard to the fundamental issue of the Turkish minority. In all the draft documents on various aspects of Turkish–Bulgarian normalisation which the Turkish side presented to the Bulgarians at the July meeting, the fate of ethnic Turks in Bulgaria was the main concern; whereas the Bulgarian drafts on the same issues in fact have little bearing on the present state of relations between the two countries. It became evident that with regard to the basic issue the Bulgarians intend to reduce the process started in Belgrade⁶⁵ to the resolution of a limited number of family reunification cases whereas the Turkish side endeavours to improve the conditions of the entire Turkish minority.

56. As to the resumption of economic co-operation between the two countries, the document adopted at the end of the July meeting merely notes that there exist a number of possibilities for developing and diversifying relations in the fields under review. The Turkish side made it clear that no progress in these fields could be achieved unless a satisfactory solution could be found to the fundamental issue.

57. No date has been set for a third round of talks, the convening of which might well depend on the degree of flexibility the Bulgarian side might wish to display on the question of the Turkish minority.

The consequences of Romanian “systematization”

58. The issue of minorities in Romania has received much International attention since early 1988 because of the emergence of the Romanian authorities’ plan for rural “systematization”. This involves the elimination of 7,000–8,000 of the country’s 13,000 villages by the end of the century, and the rehousing of the inhabitants in centres, in blocks of flats. Interest has focused on the effect this would have on the Hungarian and

64 [The Greek expert deemed it necessary to note that the term used in the international treaties fixing the Bulgarian obligations on the matter and reflecting reality is “Moslem minorities” composed of various ethnic groups.]

65 See footnote 50.

German minorities though this affects the population in general. Hungarian authorities, and Romanian Hungarians who have left the country, claim that at least part of the purpose of this plan is to eliminate the Hungarian minority. Relations between Hungary and Romania have deteriorated rapidly in 1988 because of this issue. After 50,000 people marched to the Romanian Embassy in Budapest in June, the Romanians closed the Hungarian consulate in Cluj and the Hungarian Cultural Centre in Bucharest. The Arad meeting between Prime Minister Grosz and President Ceausescu on 28th August did not seem to produce much result. According to Hungarian estimates, between 10,000 and 15,000 Romanian citizens, most of them of Hungarian origin, have now fled to Hungary to escape economic hardship and assimilation, many of them in 1988. Both official and unofficial programmes to help them are under way.

59. The German minority is also affected by "systematization". Its case has received less international attention, partly because it lacks an equivalent of the Hungarians' connection with Hungary, but from the beginning it has received close attention from the Federal German government. This population has already diminished because of emigration.

60. It is clear that "systematization" is to be applied nationwide. Yet it has provided a focus for discontent among the minorities, however little they are able to express it within Romanian borders, and has drawn international attention to the human rights record of the Romanian authorities. "Systematisation" and the treatment of minorities have caused the first public disagreement in recent years between two Warsaw Pact countries, and have become a subject for debate in international fora, notably the CSCE.

Resurgence of Serb nationalism

61. The tension in Serbia over the Kosovo has increased with the emergence in 1987 of Slobodan Milosevic as the head of the Serbian League of Communists. He has encouraged Serbian nationalism and tried to use the current process of constitutional reform to strengthen his Republic's control over its two Autonomous Provinces. Though he has not succeeded in the Kosovo, the leadership in Vojvodina was brought down following a massive demonstration by Serbs from Vojvodina and elsewhere. The actions of the Serbian leadership have increased the threat that the Kosovo problem poses to the Federation. Anxiety has been expressed in some other Republics over Serbia's intentions, including its alleged attempts, as the largest nation in Yugoslavia, to dominate the Federation.

NA: The Situation in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, C-M(88)47 (November 10, 1988).

DOCUMENT 3.

CONSEIL DE L'ATLANTIQUE NORD
NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL
NATO CONFIDENTIAL
ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/FRENCH DOCUMENT
3rd May 1989

C-M(89)13

THE SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE
OCTOBER 1988–APRIL 1989

Note by the Secretary General

1. I attach the report on “The Situation in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe” submitted to me by the Chairman of the Expert Working Group, which met at NATO Headquarters from 5th to 7th April 1989.
2. This report engages only the responsibility of the experts who participated in the Working Group.
3. It will be placed on the Agenda of the Council meeting on 17th May 1989.

(Signed) M. WÖRNER

NATO,
1110 Brussels

THE SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE

Note by the Chairman of the Expert Working Group

1. Experts from Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States met at NATO Headquarters from 5th to 7th April 1989 to prepare the attached report.
2. This document covers the period 22nd October 1988 to 7th April 1989.

(Signed) D. I. MILLER

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I. GENERAL TRENDS AND OUTLOOK

1. The Soviet Union is currently beset by a number of strains. Economic reforms have run into the sands and the absence of any improvement in living standards has added to the general pessimism. Nationality problems have intensified. Renewed unrest in the Caucasus and the persistent emphasis on autonomy in the Baltic republics have been accompanied by a series of nationalist demands in a number of other areas, including the Ukraine.

2. But Soviet society is coming out of its apathy and the recent elections have provided the first lessons in a certain form of democracy. Even if the process of "democratisation" is still very constrained, these elections are without precedent in over 70 years.

3. The early returns showed a strong advance by the reformists. Radical supporters of perestroika carried the day; in the Baltic republics, nationalists and Party officials in favour of some measure of autonomy obtained good results. In Moscow, Eltsin won the city's national constituency by a large majority. In Leningrad and in Kiev, conservative Party candidates were convincingly trounced. These results may

not be a sign of radical political change, but they clearly strengthen Gorbachev in his purpose.

4. On the other hand, there is a continuing and basic uncertainty over the capacity of the single Party to take on board the concept of pluralism, as well as fear that developments could at some stage go too fast either in the USSR or in the East European countries with inevitable consequences for the policies set in motion by Gorbachev. Doubts are also growing stronger, as expectations raised by four years of reforms are disappointed. It is these frustrations which could constitute Gorbachev's greatest challenge.

5. The stated aim of Gorbachev's 7th December United Nations speech was to establish a cooperative international climate and to move beyond the era of East–West confrontation. This reflects the current objective in Soviet foreign policy of reducing external pressures to enable maximum resources to be devoted to increasingly pressing economic problems at home, while seeking to increase Soviet influence abroad through more flexible political and diplomatic methods. The aim of further eroding Western perceptions of a Soviet military and political threat received a boost from Gorbachev's announcement of significant unilateral cuts in Soviet military strength and defence spending and procurement (to be accompanied by reductions in [NWSP] armed forces and defence budgets), as well as from Soviet agreement at the Vienna CSCE Follow-up Meeting to far-reaching human rights undertakings.⁶⁶

6. In his advocacy of the "deideologisation" of relations between states, (while not disavowing ideological competition between the two systems), Gorbachev again sought to reassure Western opinion, as in his reiteration of Soviet commitment to "freedom of choice" of political system, thereby possibly rejecting the "Brezhnev doctrine"⁶⁷ by implication. The Soviet military withdrawal from Afghanistan, and the constructive Soviet role in facilitating an agreement on Namibia/Angola,⁶⁸ together with progress towards a solution of the Cambodia problem⁶⁹

66 The 35 states participating in the CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) follow up meeting at Vienna accepted two closing documents on January 15, 1989. Basket 3 dealing with human rights, for example, proposed that signing countries should not limit the free movement of their citizens. The representative of the Soviet Union declared that the laws of the USSR would be modified in accordance with the new regulations.

67 See footnote 37.

68 On December 22, 1988 the representatives of the Republic of South Africa, Cuba, and Angola signed an agreement in New York in which South Africa resigned from exercising control over Namibia and refrained from supporting UNITA, while Cuba agreed to withdraw its troops from Angola. The withdrawal of the Cuban forces began on January 9, 1989. The prehistory of these events goes back to the declaration of Angola's independence from Portugal in 1975, when the protagonists of independence began to fight one another. Soon the Soviet Union, Cuba, and South Africa became involved in the civil war.

69 In the course of the war between Vietnam and the Khmer Rouge in December 1978, the Vietnamese forces occupied Cambodia, putting an end to the rule of terror of the Khmer Rouge. As a result

(sufficient to permit the convening of a Sino–Soviet Summit in May⁷⁰), further enhanced the Soviet Union’s international standing.

7. Diversity is becoming the norm in Eastern Europe, as Warsaw Pact members take at face value Gorbachev’s declarations about each country’s right to determine internal policies on the basis of its own interests. There is also a tendency towards public criticism of one Pact member by another, in particular the dispute between Hungary and Romania over the Hungarian minority in Transylvania.

8. The unilateral Soviet troop cuts in Eastern Europe announced on 7 December do not appear to have been worked out in detail beforehand with the Pact. There may have been resistance to any unilateral move from Prague, but one strong supporter of cuts – Budapest – got less than it wanted, and will probably continue pushing for a further Soviet draw-down in Hungary.

9. Liberalisation is affecting domestic policies in several Warsaw Pact countries as Gorbachev’s reform programme stimulates a proliferation of views including outright opposition, and inhibits the use of traditional coercion. Even conservative resistance to change adds to the diversification evident within the Warsaw Pact region.

10. Reform has gone furthest in *Hungary*. With mounting economic problems, declining living standards, and worker dissatisfaction, the country seems to be edging towards a multiparty political system, pushed by reformers in and outside the establishment. The leadership retains control for the moment by pulling its hardliners along for the sake of avoiding a split in the Party, while hoping to buy popular tolerance of the austerity measures entailed in economic reform.

11. In *Poland*, the regime appears to have had enough room for manoeuvre to reach accommodation with Solidarity, and the round table seems to have provided the formula. The agreements of 5th April on political reform, including a measure of free elections to Parliament, could be of great significance for Poland’s future.⁷¹ But an economic reform package has yet to be worked out and reconciling the public to more austerity will be difficult. The popular mood remains sceptical, with the possibility of unrest recurring. There are splits within both the leadership and the opposition, which could be exploited by extremists on both sides to undermine the April agreements.

12. The other Warsaw Pact countries are at best reluctant reformers. *Bulgaria* is moving slowly on the economic front, and *Czechoslovakia* more slowly: neither

of the Vietnamese occupation, the People’s Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) was established in 1979. Owing to the pressure of the international community, Vietnamese forces left the country in September 1989.

70 On May 15–18, 1989 Gorbachev paid a visit to China.

71 On April 5, 1989 in Poland the negotiations, which had begun on February 6, 1989, ended with an agreement between the government and the opposition. The final agreement set the agenda and schedule of the political transformation.

has shown tolerance of dissent. *The GDR* and *Romania* resist both perestroika and glasnost, claiming no change is needed. Reform opponents, especially in East Berlin, are attacking advocates of perestroika and attempting to restrict its spread. The GDR has banned Soviet publications questioning the role of the German Communist Party before 1933.

13. The process of dialogue initiated by the Turkish–Bulgarian Protocol signed in Belgrade in February 1988⁷² has failed to produce any improvement in the situation of the Turkish minority⁷³). In fact, Bulgaria continues relentlessly to pursue its policy of persecution of the Turkish minority and denying its very existence. The forced assimilation campaign, which aims at annihilating the ethnic, cultural and religious identity of a minority estimated at around 1.5 million⁷⁴ continues to be the most serious and flagrant violation of human rights in non-Soviet Warsaw Pact countries.

14. In *Yugoslavia*, implementation of reforms within the Federation is seriously impeded by burgeoning nationalism as well as a recurrence of unrest in the Kosovo. These have recently tended to overshadow any discussions on needed changes in the economy. The appointment of Ante Markovic, an economist clearly committed to the market economy, as Yugoslav's new Federal premier could help to get the economic reform moving.

15. *Albania* has only begun some small degree of economic reform. Still, the slow but steady opening to the outside world has been further marked by Albania hosting in January a meeting of high-level officials from Balkan foreign ministries, and a second meeting of Balkan Foreign Ministers is scheduled to take place in Tirana next year. There has been a further upgrading of relations with selected West European countries.

II. SITUATION IN THE USSR FOLLOWING THE ELECTIONS OF 26TH MARCH 1989

16. The current situation in the USSR is *one of* strains and stresses. Economic reforms have become bogged down. A new awareness of the difficulties (budget deficit, inflation) has led to the postponement of essential reforms (particularly price reform) and the absence of any improvement in living standards has added to the general pessimism. The nationality problems have intensified. New disturbances in the Caucasus and the growing insistence on autonomy in the Baltic republics have

⁷² See footnote 50.

⁷³ [The Greek expert deemed it necessary to note that the accurate legal terminology used in the international treaties fixing the Bulgarian obligations on the matter and reflecting reality is "Moslem minorities" composed of various ethnic groups.]

⁷⁴ [The Greek expert deemed it necessary to underline that other western estimates put the number of the Moslem group in question at about one million.]

been accompanied by a rash of nationalist demands in a number of areas (and particularly in the Ukraine).

17. The essential point, however, is that Soviet society (like other communist societies before it) is entering a period of major transition. It is shaking off its apathy and breaking out of its monolithic confines as witness the growth of discussion; the affirmation of some measure of pluralism; the catalyzing role played by Professor Sakharov in the emergence of a liberal reformist movement; the creation of a number of bodies some of which (Pamyat⁷⁵) are beginning to influence national policy; and the first stirrings of a more critical approach to Lenin.

18. With the recent elections, Soviet society has had its first introduction to a certain form of democracy. Even though the democratic process is still being kept within narrow limits, as shown by the screening of candidates and the fact that one third of all seats (750 out of 2,250) were earmarked for "social organizations", including 100 for the CPSU Central Committee, these elections are without precedent in more than 70 years. Essential points were the use of secret ballot, the presence of more than one candidate in three quarters of the constituencies, a particularly lively campaign, unprecedented popular interest and a bold intellectual debate on the single party system.

19. Early results, though fragmentary, point to a strong advance by the reformists. Radical supporters of perestroika (89% of the Moscow electorate voted for Boris Eltsin) carried the day; in the Baltic republics, nationalists and Party officials in favour of some measure of autonomy achieved good results everywhere. In Leningrad and Kiev, on the other hand, conservative Party members (including Soloviev, a candidate member of the Politburo) were convincingly trounced. Certain members of the military high command standing as candidates were beaten by their subordinates. These results may not be indicative of radical political change (the highest parliamentary assembly will not be the recently-elected Congress of People's Deputies but a new Supreme Soviet with a complex system of representation; further elections at republican and local level will be held in the autumn). Nonetheless, they can only be seen as an endorsement of Gorbachev's policies.

20. The reforms put in train by Gorbachev are long-term (at least one generation, if not two); there will be inevitable stops and starts and even temporary back-peddalling. It seems quite clear however, that Soviet society has emerged from its lethargy and, as in other European socialist countries, new voices are being heard. In addition, the pattern of political reforms and the consolidation of Gorbachev's powers are continuing as forecast. It is expected that the Soviet leader will shortly be confirmed in his position as State President with extended powers and his legitimacy will then no longer be provided exclusively by the Party. He will find himself more than ever in the position of arbiter and will have at his disposal all the means necessary for pursuing his policies.

75 See footnote 55.

21. Nonetheless, there is a continuing fundamental uncertainty over the ability of the single Party to embrace the concept of pluralism as well as the fear that current developments could get out of hand either in the Soviet Union itself (the Baltic states?) or in the East European countries (Poland and above all Hungary) with inevitable consequences for Gorbachev's endeavours. In addition, doubts are beginning to grow as the expectations raised by four years of reform are disappointed. These frustrations could constitute Gorbachev's most serious challenge.

III. SOVIET PUBLIC OPINION: DOES GORBACHEV HAVE A PROBLEM?

22. Appealing directly to the population to combat bureaucracy and take up the battle for perestroika has long been a hallmark of Gorbachev's style. It is one thing, however, to try and exploit public opinion in a political struggle against "conservatives". It is another to be personally exposed to direct and heavy criticism from members of the public. It was during Gorbachev's trip to the Krasnoyarsk region in September 1988 that he expressed awareness of discontent among workers over living conditions. Since then there has been a redoubled emphasis on the need to step up the production of food and consumer goods and on social issues generally. Public opinion, or at least popular moods, have freed him to adjust certain policies, e.g. some relaxation of the anti-alcohol campaign and placing new restrictions on cooperatives. In a speech in Minsk, the ideology Secretary, Medvedev, said that every decision these days must take account of public opinion.

23. Significantly, Gorbachev has now gone out of his way to court the opinions of workers. For the first time, a formal meeting with representatives of the workers was arranged in Moscow (14 February). It was (partially) televised, unlike the 8 or 9 meetings Gorbachev had previously held with members of the intelligentsia. The potential benefits of economic and political reforms were explained at length by Gorbachev who hoped "for the support of the working class" and found it necessary to remind listeners that the CPSU was indeed the party of the working class. Workers present on that occasion voiced disquiet about the lack of representatives of their class selected to stand as candidates in the 26 March elections. For example, only 16 workers were chosen for Moscow's 27 constituencies.

24. Workers have benefited less from Gorbachev's policies than have intellectuals. They are particularly vulnerable in the face of large-scale labour redeployment (if not actual unemployment) and rising prices. In the Ukraine, Gorbachev was notably defensive over the particularly emotive subject of retail price reform. He assured his audience that this would only be done after the entire people had been able to discuss the issue – and that if the people was opposed to price rises, "they mustn't be touched". In any event, "as we look at it, for 2 or 3 years this talk must be dropped altogether".

25. The programme of reforms is regarded by a large section of the population with scepticism while another, following the lead of the intellectuals, is airing its views with increasing boldness. The reform process did not start with Gorbachev even though he symbolises the movement and his name is associated with it. His actions were preceded by the measures already taken by Andropov (particularly with regard to the economy and the beginnings of a civil society). Even if Gorbachev had to step down, reform would have to be pursued in one form or another. At issue is the Soviet Union's survival as a great power as well as the renewal of its influence on Eastern Europe, where fundamental changes are also taking place. The principal Soviet leaders need no convincing. It is not a question of whether to reform or not, but rather how and how fast. The pursuit of reform will nonetheless create political turbulence if only because evolution in Soviet society inevitably implies a certain distortion of "Leninist principles".

IV. HOW DO THE NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMISSIONS OPERATE?

26. In order to reduce the powers of the Central Committee Secretariat (as well as those of Party Secretary Ligachev), Gorbachev steered through the creation of a new organisational structure for the Party's executive arm. At the September 1988 Plenum, six Commissions of the Central Committee concerned with the main directions of domestic and foreign policy were established:

- (a) on Party Construction and Cadres Policy (G. P. Razumovsky);
- (b) on Ideology (V. A. Medvedev);
- (c) on Questions of Socio-Economic Policy (N. N. Slyunkov);
- (d) on Questions of Agricultural Policy (E. K. Ligachev); this is the only one of the Commissions that has a designated Deputy Chairman (V. P. Nikonov);
- (e) on Questions of International Policy (A. N. Yakovlev);
- (f) on Questions of Legal Policy (V. M. Chebrikov).

The Politburo was tasked with practical measures to create a new structure of the Central Committee apparatus (and local party committees).

27. The Commissions were notionally created in order to involve directly the elected members and candidate members of the Central Committee and members of the Central Revision Commission in policy-making (as a move away from their role as a rubber stamp for leadership decisions). The Commissions are to meet at least once every three months. They are required to study problems in the spheres they cover and draw up proposals, draft documents and analytical materials for the

Politburo. They will also draw up conclusions on draft decisions and other documents submitted for Party – or nation-wide discussion. They may consult experts and invite them to participate in their work. The Commissions report direct to the Politburo.

28. By the end of February 1989, four of the six Commissions had held their first meetings. The composition of the Commissions was published at the end of November. Each has between 20 and 24 members. The majority are republic and regional Party chiefs, and government officials, with a few enterprise and farm directors and workers. There are a few members of the scientific and cultural intelligentsia. But there are no economists in the Socio-Economic Commission and no lawyers in the Legal Commission, because these professions are not represented in the Central Committee. Only two members of the Agricultural Commission are directly involved in farming. Interestingly, the International Commission includes V.A. Kryuchkov, Chairman of the KGB, and the First Party Secretaries of Armenia and Azerbaidzhán – presumably they will be less likely to continue their feud in this Commission than in any of the Commissions on domestic policy matters.

29. There has been a reduction in staff of the Central Party apparatus by 40–50% during the reorganisation of the Central Committee Departments over the past few months. The Central Committee apparatus now has 1,940 staff plus 1,275 technical support staff. The departments were reduced in number from twenty to nine. They are directly subordinate to the new Commissions. The nine departments are:

- (a) *Party Construction and Cadres Policy* (G. P. Razumovsky);
- (b) *Ideological* (A. S. Kapto);
- (c) *Socio-Economic* (V. I. Shimko);
- (d) *Agrarian* (I. I. Skiba)
- (e) *Defence* (O. S. Belyakov) (formerly known as the Defence Industry Department, this Department is not responsible to a CC Commission, but directly to CC Secretary, O. D. Baklanov);
- (f) *State-Legal* (A. S. Pavlov);
- (g) *International* (V. M. Falin);
- (h) *General* (V. I. Boldin);
- (i) *Administration of Affairs* (N. E. Kruchina);

The last two departments are responsible for administrative services to the Politburo and Central Committee and their heads are both members of the Commission for Party Construction and Cadres Policy.

30. In an interview in *Pravda* on 20 February, A. S. Kapto gave details on the structure and role of the Ideological Department. He described the department as a fundamentally new subdivision of the Central Committee apparatus, both in its

structure and functions, and outlined the tasks of its six sub-departments. The Department functions under the direct leadership of the Ideological Commission (of which Kapto is a member).

V. GORBACHEV AND THE MILITARY (II)

31. The “parting of the ways” between Gorbachev and several of his most senior military commanders, Akhromeev (7th December) and Kulikov (2nd February) being the latest, raises once again the question of Party-military relations in the USSR and the impact which perestroika is having on the Soviet armed forces.

32. Despite his public protestations to the contrary, it seems likely that Marshal Akhromeev resigned as Chief of the General Staff over the unilateral force cuts announced by Gorbachev in New York on 7 December. For someone who kept a foot so firmly in both the military and political camps throughout the period of Gorbachev’s succession, Akhromeev must have felt that he could no longer continue to equivocate in public over the military’s interests. However, in his new position as adviser to Gorbachev, he told the Trilateral Commission⁷⁶ that he endorsed the Soviet unilateral force reductions and suggested that more would be possible as the external military threat declined. Moreover, he has been explicit in declaring that the new emphasis on quality over quantity, approved by the 19th Party Conference, probably meant fewer arms and equipment for the Soviet armed forces in future.

33. Similarly Marshal Kulikov chose to resign in the week after all the non-Soviet Warsaw Pact states (not counting Romania) had announced their individual force reductions and cuts in defence spending – and only five weeks away from the opening of the CFE negotiations in Vienna.⁷⁷ His successor, General Lushev, may have been chosen for the difficult political/diplomatic task of co-ordinating reductions and the process of restructuring in the NSWP forces.

34. On unilateral force reductions, General Yazov seems to have acted cautiously during the period of internal discussion in the Soviet Union and failed to comment publicly on the cuts when they were announced by Gorbachev on 7th December. There is no doubt however that he is an ardent supporter of perestroika as such in the armed forces. Though certain military leaders, including Yazov himself, have shown themselves sensitive to glasnost, which in their view goes too far in its criticism of the Soviet armed forces and their traditions, the Soviet military press

⁷⁶ Trilateral Commission: a “non-governmental, policy-oriented forum” founded in 1973 by David Rockefeller with an aim to promote tighter cooperation between Japan, North America, and Western Europe.

⁷⁷ On March 6, 1989 East–West negotiations began in Vienna on the disarmament of conventional armed forces in Europe (CFE) between sixteen NATO and seven Warsaw Pact countries. NATO proposed that the joint forces of the two alliances not exceed 40,000 tanks, 33,000 artillery pieces, and 56,000 armoured combat vehicles.

has during the period under review given increasing publicity to controversial aspects of military life not previously discussed in public.

35. Yazov's position appears to have been strengthened by the promotion of his close associates, General Moiseev as Chief of the General Staff (over the heads of many senior colleagues), and General Lobov as Chief of Staff of the Warsaw Pact forces. Though there have been rumours predicting Yazov's eventual replacement by a civilian Defence Minister, there is no evidence of political differences between himself and Gorbachev which might lead to such an outcome in the near future.

36. In his first major public statements in February, Moiseev called for "principled" but "flexible" General Staff work in support of arms control talks. Moiseev said that "radical changes" were underway in military theory, that a streamlining of the General Staff was in the offing, and that there would be a reorganisation and reduction in the number of military districts. Citing costs as well the continuing external threat, he rejected ideas under discussion in the Soviet press for a 50 percent unilateral troop cut and for switching over to either a territorial militia or a professional army, but said other "sensible" views would be carefully examined. General Yazov has also dismissed, and in stronger terms, the idea of volunteer forces.

37. Moiseev made clear his intent to inject vigour and creativity into the work of the General Staff in the new era of reduced defence budgets. Implying continuity with Akhromeev rather than any new change of direction, Moiseev described the "new stage" in military affairs as beginning in 1985/86, i.e. after the transfer of Ogarkov from the General Staff in September 1984 and his replacement by Akhromeev.

38. At this moment, it is not possible to judge whether the military as a whole accept, and with how much equanimity, the changes being thrust on them. Prominent figures such as General Tretyak (who a year ago openly criticised unilateral force reductions and their negative effects on Soviet society), Akhromeev and Kulikov have evidently not done so. But current military policies appear to have gained the acceptance of the senior military leadership and Gorbachev seems to have convinced doubters that none of the recent moves will impair the security of the Soviet State, nor endanger the morale of the Soviet armed forces as troop cuts are implemented and other economies are made.

VI. POLAND: GOVERNMENT/OPPOSITION ROUND TABLE

39. The round table negotiations between Government and opposition representatives, begun on 6th February and initially scheduled to last 6 weeks, ended on 5th April after producing a number of concrete agreements. They also left a certain number of grey areas. However, the outcome initially appeared to be positive: according to one of the opposition negotiators, a "gradual march towards democracy" has begun in Poland.

40. Points of agreement cover:

– *Trade union pluralism.* Agreement was achieved on the relegalisation of Solidarity at national and regional level as well as in the enterprises (in which the different trade unions that exist will be required to form a single delegation in negotiations with the management). The principle of independent agricultural trade unions and the re-legalising of the independent student trade union (NZS) were also agreed. In addition, about 20,000 workers dismissed because of their membership of Solidarity will apparently be re-instated.

– *Political reforms.* Agreement was reached on the creation of an “Office of President”, which would no longer have collegiate status but which would be entrusted to General Jaruzelski and endowed with extended powers. There was also an agreement on the creation of a Senate whose 100 members would be freely elected. The Sejm⁷⁸ is to be reorganised following elections based on a prior allocation of seats (60% for the PZPR and its coalition partners; 5% for official Catholic groups; and 35% for independents). Measures designed to give the courts greater independence vis-a-vis the government were also adopted and the right of association extended.

41. There are continuing uncertainties and differences: they relate for the most part to:

– *the extent of the powers* devolving on the new Head of State and the manner in which he is to be *elected*: the opposition has agreed that in the first instance he should be elected by the Sejm and the Senate, but insisted that in future election must be by direct universal suffrage.

– *The Senate:* agreement has yet to be reached on its composition and its powers (the opposition is pressing for proportional representation for each of the 49 voivodships, and the government for two senators for each voivodship).

– *The Sejm:* according to the opposition, the unequal distribution of seats accepted for the forthcoming elections in June must not be repeated in subsequent selections which should be entirely free. This is of crucial importance.

42. These results would not have been possible without the genuine desire for compromise shown by both the government and the opposition. A number of meetings between the Interior Minister General Kiszczak and Lech Walesa helped narrow the gap between positions which were sometimes far apart. It is clear, however, that the logic behind the positions of the two sides is quite different:

– Walesa, and the opposition which has identified with him, set their sights on an agreement with the régime and in so doing have recognized the legitimacy of that régime, their purpose being to save the country from catastrophe and to initiate a process which in the long term could bring them fresh gains;

78 See footnote 23.

– the PZPR leadership is intent for the present on consolidating its legitimacy, its subsequent aim being to preserve the Party's central role.

43. The conclusion of the round table discussions represent an important milestone for Poland and the positive results achieved will need to be taken into account by Western governments.

Not to be overlooked however are:

– the little interest shown by the general public in the talks while these were in progress. This lack of interest could give way to unrest should living standards continue to deteriorate;

– the criticism of Walesa voiced by extremist students (violent demonstrations in Cracow on 23rd and 24th February; anti-Soviet slogans) and by a workers opposition grouping within his own movement;

– attempts by the official [official] trade unions (OPZZ), which played a generally obstructive role during the talks, to press hard on the issue of wage indexing (thus making any agreement between the government and the IMF⁷⁹ more difficult to achieve) and continuing efforts by conservative members of the PZPR to play down the round table results.

As in 1980, following the signature of the Gdansk agreements,⁸⁰ a great deal will depend on the implementation of what has been agreed in principle. The lack of an economic package in the April 1989 agreements points to the most crucial obstacle to lasting political reforms in Poland.

VII. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC AND THE SOVIET UNION

44. The GDR and the Soviet Union maintain their formal alliance without reservation. This is based just as much on common basic convictions as on interdependence in the eastern security system and mutual economic cooperation. However, as part of the process of differentiation in the Warsaw Pact and in the CMEA, the GDR has increasingly emphasised its own identity in recent years. But in spite of all its flag-waving, the GDR regards as indispensable the fundamental consensus and the "firm fraternal alliance" with the Soviet Union.

45. Agreement with the Soviet Union is closest in the field of foreign policy, especially with respect to security and arms control policy. In spite of the GDR's continuing strong commitment, there are, however, signs that it has not been able to main-

⁷⁹ See footnote 9.

⁸⁰ On August 31, 1980 the strike committee in Gdańsk signed an agreement with the representatives of the Polish government. It permitted the activity of "self-directing trade unions" and, the operating strike committees were allowed to function as cores of the new trade unions. The modification of censorship had also been promised, but on December 13, 1981 the Polish State Council declared the state of emergency and the introduction of martial law.

tain its former position as the Soviet Union's strongest partner in undiminished form. Developments in the East–West dialogue – in which the GDR used to play a considerable role – now threaten to bypass it, because other members of the WP, such as Poland, Hungary and the Soviet Union itself, pursue a flexible foreign policy more credibly and more consistently since it is in line with their domestic policies.

46. As far as the development of socialism – and in this context glasnost and the evaluation of the past – are concerned, the GDR continues to make no secret of its divergent views. Paying little attention to Soviet sensitivities, it makes use of its elbow-room by emphasizing Soviet deficiencies on the one hand and its own achievements on the other. At the same time, it reacts with irritation to the effects of Soviet policies of perestroika and glasnost on its own population.

47. The areas of friction in GDR/Soviet relations are compounded by the unsettled German question. The intensification of relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany has in the recent past added fuel to an already existing mistrust between the GDR and the Soviet Union over this question. On the one hand, the GDR has to pay greater attention than the Soviet Union and all other WP/CMEA countries to the preservation of fundamental communist positions to which it owes its distinction from the Federal Republic of Germany. On the other hand, it watches with concern the new flexibility with which the Soviet Union is increasing its cooperation with the Federal Republic of Germany. As a result of its rigidity, the GDR does not respond openly and constructively to Gorbachev's new thinking.⁸¹ The alarm felt by the GDR is reflected, among other things, in its allegation that the West, and especially the Federal Republic of Germany, seeks to drive a wedge between the Soviet Union and the GDR by constantly referring to the divergencies between them over political and economic reforms.

VIII. HUNGARY: TOWARDS A POLITICAL PLURALISM?

48. Hungary faces dramatic political and economic changes which by next year could lead to a measure of genuine power-sharing between the ruling party (HSWP) and new political groupings. The transition is already under way; key to its success is avoidance of an economic collapse and/or social unrest triggered by declining living standards. Also required is a face-saving means of allowing the HSWP to “manage” divestiture of its hegemonic role.

49. Last fall, the government and the parliament accepted top party reformer Pozsgay's “democratic package”, together with a timetable. Its centerpiece is a new constitution that should provide the framework for a new political model, to be fully operational by 1995. In the intervening years, the HSWP would by agreement

81 See footnote 57.

by allowed to be *primus inter pares* in a transitional coalition. The communists' presumed objective is to share as little power as necessary and as much responsibility as possible during the turbulent period ahead.

50. The macroeconomic adjustment programme initiated last year with IMF support has already resulted in serious austerity. Although the leadership is in many ways divided, it is united in the view that state subsidies to white elephants (i.e. the many oversized enterprises sustained through subsidies siphoned from the few profitable ones and Western credit) must end if an economic turnaround over restructuring and declining real incomes threatens to spill over into the streets and leads to open confrontation. Thus, for different reasons, the pragmatic General Secretary Grosz and radical reformer Pozsgay concur that major political concessions are inevitable if society is to accept an economic burden that is steadily becoming heavier.

51. Grosz relinquished the premiership in November 1988 to devote full attention to the Party, whose conservatives were increasingly alarmed at decisions being forced by a pro-reform rank and file, intellectuals in and out of the establishment, and the public at large. Adding to the pressure, parliament showed signs of independence and a bent toward pluralism.

52. Matters within the HSWP were drifting toward a stalemate when Pozsgay on January 28 disputed the regime's 30-year characterization of the October 1956 revolution as a "counterrevolution". He forced the party to come to terms with the issue of 1956 as an indispensable step toward genuine compromise with the population. Initially interpreting Pozsgay's comments as a challenge to his authority, Grosz called an extraordinary Central Committee plenum to settle the score but then realised Pozsgay would be a greater threat outside the Politburo and the Party than within it.

53. At the same time, Grosz brought the Central Committee round to what no ruling Communist party has done before: endorse the move to a multiparty system as a necessary price for social peace and, possibly, the Party's own survival.

54. Much depends on whether Grosz can steer an increasingly disoriented party toward participating in governance without the privileges to which it has been accustomed for four decades. He has visited Prague, East Berlin, Belgrade and Moscow (24 March) as part of a mission to reconcile still existing differences over 1956 and to explain how he intends to lead the HSWP through the coming political battles.

55. Moscow apparently is prepared to give Hungary considerable room to manoeuvre, provided its membership in CEMA and the Warsaw Pact are not affected. At this point a multitude of new political movements, some of them potential rivals of the HSWP – the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the "old" Smallholders Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Federation of Free Democrats, Nyers' New March Front, the new youth movement (FIDESZ), and the People's Party seem prepared to oblige and are anxious to keep the transition orderly and gradual.

56. As a backdrop to the internal realignment, partial Soviet troop withdrawals are due to begin in April, with the process to be completed in two years. The timing may well have been intended to give the emerging political protagonists incentive not to press for too much too fast. Moscow seems to view Hungary as a testing ground for closing the book on World War II, in a way that leaves the USSR with new and less burdensome equities. Stability, a guaranteed place for communists in the emerging political system, and continued membership of the Warsaw Pact is evidently the current Soviet price for Hungary's shedding the Stalinist legacy.

IX. THE TREATMENT OF MINORITIES AND RELIGION IN SOME EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

I. POLAND

57. The importance of religion and the Catholic church in the historical development of Poland, its present political situation and its influence over the daily life of its inhabitants is higher than in any other socialist country, and a comparison with other European countries would be difficult to make.

58. Its role as the genuine guardian of national identity and moral and spiritual values has given the Church its unrivalled position as the only universally accepted institution in the country. The period during which "Solidarity" was banned has shown this once again. Even the PZPR with all the governmental machinery at its disposal has not been able to diminish the Church's strong alternative force. On the contrary, the Party has come to accept the influence of the Church and, in a recent decision adopted by the Central Committee, has even concluded that "the religious convictions of Party members are their personal affair".

59. The strongly national character of Polish Catholicism leads on the other hand to parallels between the interests of State and Church. Where government propaganda describes Poland's post-war displacement in a westerly direction as "the return of Poles to their western territories", the Church speaks of the "return of faith" to these areas. While the regime uses Polish nationalism as an instrument to win over the population, the Church also regards nationalism as an article of faith for Poles.

60. However, despite the importance of Church mediation and assistance in the present process of political transformation, the Church's influence may in the long run decline to the extent to which people in Poland will be able to put their political and social ambitions into practice themselves. This could also happen as a result of the self-restraint of the Church itself which has never wanted to offer its protection and mediation for political purposes, but out of its Christian duty to achieve reconciliation and to help the oppressed.

II. *The GDR*

61. The churches do not play any part in the efforts made by the GDR leadership to create an independent national consciousness. Relations between State and Church in the GDR are of a fundamentally different nature from those in Poland, for example. Protestant church leaders have repeatedly stated that, while social engagement forms part of active Protestantism, this does not mean that the Church wants to be a political opposition.

62. The government nevertheless thinks that it has to pursue a consistent policy of limiting the social engagement of the churches. The basic dissension about the role of the churches in the State therefore continues. Thus, the censorship of church publications tends to be maintained whenever political subjects are touched upon. The attack on the Deputy Chairman of the Conference of Protestant Church Leaders, Stolpe, in *Neues Deutschland*⁸² of 11th January 1989 follows the same logic, although it was he who had, by using the formula “church in socialism”, always tried to find a *modus vivendi* for Church–State relations. The basic attitude of the Protestant churches is characterized by their efforts to assist parishioners who are confronting the government. However, major problems result especially from the fact that people who want to leave the GDR and dissident groups still use the churches as a forum in which to voice their demands, sometimes even without having any church allegiance. This places the churches under considerable pressure.

63. The Roman Catholic Church no longer maintains its stance of complete political abstinence (as it did until the early eighties), but shows great restraint in making public political statements. The Orthodox Church and the smaller Christian communities and free churches are given preferential treatment by the state which is far in excess of their relative importance in the GDR. No problems have been known.

64. In the ecumenical field,⁸³ the government has so far not interfered with the work, apart from small interventions in the publication of reports and a prayer text.

65. No problems exist for the very small number of Jews in the GDR, who were the object of special attention by the leadership on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the anti-Jewish pogroms in Germany on 9th November 1938.⁸⁴

82 *Neues Deutschland*: daily paper between 1946 and 1989 in the GDR. The official organ of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

83 Ecumenism (in Greek *oikumene* = general, universal): ecclesiastic movement to unite all Christian churches. It is characterized by religious tolerance despite the different teachings of the denominations. Instead of emphasizing religious differences, the movement focuses on common points, confessional similarities, and a search for cooperation.

84 “(Reichs)Kristallnacht”, or the November pogroms, was a state-organized wave of violence against Jewish communities in the Nazi Germany on November 9–10, 1938. During the riots dozens of Jews were killed, hundreds of synagogues and Jewish stores were destroyed, and the police refrained from hindering the events. The day was named after the splinters of broken shop windows.

III. BULGARIA

66. The Bulgarian government keeps a close watch on Church activity. Although the Orthodox Church has a relatively privileged status, marriages and baptisms in Church have come under strict surveillance recently. The Bible is not printed in Bulgaria and its importation is prohibited. Armenian Christian, Jewish, Roman Catholic and some Protestant denominations also exist in Bulgaria. The Armenian community of 25,000 and the Jewish community of 5,000 seem to survive. Most probably, the regime uses them as a window dressing, to display an image of ethnic and religious tolerance in Bulgaria. However, Bulgarians of Catholic and Protestant affiliation are under strain. They suffer discrimination, Churches are under control, their few clergy are very old and are not easily replaceable due to lack of education.

67. As far as the Moslem religion is concerned, with the forceful name-changing operations of the regime starting at the end of 1984, Turks faced a brutal official policy towards their religious practice as well as their ethnic identity, since the Bulgarian aim can be characterized as full-scale eradication of Turkish traces from the country. A very repressive policy is also conducted towards the practice of Islam. In this respect, fasting, circumcision, observing religious festivities, daily prayers, and funerals based on Islamic practices are severely prohibited. Meanwhile, Moslem cemeteries have been destroyed, tombstones have been broken, and the dead are buried in mixed cemeteries, regardless of religion or sect.

68. As regards the assimilation policy against the ethnic Turkish minority,⁸⁵ the Belgrade Protocol between Turkey and Bulgaria⁸⁶ proved unfruitful after two rounds of bilateral talks, and the issue is again going to be taken to the international fora by Turkey. Meanwhile, the ethnic Turkish minority in Bulgaria, although under strict police surveillance, is also getting organised and several confirmed reports prove that the Turks in Bulgaria find allies especially within the Independent Committee on Human Rights. Recently, at least sixteen ethnic Turkish members of the Committee have been expelled from Bulgaria. But such penal measures do not seem to prevent the expression of discontent among the masses. Consequently, this discontent and the unprecedented and inflexible human rights policy of the Bulgarian regime seems to be a major default of the leadership exposing them to severe international criticism.

85 [The Greek expert deemed it necessary to note that the accurate legal terminology used in the international treaties fixing the Bulgarian obligations on the matter and reflecting reality is "Moslem minorities" composed of various ethnic groups.]

86 See footnote 50.

X. YUGOSLAVIA: A NEW GOVERNMENT

69. Almost three months after the resignation of the Mikulic government (on 30th December 1988), the new Yugoslav Prime Minister, Ante Markovic, appointed a cabinet which reflects his desire to improve the effectiveness of the government team. The main feature of this cabinet, reduced from 29 members to 19, is the priority given to professional competence in the choice of ministers. Other features are the continuation in office of Budimir Loncar, the Foreign Minister, and General Kadijevic, the Defense Minister, as well as non-compliance for the first time ever with the “national key” in the distribution of the portfolios: the main posts have gone to representatives of Croatia, Slovenia and Serbia. Only one appointment has caused any real surprise, that of retired General Gracanin, hitherto President of the Republic of Serbia, as Secretary for the Interior. General Gracanin is close to the Serbian Party Leader, Milosevic, and is a former Chief of General Staff of the Yugoslav People’s Army.

70. The formation of the new government appears to have slightly raised the expectations of the general public which has noted the absence of serious interference by the Yugoslav League of Communists in the nominations; the new Prime Minister’s determination to compensate for the weakness of other federal bodies by strengthening the government; and his declared aims (introduction of a market economy, deregulation and self-sufficiency of enterprises).

71. The situation in Yugoslavia remains tense as a result of the disturbances in Kosovo. Since the introduction on 27th February of “special measures”, large numbers of army personnel and federal police have been drafted into the province. The Serbian leader Milosevic scored a further success with the adoption by the Kosovo parliament on 23rd March, with only a few dissenting votes, of amendments to the Serbian constitution conferring on Serbia the powers hitherto exercised by the autonomous regions of Kosovo and Vojvodina in the fields of justice, defence and internal affairs.

72. These developments, combined with the earlier arrest of 44 senior Kosovar Albanians, including Azem Vllasi (the former Party chief) and the leaders of the Trepca⁸⁷ miners’ strike, were violently opposed by the Albanian population of Kosovo which has proclaimed its attachment to the 1974 constitution⁸⁸ (and thus rejected the recent modifications) as well as to “Tito’s Yugoslavia” (in which the autonomous regions of Vojvodina [Vojvodina] and Kosovo enjoyed the same pre-

87 Trepča: mine and industrial complex 5.6 km northeast of Mitrovitsa, in Kosovo. It was one of the largest industrial facilities in Yugoslavia.

88 The new constitution of 1974 increased the autonomy of the member states of the federation and, granting almost the same rights, increased the autonomy of the two provinces, Vojvodina and Kosovo. The country was led by a Presidium of eight persons (representing the six member states and the two autonomous provinces) and the leader of the League of Communists in Yugoslavia was also among them.

rogatives as the republics). For the first time since the serious incidents of 1981,⁸⁹ there were fatalities during clashes with the Federal security forces (24 demonstrators and two policemen, according to official sources).

73. It seems clear that the Federal authorities opted to reject the claims of the Kosovo Albanians, thereby playing into the hands of Milosevic (with whom Slovenia and Croatia have had to fall into line on the Kosovo issue). The warning by the new Prime Minister, who had hoped to bring the parties face to face with their responsibilities by stating that “a continuing escalation of the disturbances” would reduce “the chances of implementing the reforms”, apparently went unheard.

74. The general political situation in Yugoslavia is still very confused. Two possible scenarios appear to be emerging. In the first, which is the more encouraging, there would be a compromise, based on the need to implement economic reforms, between Serbians, Croats and Slovenes, with Milosevic relinquishing his aspirations to political power at federal level. In the second, these aspirations would be pursued. A growing split might then appear between a southern “bloc”, formed by Serbia, Montenegro and some areas of Macedonia, and a northern “bloc”, formed by Slovenia and Croatia.

NA: The Situation in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, C-M(89)13 (May 3, 1989).

⁸⁹ The mass protests in 1981 demanding the status of a republic resulted in numerous casualties and deaths. The constitution of 1974 still considered Kosovo an autonomous region, and for the radicals this was not enough as Kosovo had no constitutional right to secede, unlike the member states of the federation. The radical wing of the protesters raised the idea of secession from Yugoslavia in 1981. On April 2, 1981 state of emergency was introduced in Kosovo and federal forces intervened to restore order.

DOCUMENT 4.
CONSEIL DE L'ATLANTIQUE NORD
NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL
NATO CONFIDENTIAL
ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/FRENCH DOCUMENT

8th November 1989
C-M(89)57

THE SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE
APRIL 1989–OCTOBER 1989

Note by the Secretary General

1. I attach the report on “The Situation in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe” submitted to me by the Chairman of the Expert Working Group, which met at NATO Headquarters from 18th to 20th October 1989.
2. This report engages only the responsibility of the experts who participated in the Working Group.
3. It will be placed on the Agenda of the Council meeting on 22nd November 1989.

(Signed) M. WÖRNER

NATO,
1110 Brussels.

THE SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE

Note by the Chairman of the Expert Working Group

1. Experts from Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States met at NATO Headquarters from 18th to 20th October 1989 to prepare the attached report.
2. This document covers the period 8th April 1989 to 20th October 1989.

(Signed) D. I. MILLER

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I. GENERAL TRENDS AND OUTLOOK

1. The 26 March elections to the Congress of People's Deputies marked a new stage in Soviet political life and the beginnings of Gorbachev's effort to transfer power to the Supreme Soviet and to Soviets at all levels of national life. The elections also gave national prominence to a number of radical political figures, revived the political fortunes of former Moscow party chief Boris Eltsin, and introduced the possibility of politicians rising to prominence through elections to the Soviets. The Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet will take some time to set down roots to assure their permanence, but began their work in a way suggesting a determination to fulfil their constitutional mandates to be the supreme legislative, administrative, and oversight bodies in the country.

2. Gorbachev was able to strengthen his hand by obtaining the departure of 3 full and 2 candidate members from the Politburo at the September Central Committee Plenum, thus removing dead wood and live conservative elements from the leadership. These changes are no doubt a further consolidation of his authority at a time when Gorbachev is turning his attention to preparing a radical reform of the Party in a year's time. The promotion of Kruchkov [Kryuchkov](KGB) was the most significant move.

3. During the last six months, Moscow has faced more nationalist unrest than at any time since the death of Stalin. The Baltic republics have pressed for radical autono-

my, even independence; the Belorussians and Ukrainians have pushed for ecological and language reforms; the Moldavians have adopted a radical language law; the Armenians and Azerbaidzhanis have continued their fight over Nagorno-Karabakh; the Georgians have been challenged by the Abkhazians and unsettled by Moscow's response; and the Uzbeks have fought with the Meskhetians. Moreover, small groups not heard from before and Russians in both the RSFSR and outside their homeland began to push their respective programmes. The results of the long-awaited nationalities plenum in September were anodyne but some of the limits of the current flexibility in the nationalities policy were revealed in a resolution against confederalisation of the CPSU, secession from the Union and tampering with borders.

4. Having permitted long-suppressed forces within society to emerge, the regime began to adjust to the untidy manifestations of a nascent pluralistic society, including public participation in the political process, factionalism within the Supreme Soviet, and the appearance of grass roots independent politicians. The authorities also faced the relatively new experience of having their policies subjected, albeit tentatively, to legislative oversight.

5. Both leadership and leading economists are deeply worried about the economic and social instability resulting from the partial reforms implemented so far, and have reacted by easing back on some while postponing others. Traditional administrative steps have been taken in an effort to restore some balance to the economy. Gorbachev recognises the need for deeper and effective reform measures but is confronted by major obstacles including a huge budget deficit, suppressed inflation and a vast ruble overhang, serious food and consumer goods shortages, and lagging industrial performance. Next year will be even tougher, as planned cuts in centralised investment may bring the economy into recession.

6. There have been no major new developments in Soviet defence policy during the past six months, with significant military activity generally reflecting implementation of previously established military policy. The Soviets completed the first phase of the unilateral reductions in Eastern Europe. The remaining WP reductions are expected to be completed as announced. The Soviet position at the CFE negotiations⁹⁰ continued to reflect the major Soviet objective of achieving significant additional conventional force reductions. Notwithstanding rumours of a possible military coup during the summer, cited at one point by Gorbachev himself, the Soviet armed forces, while not fully satisfied with all aspects of perestroika, remain firmly subordinate to the political leadership. A debate over levels of defence expenditure has begun in the Supreme Soviet.

90 See footnote 77.

7. In *Poland* the arrival of a non-communist led government in September⁹¹ was an event of major historical importance. It now seems clear that the bargain struck at the round table in April had more dynamic potential than any of the sides realised at the time. Solidarity's success at the June elections and the dismal performance of the Communist Party, followed by Jaruzelski's narrow squeak in the presidential election, underlined the Party's crumbling base of support. Solidarity had wanted to stay out of a post-election coalition in order to concentrate on building up their political strength at grass-roots level, but they found power and responsibility thrust upon them.

8. Though Walesa had himself proposed that Solidarity should form a government with the previous coalition partners of the PZPR,⁹² his misgivings after the event were probably sincere. The dangers ahead are real and success cannot be assured. The immediate threat is that pressures within the coalition (and the disparate interests represented within it) will prevent the adoption of a policy which meets the needs of a situation in which, during the last six months at least, the Polish economy was simply being allowed to deteriorate. The Soviet leadership seems to have taken developments in Poland calmly enough. Defence and internal security matters are still in communist hands. Moreover, Jaruzelski now stands firm in the new post of President where he will continue to act as guarantor of the constitutional order and in effect of Poland's position in the Warsaw Pact.

9. The 14th *Hungarian* Workers Socialist Party (Communist Party) held in Budapest on 6th–9th October 1989 was a further historic break. For the first time, a Communist Party in power put an end to its existence on the basis that its historical experience was over. A new party, the Hungarian Socialist Party, was established by an overwhelming majority of delegates (159 votes against and 38 abstentions out of a total of 1,274). This Party wants "a definitive break with the dictatorship of the proletariat and its ideology". Its programme seeks to instal [install] a parliamentary type regime and a market economy. The transformation of the HWSP into the HSP does not put an end to all ambiguity, however. Nyers, who was elected Chairman of the HSP, has been able until now to avoid a splintering of the Party, but to the detriment of a greater transparency desired by the reformers. Finally, the cautious attitude of the Soviet media to this development, which is depicted more as a "self-reform" of the Party than as a break, leaves open the question of relations with the Soviet Union and with the CPSU.

91 On August 17, 1989 President Jaruzelski accepted the formation of a coalition cabinet led by Solidarity, which was formed on August 29 and led by Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

92 With the Democratic Party and the United People's Party.

10. In *Bulgaria*, the period under review was dominated by the mass emigration of ethnic Turks.⁹³ Between late May and late August some 317,000 had crossed into Turkey. The assimilation campaign backfired dramatically, serving instead to harden the Turks' opposition. In late May, following the demonstrations which resulted in deaths, the Bulgarian authorities began to expel large numbers of Turks. Subsequently, thousands of ethnic Turks took advantage of more liberal passport regulations to flee the country.

11. The base of opposition has broadened considerably in *Czechoslovakia* over the past six months. An alliance of sorts between the Church, Charter 77,⁹⁴ and re-emerging leaders of the Prague Spring⁹⁵ has helped to turn passive dislike of the regime into a more active commitment for change. The response of the regime to this has been very tentative dialogue, coupled with severe repression of what are deemed unacceptable activities. The dividing line seems to be any attack on the leading role of the Communist Party.

12. Both the political and economic situations in *Romania* were characterised by stagnation, as well as more frequent, albeit still minimal, signs of dissent against Ceausescu's absolutism. Isolation in foreign affairs increased, with Western countries more vocal against a dismal human rights record, and Bucharest still unable to make any progress in the Warsaw Pact with its anti-reform agenda. Perhaps in response to the circulation of a protest letter among delegates to the RCP congress scheduled for November, Ceausescu [Ceausescu] has been indulging in an unusual public relations campaign [campaign].

13. The growing exodus from the *GDR* during the summer across the newly opened Austro-Hungarian border,⁹⁶ also through Czechoslovakia and Poland, has reached the level of 80,000 in addition to the 100,000 people estimated to be leaving the GDR this year by the normal established procedures. It remains to be seen how this problem, along with mounting pressure for democratic reform by the East German population and from within the SED and the so-called "bloc parties"⁹⁷ is dealt with by the new leadership under Egon Krenz.

93 [The Greek expert deemed it necessary to note that the term used in the international treaties fixing the Bulgarian obligations on the matter and reflecting reality is "Moslem minorities" composed of various ethnic groups.]

94 See footnote 30.

95 See footnote 27.

96 On September 10, 1989 the Hungarian government allowed GDR citizens staying in Hungary to leave the country for Austria and abrogated the treaty with the GDR, which had been in force for twenty years prohibiting GDR citizens to leave for the West.

97 After 1945 many parties were formed in the GDR and grouped in the "Antifascistisch-demokratischer Block" (Antifascist-Democratic Bloc). Thus until 1989 there was a CDU in the GDR too, and other parties like the DBD (Democratic Farmers' Party of Germany), LDPD (Liberal Democratic Party of Germany) and NDPD (National Democratic Party of Germany) also existed.

14. In the *Warsaw Pact*, the political gulf between orthodox leaderships and their reformist allies continued to widen. While Pact meetings have focused on areas of agreement, particularly on disarmament initiatives, agreement in CMEA fora continued to be blocked for the most part by basic divergences over integration and economic policies.

* * *

15. In *Yugoslavia*, there is an ever-deepening gulf between the Republics and this could become more dangerous if the system and central control continue to weaken. Notwithstanding the continuation of serious economic difficulties, including hyper-inflation, the Markovic government remains firmly committed to the introduction of a market economy. Some further progress towards the democratisation of political life in Yugoslavia has also been made. But the quarrel between Serbia and Slovenia continues and recent developments in the two Republics indicate that a reconciliation is unlikely. The constitutional commission of the Slovenian National Assembly adopted amendments to the Republic's constitution, including the right to secession. The next major battle ground is likely to be the 14th LCY Congress in January 1990.⁹⁸

16. *Albania* has exchanged ambassadors with all of the Warsaw Pact states except Poland and the USSR. It continues to refuse to re-establish diplomatic relations with the latter. Albania's main interest is to expand its economic ties with those countries, while keeping at minimum the political relations. During this period, the GDR was most active. The visit of Foreign Minister Fischer to Tirana in June resulted in agreements on economic and industrial co-operation.

II. THE NEW SUPREME SOVIET

17. The new Supreme Soviet was elected by the Congress of People's Deputies on 26 May; its first session opened on 3 June and lasted, after an extension, until 4 August. Few well-known reformists are among the 542 members of its two chambers; many of them were resoundingly defeated in the election, in which what one liberal called the "aggressively passive majority" showed its strength of numbers. Eltsin's initial failure to secure election caused particular problems. The Supreme Soviet contains few "survivors" from its predecessor. Its composition is quite different including no more than three Politburo members (Gorbachev, Lukyanov, the Vice President, and Vorotnikov, Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet). Few Party or government apparatchiks are in it, but there are at least 130 members of the academic and cultural intelligentsia.

⁹⁸ On January 22, 1990 Milan Kučan, leader of the Slovenian party delegation, left the congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

18. The Supreme Soviet has already proved itself to be a lively body which takes its paper rights and duties both seriously and literally. Deputies undertook prolonged and intensive questioning of proposed Ministers and succeeded in rejecting nine, two of whom were withdrawn after being challenged in the Commissions. This development caused no little concern to Gorbachev and Ryzhkov who had to exert considerable influence to push through some nominations, notably Defence Minister Yazov. Ryzhkov himself was subjected to intense questioning about, inter alia, his mistakes in managing the economy, poverty, and environmental disasters, before being approved as Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

19. For a “novice” parliament the Supreme Soviet surpassed most expectations at its first session. Extensively televised, though not live because the popularity of the full daytime coverage of the Congress proceedings reportedly caused a 20% downturn in economic productivity, it has helped to further the “politicization” of the Soviet population and to involve them in the process of changing their society. It has also brought into the public eye and into politics a new class of political activists hitherto excluded from the running of the country, ranging from members of the academic and artistic intelligentsia and lawyers to factory directors and workers.

20. An ambitious programme of legislation has been agreed for the agenda of the autumn session, starting with the drafting of a new Constitution and covering economic reform, human rights, nationalities and many other issues. Some aspects of this reform programme may however be retarded by the Supreme Soviet’s inability to move rapidly through the agenda. Nationalities problems are likely to continue to feature prominently in the forthcoming session which will consider the federal system, economic devolution to republics, the position of the smaller ethnic groups without their own national territory, and the question of enhancing the status of the Russian Republic (RSFSR) which is scheduled to have its own Academy of Sciences (and it may also acquire its own Party organisation in the form of a Bureau or Secretariat).

21. Gorbachev’s political reforms have created an active parliament, in which although a majority of the Deputies are party members, a variety of interest groups are already active. In particular an inter-regional group of deputies was set up, with 400 or so members, including a number of members of the Moscow group of radical Deputies and representatives from the Baltic Republics. It has five co-chairmen including Eltsin and Sakharov and claims 90 Supreme Soviet Deputies among its members. At a Central Committee meeting on 18 July, Ryzhkov expressed some disquiet at the way the Party seems to have been marginalised in the political and legislative processes; he has good reason to be concerned about the extent to which future government policies will be carefully scrutinised and perhaps challenged by the Supreme Soviet. One of the first items to be discussed in the next session is an emergency programme to restore economic and financial health – this could have a

rough ride. The leading role of the Party will come into question when policies or legislation, hitherto initiated exclusively by the Party, are amended or rejected by the Supreme Soviet (as has happened on one or two important issues already).

III. THE CPSU – DECLINE OF ITS POWER AND AUTHORITY?

22. During the years of perestroika, the influence and authority of the Party, as well as its historical prestige, particularly at regional and local level but also at the centre, have steadily declined. As the reform process progressed the Party was increasingly left behind, having failed to find a role in the new circumstances despite repeated urgings by Gorbachev.

23. The clearest sign of the crisis was the defeat of a large number of senior party officials in the elections in March to the Congress of People's Deputies. At the Central Committee Plenum on 25 April, many speeches expressed the bitter humiliation felt in the Party and the resentment that glasnost had allowed its image and performance to be defamed. Some local Party officials held that mistaken policies and inadequate leadership from the centre were responsible for their unpopularity, and that local Party organisations had simply taken the brunt of the population's dissatisfaction with a situation over which they have no control, or for their predecessors' shortcomings.

24. In the past two to three months criticism of Gorbachev's policies and, by direct implication, the leadership itself, has become more vocal. Possibly encouraged by outspoken criticism at the Congress which was aimed at previous taboo issues such as the performance of the leadership and the methods of the KGB, and by Eltsin's frequent public denunciation of Gorbachev's policies, Party officials have themselves written articles for the press in which Gorbachev is directly attacked. The articles appeared, as they did last year, just as Gorbachev left for his summer holiday. However, as the September Plenum showed, Gorbachev was sufficiently master of the political situation not only to impose on the Central Committee his agenda and timing for the next Party Congress, but to remove deadwood and live conservative elements (such as Chebrikov) from within the Politburo and to promote his close ally in the KGB (Kryuchkov).

25. The shift of power to the Supreme Soviet presents a dilemma for the Party. The fundamental issue is how the Party, discredited in the main by corruption, complacency, undeserved privileges, and its failure to respond to the people's needs can retain its leading role in society in the new conditions of glasnost and pluralism of opinion, and in which an active and permanent "parliament" (and increasingly powerful Soviets and workers' collectives) are able to discuss and vote on government appointments and legislation, without fear of retribution. Democratic centralism is rarely mentioned nowadays though it in principle still exists; but the cor-

rupt and inefficient nomenklatura system is now openly and increasingly criticised. Local party appointments will increasingly be subject to confirmation through the ballot box in elections to Soviets, though Gorbachev conceded on 18 July that Party secretaries need not in all cases also chair the local Soviet – thereby diminishing the Party's influence. Factory and farm directors are now supposed to be elected by their work forces.

26. The Party has been instructed to function differently. It must no longer manage the economy, but provide political leadership. It should therefore be promoting the implementation of reforms, but since many of these by implication threaten its very role in society, it is unlikely to do so.

27. Gorbachev has asserted that the Party should remain the vanguard of society. He maintains that the one-party system must be preserved and that pluralism of opinion can be effectively achieved within it. The official line is that only the CPSU can hold society together and push through the reforms needed. Party ideologist Medvedev has however conceded that discussion of a multiparty system will have to take place, and that Article 6 of the Constitution, on the leading role of the Party, whose abolition has been openly called for, will need to be reviewed. A Constitutional Commission, headed by Gorbachev, was set up under the Congress of People's Deputies.

28. Against this background, Gorbachev faces a difficult if not impossible task of galvanising and restoring the authority of a Party which daily sees the political initiative slipping away from it to bodies elected by popular mandate. His task is made doubly difficult by the fact that it is he who has set this process in train, and has himself benefited from it through his assumption of the new executive-style Presidency. Gorbachev perceived that the Party was an obstacle to reform and deliberately set out to weaken or by-pass its influence. He succeeded too well and the Party is now demoralised.

IV. NATIONALITIES

29. National unrest, in the Baltic republics and elsewhere, has now reached levels unseen since the Stalin era. But there is no consistent pattern to this upsurge. Despite impressions abroad, the entire periphery is not involved, indeed, more than 90% of the demonstrators come from nationalities accounting for fewer than 10% of the USSR's population. Furthermore, goals differ sharply. The non-Russians are split on virtually everything except language issues, from the question of independence to the meaning of economic autonomy. Except for the Balts, virtually no national group as a whole is pressing for independence. In the Baltic Republics, there has been no communal violence. However, in the Caucasus and some areas of Cen-

tral Asia, there have been repeated breakdowns in public order resulting in considerable loss of life, and, in Armenia, an economic blockade.

30. The impact of this upsurge on the system and Gorbachev personally should not be exaggerated. The overwhelmingly Russian leadership is united in its determination to maintain the territorial integrity of the USSR and will take a very hard line against any challenge on this point. Some disagreements do exist, however, on two subordinate issues: the proper balance between the rights of the 30 million Russians who live outside the RSFSR and the new rights and power for non-Russians; and the extent to which any policy adopted for one region will impact on all others. Divisions on these questions vary from issue to issue rather than crystallising into factions.

31. The extent of leadership agreement was reflected in the “theses” which were adopted at the nationalities plenum in September. Just as the nationality problem itself, they seemed far more radical than they actually were. Virtually all are proposals for discussion rather than policies to be implemented; they will not end either the problem or the debate but rather usher in a new round of ethnic politics, in the legislature and on the streets. But to the extent they reflect Moscow’s current thinking, the regime has clearly signalled its intention to reassert central control over increasingly fractious republics.

32. With rare exceptions, what is to be given to the non-Russian republics with one hand will apparently be taken away by the other. Thus, the republics are to retain control over all areas not delegated to the federal government, but the list of responsibilities reserved for the center is so broad Moscow can still meddle in virtually everything. Republics are to own local resources and develop and implement their own ideas on autonomy, but Moscow intends to retain the right to define Union-wide rules for the use of those resources and the main lines of economic development. And Moscow also expects to be able to veto republic actions even while according republics the right to protest central decisions.

33. On the other hand, the Russian Republic (RSFSR) evidently will gain many institutions it has traditionally lacked – including its own Academy of Sciences and some form of republic Party organisation. And significantly expanded rights may be accorded to autonomous units below the union republic level and to groups currently lacking any state bodies enabling them to organise to defend their cultural and linguistic rights (e.g. the Polish minority in Lithuania which is now pressing for autonomy).

34. Traditionally, when the Party’s Central Committee spoke, the country listened, but in this case, the debate is likely to continue and expand. Nothing, however, has yet been said by Moscow on the one issue that might help clarify the terms of the debate, i.e. the line between permissible means of political protest that will be protected and impermissible actions that will be stopped. As a result, nationalists

will continue to test the limits, while conservatives object to all forms of local assertiveness and question more vigorously the policies that have allowed it.

V. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE BALTIC STATES

35. Tension between Moscow and the Baltic states has intensified steadily. Among the numerous particular causes were clashes over constitutional and legal issues and the threat that republican Communist Party organisations (in Lithuania and Latvia) might withdraw from the CPSU, thereby setting a dangerous precedent. The unitary Communist Party, a Leninist concept, has provided the most important ingredient in the cement which ultimately has kept the Soviet Union (technically a federation of 15 sovereign Soviet Socialist states) together. The Baltic CPs, faced with the threat of defeat in the forthcoming local elections, have increasingly been forced to play the nationalist card. In any event, many local Party members are nationalist-minded and help to boost the ranks of the People's Fronts⁹⁹ which, in all three Republics, have increasingly inscribed separatism on the agenda. The attitude of the Moscow authorities towards them has thus become distinctly negative. The military press, in the meantime, kept up a constant flow of shocked reports at developments, many of them aimed at locally-based servicemen and military facilities.

36. In Estonia, a draft law on elections to local Soviets, published in June, laid down residence requirements for voters and candidates which would, among other things, have had the effect of disenfranchising many locally-based servicemen. This draft proved to be a final straw for the large, but increasingly insecure, Russian minority in the Republic. Strikes began on a relatively small scale organised by the two bodies identified with Russian interests, the Intermovement and Joint Council of Labour Collectives. (Similar bodies exist in the other two Republics and new ones are being formed, such as the Union for the Defence of Soviet Power in Lithuania.) The Estonian Supreme Soviet decided in July to postpone for two weeks a decision on adopting the law and the strikes were called off. However, when the law was duly adopted in August, the strikes resumed with a vengeance: at their peak they involved 80,000 people from more than 50 enterprises. An inept and itself legally dubious attempt was made by the Estonian authorities to declare the strikes illegal. On 16 August, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet ruled aspects of the electoral law to be unconstitutional and Estonia was given until 1 October to amend it, which it actually did on 5 October by reducing the residence requirement from five to two years. In the meantime, the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet had also adopted an electoral law with no such residence requirements. There were strong suspicions

⁹⁹ See footnote 42.

in Estonia that the strikes (in which several defence-related plants were involved) had been directed from Moscow.

37. On 27 July, the USSR Supreme Soviet gave the green light to all three Baltic Republics to introduce republican self-financing on 1 January 1990, a year earlier than originally envisaged. It also approved in principle radical Estonian and Lithuanian plans for economic autonomy. The practical effect of these decisions remained unclear, however: the details of the autonomy plans have yet to be agreed. The debate in the Supreme Soviet revealed that sharp divisions went all the way to the top Soviet leadership about how far the Balts should be permitted to go. Presumably the hope of Gorbachev and his closest colleagues was that the satisfaction of Baltic pressure for economic sovereignty would take at least some of the steam out of the drive for political independence.

38. In the same spirit Gorbachev permitted – after strong Baltic pressure – the establishment of a commission of the Congress of People’s Deputies to examine the 1939 Nazi–Soviet Non-Agression Pact. (The CPSU Central Committee also established a similar commission but there has been no publicity about its workings.) The preliminary findings of the Congress commission stated that the Secret Additional Protocol to the Pact was genuine – in itself a significant breakthrough, since for years the Soviet authorities had muddied the waters on the issue of authenticity while others, including historians, had even suggested that it was a Western forgery. There had been clear indications for some time previously that public opinion was being prepared for a change of line on the genuineness issue. Nevertheless strenuous official efforts were also made to “delink” the Nazi–Soviet territorial deal from the “revolutionary” events of 1940 which led to the incorporation of the Baltic States in the Soviet Union.

39. The untenable view that the Baltic peoples joined the Soviet Union of their own free will was expressed by A. N. Yakovlev, Chairman of the Congress commission in August and subsequently by Gorbachev himself at the September CC Plenum on nationalities. A commission of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, established to study the Nazi–Soviet Treaties of 1939–1941 and their consequences, reported in August that they predetermined the loss of Lithuanian sovereignty and independence and that the declaration of Lithuania’s entry into the USSR by the Lithuanian government in July 1940 and the subsequent USSR law on accepting the Lithuanian SSR into the USSR were illegal. These findings cut directly across the increasingly desperate efforts in Moscow to maintain that the incorporation of the Baltic States in 1940 had been legal. On 21 July, for example, *Pravda* had republished the texts of the declarations issued by the Lithuanian and Estonian government of the day asking to become part of the USSR-documents whose language reeked of *diktat*.

40. The People's Fronts had decided to commemorate the anniversary of the Nazi–Soviet Pact on 23 August with a human chain linking all three Baltic capitals. The event passed off without incident: more than a million people were estimated to have taken part. However Moscow's increasing apprehension about separatist and nationalist tendencies was beginning to find high-level, if belated, expression. On 15 August, *Pravda* had devoted a leading article to the Baltic situation which criticised not only the “frankly anti-Soviet groupings” and those agitating for secession but also the local Communist Parties, stating that some of their organisations “have basically abandoned the political struggle” while some members showed confusion and a tendency towards appeasement. *Pravda* warned that confrontation and political unprincipledness was a “path to major disaster”. The appeals also contained in the statement were, however, likely to fall on increasingly deaf ears. The inducement of fleshing out the sovereignty of the Union Republics with “real economic, social, legal and political content” – albeit within the framework of the Soviet Union – probably came too late to stem popular Baltic appetites for a complete break.

41. A more powerfully worded and authoritative warning, this time by the CC, CPSU, was duly published in the Soviet press on 27 August. Although the statement appealed specifically to the Baltic peoples and individual sections of their populations, as well as to all the peoples living in the area, it was striking that the only direct reference to the powerful People's Fronts was a negative one (to their role in organising the 23 August demonstration). Four days previously *Pravda* had in fact denounced the Lithuanian People's Front (Sajudis) for playing a double game. Speculation about whether Gorbachev had been party to this document, issued while he was on holiday, was cut short by Soviet spokesmen who associated the entire Soviet Party leadership with it.

42. The reaction of the Baltic Communist Parties and their leaders to the statement balanced conciliation with a re-affirmation of the intention to seek greater sovereignty. The Estonian Party leader, Valjas, condemned demands to achieve secession “under present conditions”. The response of many Balts and of the People's Fronts themselves was, predictably, much more negative, sharply denouncing the threats implicit in the statement. Gorbachev also evidently indicated that his own patience with the Balts was running out. On 2 October, a statement has been issued by 40 of the 52 People's Deputies from Lithuania protesting against the CPSU declaration on the Baltic republics. The Lithuanian Party leader, Brazauskas, was twice rung up by Gorbachev who emphasised, according to an interview given subsequently by Brazauskas, that: “No Republic will leave the Soviet Union, but within the federation the Republics can have everything”.

43. It is not easy to predict the future course of events, which will depend to a large extent on the overall political situation in the USSR. Differences among Balts

tend to be over not whether, but how to achieve independence. Speaking of secession at a Lithuanian CC Plenum in June, Brazauskas stated: “The opinion exists that there are two ways to do that. One that the knot which has become so entangled in these last 50 years should be cut off with one stroke, and the other way is to undo this knot”. Several Sajudis leaders have discussed the possibility of a unilateral declaration of independence following the Republican election in the Spring of 1990. If this were to happen, Moscow would be confronted with a dilemma over how to deal with such a situation. One possible scenario would be for intervention, but only as a measure of last resort.

VI. THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION IN POLAND

44. Since the signature of the Polish round-table accords, events have moved even more quickly than they had in the preceding six months. The elections of 4 and 18 June were a referendum on communism, the population roundly rejecting the regime and its antecedents. Solidarity’s landslide victory and the humiliation of virtually all those on the ill-conceived “national list” were only the prelude to the eventual inability of the temporary Prime Minister, General Kiszczak, to form a government.

45. The unprecedented and unexpected exercise of influence by the former “satellite parties” – the United Peasants Party and the Democratic Party – gave Solidarity the votes it required to form its own coalition government. That the behaviour of these parties derived from Lech Walesa’s own proposal and lack of discipline within the old coalition did not alter the result. Throughout this period the newly-configured Polish Parliament behaved as though it regarded itself as it was always described in official publications, i.e. as the “supreme organ of state authority”, a label which it has not lived up to.

46. The current government of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki reflects a necessary blend of all elements of the current political equation. The Polish United Workers Party retains the posts necessary for stability in Poland’s international relationships – i.e. internal security and defence – as well as transport and foreign trade, while Solidarity has taken the lion’s share of economic portfolios in the conviction that they must be the ones to force economic reform forward. The UPP (agriculture) and DP (communications) have been given portfolios which may allow them to establish credibility with the electorate.

47. The Communist Party is demoralised and confused. While some members are determined to reform the party and attempt to become a legitimate force in Poland, others are angry and resentful about the consequences of the reform process which has deprived them of their privileges, left them diminished in power and in some ways side-lined. Their control over the military and police, plus the nomen-

klatura, however, affords them far greater power than their numbers in Cabinet imply. More than legislation will be needed to break up the monopoly of power which has controlled all activity till now; indeed there are few ways to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of institutions which have never been accountable nor subject to the budgetary discipline. In other words, the nomenklatura system remains a force with which to be reckoned.

48. As for Solidarity, it must now prove itself wrong, having maintained for months that it was not yet ready to lead a government. Lacking party discipline and a clear programme, Solidarity must transform itself from the voice of opposition as a trade union to the actual role of political leadership.

49. Meanwhile economic troubles continue. Of all economic indicators, inflation is the most visible (60 percent from January to June, but currently running into hyperinflation), and despite the agreement on indexation of wages to prices, wage demands have increased. Price hikes anticipated during the summer led to hoarding by consumers and empty shelves. July saw a general wage and price freeze in an attempt to stabilise the situation, but August began with de-regulation of much of the food industry and subsequent increases. As usual, farmers held back their livestock in anticipation of increased procurement prices, which led to further shortage of meat. With supplies getting still shorter and farmers holding out for yet higher prices, price hikes on food items became largely academic because shelves remained empty. The Polish leaders are looking to the West for short-term food aid to tide them over the present period of uncertainty.

50. The Polish government are banking on the people's readiness to accept economic hardships as the new power structure settles into place. They are in fact counting on the population's resignation to a continuation of an economy of shortages. Austerity measures imposed by Mazowiecki may be more acceptable to Poles than if they had been imposed by Kiszczak. The corollary is that the Poles now pin unrealistic hopes for results on Solidarity that they would never have expected from the PUWP. They expect Mazowiecki to show results within an as yet undetermined time period, even if, for the moment he is being allowed some margin. Ironically, his temporary collapse while presenting his Cabinet to the Sejm not only generated public sympathy but underlined to Poles the fragility of the system now in place.

VII. HUNGARY: DEATH OF THE HSWP – BIRTH OF THE HSP

An historical break and clearly stated reformist intentions

51. Established on 1st November 1956 by Imre Nagy and Janos Kadar at the height of the events in Hungary on the ruins of the Stalinist Communist Party (Hungarian Workers' Party), the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP)

hardly survived Janos Kadar, who was removed from its leadership in May 1988, retired in May 1989, and died shortly afterwards.

52. Torn between the more orthodox aspirations of the new General Secretary Grosz and of Berecz, member of the Politburo, and the reformist ideology of the other leaders such as Nyers and Pozsgay, who were sidelined from the Politburo in 1974 by Kadar and who returned with renewed strength in May 1988, the HSWP moved from crisis to crisis and on the edge of a split. Its weakening was marked by the discussions on a multiparty system (still rejected by Grosz in November 1988 and accepted in March 1989); the rehabilitation of Imre Nagy (the HSWP was not admitted to the funeral ceremony in June 1989); and the re-evaluation of the events of 1956 (no longer a “counter-revolution” but a “popular uprising” according to Pozsgay). Its members (there were still between 600,000 and 700,000 of them) were leaving the Party in greater numbers each month.

53. At the end of June 1989, the reformers (who on 12th April had obliged Berecz to step down from the Politburo) imposed on Grosz a four-member leadership – Nyers became Chairman of the HSWP, led by him together with Grosz, Pozsgay and Nemeth, the Prime Minister.

54. Finally, after the poor showings of the Party candidates at the four by-elections held during the summer, an extraordinary Congress of the HSWP was convened on 6th October. Eighty per cent of the delegates elected to attend were participating in a Party Congress for the first time. White collar workers were in the majority, as opposed to 20% of blue collar workers. The HSWP dissolved itself and transformed itself into a new party, “the Hungarian Socialist Party” (HSP). Its programme – mainly the work of Pozsgay and of his reformist allies – was approved unanimously without any real discussion. Its main elements were the following:

- The break with Marxism-Leninism – “the Party sets itself apart from all forms of Stalinism and neo-Stalinism. It is embarking on a road to reform and has taken the first steps toward democratic socialism”.

- The establishment of an institutional system for democratic socialism, i.e. a nation of democratic law founded on a broad national consensus, the introduction of the institutions of direct democracy (referendum and petition), the balanced sharing of power among various groups and organizations, a freely elected Parliament to which the Government would be answerable, an elected President of the Republic responsible for maintaining the balance between the centres of power, a multi-party system, independence of local government and of the judiciary.

- The institution of a market economy and of a mixed system of ownership – “the fundamental requirement for economic renewal is the reform of ownership. There will then coexist “state ownership, providing public services”, “communal ownership, organized in the form of co-operatives”, ownership “by social institutions and by self-governing bodies” and, lastly, “private property – one of the indis-

pensable forces for promoting growth". The HSP commits itself to "providing constitutional guarantees of equality of opportunity among the various forms of ownership", to creating a "predictable financial system that is stable and flexible", and to making the Forint convertible.

– The new Hungarian Socialist Party is both a "socialist party of the left that preaches the synthesis of basic socialist and communist values", a "party of the people", a "party of reform which is concentrating its efforts on the peaceful transition to democracy", a "party of the nation which brings together support for Hungarian interests and those of the national ethnic minorities with international solidarity, and which defends Hungarians abroad", a "democratic party which rejects democratic centralism".

55. In addition to a President (Nyers) – whose election was an easy matter (88%) – a "steering committee" of 23 members (which replaces the Politburo of the former HSWP) was elected with greater difficulty by the Congress. A small majority (13) won out in favour of the reformers.

56. Several deadlines have been set on the domestic political front. Members of the former HSWP had to make known in writing their membership in the HSP before the end of October, but the deadline was extended. On 25th November 1989, elections were scheduled to take place for the President of the Republic, though it is not yet clear whether these will be by direct suffrage or by Parliament: a referendum may be held on the issue.¹⁰⁰ Pozsgay, a reformer, a former member of the Politburo, who would have been the HSWP's candidate for this election, will be the HSP candidate. In the Spring of 1990, free elections are to be held for the new Parliament.

The remaining ambiguities and rivalries

57. The founding Congress of the HSP was the work of Nyers. This former social democrat, the father of Hungarian economic reform,¹⁰¹ who joined the Communist Party at the time of the post-war party merger and who was removed from the Politburo by Kadar in 1974, managed the 14th HSWP Congress by eliminating extremist tendencies and by endeavouring to strengthen the reformist nature of the Party. He forged the compromise among the six founding "platforms" of the HSP and endeavoured to avoid any split, contrary to the view of other reformers who, like Pozsgay, would have preferred a cleaner break with the Communists.

58. Certain rivalries remain. The ultra reformists are joining the HSP but have been sidetracked by the "steering committee"; the "Federation of Reformists" (20% of the Congress) brings together Pozsgay's allies who want a clear separation between

100 In the referendum on November 26, 1989 a small majority of participants said "yes" to the question "Should the parliamentary elections precede the presidential elections?"

101 Rezső Nyers as the Secretary for Economic Policy of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in 1962–1974 was one of the elaborators of the economic reform package called New Economic Mechanism, introduced in 1968.

conservatives and reformers; the democratic-popular platform (5%) brings together the reformist Marxists attached to unity and not hostile to Nyers; the “renewal of the HSWP” (1%) around Grosz and Berecz came out against the HSP and in favour of maintaining the HSWP; the “Janos Kadar Society” remains loyal to “traditional” Marxist-Leninist values and appears to be heading towards the creation of a new Hungarian Communist Party. (Kadar’s widow has dissociated herself from the Group.)

59. The founding Congress of the HSP recorded in basic documents the radical changes begun by the former HSWP (multiparty system; correction of the historical record; the market economy, human rights) and also marked the break with the Party-State. In view of the forthcoming Parliamentary elections, however, the crucial question is also posed of the new Party’s credibility with the Hungarian electorate. What success will the HSP have with its members? How many former members of the HSWP will rejoin its ranks? What will be the reaction of the Hungarian nomenklatura? Will the new members be adequate in number to give Hungarians the feeling that they are dealing with a new Party? Or will the impression persist of its being a modern garb for an old and rejected reality?

60. The gamble undertaken by many reformist leaders of the former HSWP, and by Pozsgay in particular, is clear. They intend to gain a certain popularity by bringing about and managing far-reaching reforms. A revision of the constitution, voted on 18th October, established a multiparty system. They hope in this way to come out ahead (30%-35% of the votes) in the forthcoming free elections. Will they succeed? Will the people be tempted to react to this failure of communism with a resurgence of nationalism (which in Hungary took on extreme forms in the past)? What will be the relationship between the HSP and the Soviet Party and the Soviet Union? The Soviet press reflects a certain perplexity and emphasises the “change in the nature” of the Hungarian Party and the ambiguities of its action. What will be the reaction of the Hungarian opposition – splintered as it is – toward the new HSP? Will it seek to identify the HSP – for electoral reasons – with the former HSWP? Or will it, on the contrary, see in the HSP a possible partner for a future government coalition?

VIII. BULGARIA: MOTIVES FOR THE FORCED EMIGRATION

61. The period under review was dominated by the mass emigration of ethnic Turks.¹⁰² Between late May and late August some 317,000 had crossed into Turkey. The exodus seems to have been prompted initially by the harsh reaction of the Bulgarian authorities to the action in early May of a number of ethnic Turkish civil rights groups in campaigning for the restoration of ethnic and cultural rights.

102 [The Greek expert deemed it necessary to note that the term used in the international treaties fixing the Bulgarian obligations on the matter and reflecting reality is “Moslem minorities” composed of various ethnic groups.]

62. The regime has drawn heavily on nationalist rhetoric to justify its actions against the 1.5 million-strong Turkish minority.¹⁰³ The assimilation campaign is only the latest in a series of efforts to create a homogeneous single-nation state.

But the campaign backfired dramatically, serving instead to harden the Turks' opposition. Marches and hunger strikes took place in the predominantly Turkish minority areas of North-Eastern and Southern Bulgaria throughout May.

Demonstrations were put down by force which according to the Bulgarian authorities resulted in 7 people being killed and 28 being injured. The actual death toll was probably considerably higher.

63. In late May the authorities began to expel large numbers of Turks, some of whom were human rights activists and had taken part in the demonstrations, either direct to Turkey or to transit countries (eg Austria). Following Zhivkov's call to Turkey to open its borders to all "Bulgarian Moslems" who wanted to emigrate, thousands of ethnic Turks took advantage of more liberal passport regulations announced in early May to apply for exit visas. The extraordinary exit procedures, which draw on provisions of the newly adopted passport law scheduled to go into effect on 1 September, served two purposes for the authorities: propagandistically, Sofia may now claim that it is fulfilling its CSCE obligations; and politically, the assimilation campaign got a new lease of life – all those who consider themselves Turks will go to Turkey, while those who choose to remain will ipso facto have chosen assimilation.

64. The massive population outflow to Turkey has shown the authorities, however, that their policy of assimilation was rejected by the majority of the Turkish community in Bulgaria and not only by a handful of activists. It was primarily an error in the assessment of the situation by the Bulgarians which led to the exodus of more than 310,000 Bulgarians of Turkish origin. Taken up short by the Turkish reply, Bulgaria had no choice but to allow a substantial number of its nationals to leave. Moreover, the involuntary nature of this exodus is one further demonstration of the displeasure of the Bulgarian authorities. Until those leaving the country arrived at the border, the Bulgarian authorities did everything in their power to make their lives difficult through harassment and repressive measures. It was therefore an exodus which was repugnant to the Bulgarian authorities. The outflow was sharply reduced in late August when Turkey re-introduced a visa requirement, but many ethnic Turks are continuing to apply to leave. The decision of the Turkish government was based on the premise that the early signing of an emigration agreement with Bulgaria which will both conform to international norms and safeguard the property and social rights of the refugees would be possible.

103 [The Greek expert deemed it necessary to underline that other Western estimates put the number of the Moslem group in question at about one million.]

IX. THE CHANGING FACE OF POLITICAL OPPOSITION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

65. The base of opposition has broadened considerably in Czechoslovakia over the past six months. An alliance of sorts between the Church, Charter 77, and re-emerging leaders of the Prague Spring has helped to turn passive dislike of the regime into a more active commitment for change. A politicised youth is channelling its energy into special interest issues such as the ecology or military service. A new civil society, made up of underground publishing, art exhibits, and independent church groups, has taken root in that grey zone between open dissent and officialdom. However, this opposition is not evolving along lines typical of any other Warsaw Pact country. There is no sign that increasingly bold and widespread dissent is growing into a mass political movement on the scale of Solidarity. In spite of shortages on the domestic market, the standard of living is not badly depressed and not so unsatisfactory as to bring about the social conditions from which Solidarity grew. Czechoslovak opposition is a blend of elements shaped by long-term historical and social trends.

66. Charter 77 with at present roughly 1500 subscribers (there are no members of, but only subscribers to the so-called "Church") and the "Committee for the Defence of Persecuted Innocents" (VONS),¹⁰⁴ of which a few dozen committed "Chartists" are members, used to be the only opposition groupings worth mentioning. Since 1987, however, almost 30 additional groups of dissidents have joined them. Some are "offsprings" of Charter 77, but most of them have been set up independently of it. The so-called "Jazz Section" of the Czechoslovak Musicians Association with its about 5000 members has existed since 1970, it is true, but only since 1987 has it developed an opposition character, especially by publishing "independent" literature. In the last year however, the number of "organized" opposition members has markedly increased. Now, Charter initiatives are receiving a new impetus in the form of support from the Church and former leaders of the Prague Spring as well as support and advice on the international level from certain former Polish dissidents who are now official representatives of Solidarity. This public concordance of views is greatly enhanced through the use of Radio Free Europe (RFE), which the regime stopped jamming late last year.

67. The Catholic Church has increasingly taken on an active role in support of reform. Cardinal Tomasek publicly condemned the regime's harsh crackdown on demonstrations last January. This came after a petition with 600,000 signatures was handed over to the government demanding greater religious freedom. A new-found rapprochement of views was demonstrated symbolically by the Cardinal's meetings

¹⁰⁴ See footnote 31.

with Charter 77 spokesmen and Alexander Dubcek, during the week of the Cardinal's ninetieth birthday celebrations last June.

68. The "re-awakening" of the 1968 reform communists has broadened the base of opposition. Together with other personalities such as Vaclav Havel, Dubcek is still a well-remembered figure in Czechoslovakia. He has helped turn passive support for change to active commitment among the intelligentsia and formerly purged communists. The creation of an opposition group consisting of 1968 reformers ("Obroda"), with branches throughout Czechoslovakia has been an important step in opening up an alternative unofficial channel for political action. The past six months has witnessed a surprising series of meetings between representatives of the purged communists and senior figures of the Communist Party Secretariat. The Secretariat has asked for and received proposals for economic and political reform. The regime has seemingly concluded that the reform communists might be suitable interlocutors for dialogue, a dialogue Gorbachev is insisting upon in Czechoslovakia.

69. The opposition has opened into, and increasingly become confounded with, activity in the grey zone between uncompromising dissent and official structures. Not only independent youth groups, but church activists, samizdat publishing, and the rebirth of the jazz section under the new name of "Art Forum" fall into this category. So do many members of the Academy of Sciences, artists and actors who have decided to speak up for reform by signing the latest opposition petition ("A Few Sentences"). At last count, about 30,000 had signed since July, the country's most successful politically oriented petition since the 1960s.

70. The response of the regime to this broadening of opposition has been very tentative dialogue, coupled with severe repression of what are deemed unacceptable activities. The dividing line seems to be any attack on the leading role of the Communist Party. Repression and sometimes jail sentences are handed out to those who promote this in samizdat, petitions, or demonstrations. The regime has come down hard on those who use RFE to attack the leading role of the party, or rely on RFE to promote petitions or demonstrations. Gross violations of human rights by the regime will thus continue for the foreseeable future, despite its attempt at controlled dialogue.

* * *

X. YUGOSLAVIA: INTER-REPUBLICAN RIVALRIES

71. The efforts of Premier Ante Marković to synthesise Serb-style centralism and Slovene-style liberalism in pursuit of market reforms are being seriously hampered by the economy's hyper-inflation and Serbian President Milošević's bid for ascendancy. The inflation rate is expected to exceed 1500 percent before the end of the

year. Workers' strikes, protests by farmers, and widespread consumer discontent are putting immense pressure on the government to focus on the symptoms, and not on the underlying structural problems. There is an ever-deepening gulf between the Republics and this could become more dangerous if the system and central control continue to weaken.

72. Milošević has taken advantage of the disarray in Belgrade to promote his own programmes for economic and political reform. Earlier this year he reached what many thought was his apogee, engineering the enactment of amendments to Serbia's constitution which codified the pro-Serbian coups d'état in its autonomous provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo.¹⁰⁵

73. The quarrel between Serbia and Slovenia continues and recent developments in the two Republics indicate that a reconciliation is unlikely. Milošević for his part is trying to impose both his own vision of a united, fundamentally authoritarian party, and also Serbian dominance on the rest of the Federation. The Slovenes continue to promote their concept of a loose, pluralistic confederation. The LCY Plenum on 17 May on the Kosovo showed how bitter the Serb/Slovene division had become by then. A subsequent exchange of letters between the two Presidencies exacerbated the quarrel.

74. Slovenia is dissatisfied with its position in the Yugoslav federation. The underlying issue is its relationship with Serbia. Although both favour significant economic, political, and social reforms, they differ over how to implement them. Kukan, president of the Slovenian League of Communists, has several times suggested that if relations within the federation do not improve, then Slovenia would have no choice but to secede from Yugoslavia. In fact, the Constitutional Commission of the Slovenian National Assembly has adopted amendments to the Republic's con-

105 Having obtained the leadership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Milošević declared the "antibureaucratic revolution" in 1988. As a part of this movement, as many as tens of thousands of nationalists, transported by bus and train to the scene, demanded the resignation of the leadership in Kosovo and Vojvodina. Mass demonstrations were held in Novi Sad on October 5, 1988, later called the "Yoghurt Revolution" because the demonstrators were throwing boxes of yoghurt. On January 10–11, 1989 the "antibureaucratic revolution" reached Montenegro too. The regional leaders were replaced by Milošević's comrades. Then he asked for permission from the Federal Council of Yugoslavia to end the strike of miners in Kosovo. Under this pretext the leaders of the communist party (of Albanian origin) in Kosovo were imprisoned and accused of counter-revolutionary activity. At the same time the Serbian leadership elaborated a proposal to suppress the regional autonomy of Kosovo province. On March 28, 1989 the Serbian Parliament accepted the modifications in the Constitution, which were centralizing and restrictive in character, decreasing regional autonomy. This meant that the right of the autonomous region to raise "veto" (objection) against the modification of the constitution of the republic was abolished, and some rights concerning the legal and executive power were also suppressed. After the implementation of these changes in the spring of 1989 the Albanians began to protest, but the Serbian police was deployed. As the new elections were boycotted by the Albanians, Milošević's supporters won. He was elected as the President of Serbia in May 1989.

stitution; the most controversial being a clause claiming the right to secession. The Slovene decision provoked violent controversy at Federal and inter-Republican level but unless the Slovenes try to implement the right to secede, no real risk of an armed forces intervention seems likely. Moreover, given Slovenia's important economic and political role in Yugoslavia, and its dependency on natural resources in Serbia, Macedonia, Kosovo and Bosnia, it seems unlikely that it would break away.

75. The new burst of Serb nationalist activism emboldened Milošević's opponents in Croatia and Bosnia. On 8 July, Serbs from Montenegro and Serbia streamed into Knin in Croatia to augment local Serbs in a demonstration at the dedication of a Serbian monastery. This show of force by pro-Milošević forces on Croatian territory rocked the leadership of that republic and led them to join the Slovenes in protesting attempts at "Great Serb homogenization". Bosnian leaders, fearful of the potential of mass action from their own substantial Serb minority, joined in. At the July 30–31 nationalities plenum, Serbs and Milošević were the targets of an increased amount of invective, including from the army. Macedonia, which has generally been in Milošević's camp, also took offense at Serb attempts to repeal laws forestalling claims by Serbs who settled in Macedonia in 1920–40 to return to areas from which they were forced out during World War II.

76. The next major battleground for inter-Republican disputes is likely to be the 14th LCY Congress now postponed until January 1990. As a compromise to Slovenia, the Congress will be organised as a regular Congress but termed an "extraordinary" one. This reduces the tactical advantages which might otherwise have accrued to Serbia.

XI. ALBANIA'S RELATIONS WITH THE CMEA COUNTRIES

77. In September, Czechoslovakia and Albania upgraded their diplomatic relations to Ambassadorial level. Poland remains the only NSWP country which has not yet returned its ambassador to Tirana, following the break in 1968.¹⁰⁶ Despite these developments in the diplomatic field, Albania wishes to keep at a minimum its political relations with Warsaw Pact countries; it continues to avoid Party to Party contacts with them. However, Albania is willing to expand its economic ties with those countries in order to improve its industrial infrastructure without any hard currency requirements. On the other hand, there is no indication of a softening of Albania's refusal to establish diplomatic relations with the USSR.

78. Most notable in Albania's relations with the other countries of Eastern Europe was the visit in June by Oskar Fischer, the GDR Foreign Minister. This marked the highest level Warsaw Pact visit since Albania's 1961 split from Moscow. While

106 On September 12, 1968 Albania abrogated the Warsaw Pact.

Fischer was in Albania agreements on economic and industrial co-operation were signed and also on health. The two countries are aiming at increasing their trade volume up to 200 million marks per year. Bulgaria was perhaps second only to the GDR overall activities. Normalisation of relations progressed in full swing. Agreement on scientific, economic and technical co-operation is being implemented. Despite its unfavourable economic situation, Romania has managed with supplies of durables and machinery and offers of know-how in oil exploration along with co-operation in agriculture. Czechoslovakia remained the number one trade partner.

79. It therefore seems that the Albanian leaders are endeavouring adroitly to take advantage of the courtship by the East European countries to normalise their relations. The Albanian leaders are not disposed, however, to give up their deeply held anti-Sovietism. The improvement in relations with the countries of Eastern Europe also constitutes a measure of safety which allows Tirana not to depend solely for its development on Western countries, which would place the country in an untenable position, at least from an ideological standpoint.

NA: The Situation in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, C-M(89)57 (November 8, 1989).

DOCUMENT 5.
CONSEIL DE L'ATLANTIQUE NORD
NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL
NATO CONFIDENTIAL
ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/FRENCH DOCUMENT
8th May 1990

C-M(90)11

THE SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE
OCTOBER 1989 TO APRIL 1990

Note by the Secretary General

1. I attach a report on "The Situation in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe" forwarded to me by the Chairman of the Expert Working Group which met at NATO Headquarters from 9-11 April 1990.

2. I would remind you that the report is the responsibility only of those experts who participated in the Working Group.

3. This report will be placed on the Agenda of the Council meeting on 16th May.

(Signed) M. WÖRNER

NATO
1110 Brussels

THE SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE

Note by the Chairman of the Expert Group

1. Experts from Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States met at NATO Headquarters from 9th to 11th April 1990 to prepare the attached report.

2. This document covers the period 21st October 1989 to 11th April 1990.

(Signed) D. I. MILLER

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I. GENERAL TRENDS AND OUTLOOK

1. In the USSR, the decline of the Party and the inability of the legislative organs to provide sufficient leadership created a vacuum that Gorbachev intends to fill with a strong presidency. The need for a powerful executive is intensified by the unravelling social and economic situation in the country. Growing crime rates, strikes, and ethnic clashes have frayed the social fabric of the country. These problems are aggravated by the unfavourable effect of half-hearted economic reforms. Gorbachev hopes that strong presidential powers will enable him to deal with these issues more effectively. On the other hand, the outcome of the reform process is likely to be attributed to him more directly in the future.

2. The threat of secession by Republics and prolonged interethnic strife are two of the most dangerous issues facing Gorbachev at the moment. He probably hopes to hold off independence moves with delaying tactics in order to buy enough time to allow a consensus on the future shape of the Soviet Union to emerge. If Lithuania and the other Baltic republics were nevertheless to insist on independence and take concrete steps to assert sovereignty, this would probably set in train a series of unpredictable events. Gorbachev might come under intense pressure to use whatever force was necessary to preserve the Union.

3. 1989 saw economic stagnation, growing shortages, the spread of rationing to additional urban centers, widespread coal strikes and other work stoppages [stoppages], and a progressive deterioration of the transportation network that weakened an already inadequate distribution system. Negative GNP growth is likely in 1990, given current conservative policies and disruptions to economic activity.

4. Economic reform has been hobbled by continued and inconclusive debate over fundamental issues such as the role of private property in a socialist state as well as by an unwillingness to confront the politically charged question of prices and subsidies. The government has already decided to speed up the reform programme presented by Ryzhkov to the Congress of People's Deputies in December, which concentrated on stabilisation and economic recovery, with reforms of prices and state orders significantly curtailed. This programme would not have eliminated excess demand in the consumer market, nor put the economy on the path of sustained growth and increasing efficiency. Meanwhile, the introduction of a package of radical market-oriented reforms has been deferred.

5. In *Poland*, the new government led by Mazowiecki has succeeded in establishing its credibility both at home and abroad over the last six months. The initial results of the economic austerity programme which began on 1 January brought some encouragement. However, public patience will not be limitless with unemployment likely to rise by one million in 1990. The government has kept the initiative in the area of political reform with the intention of fundamentally changing the political system. The local elections in May will restore representative government to regional and local levels, eliminating the lingering influence of the nomenklatura. General elections planned for 1992/93 may be brought forward to the end of this year or early 1991 and accompanied by a Presidential election. In its foreign policy, Poland is turning increasingly towards the West, while redefining its relationship with the Soviet Union.

6. In *Czechoslovakia*, the collapse of communist rule was rapid. For the immediate future attention is centred on preparation both for free elections (8 June) and for moving towards a market economy with the introduction of private ownership and foreign capital. The outcome of the elections is likely to be a coalition government along the lines of electoral alliances. The Czech–Slovak relationship and the problem of ethnic minorities will require delicate handling. In the foreign affairs field, the basic theme is the need to open up to the rest of the world and to overcome the division of Europe.

7. In *Hungary*, the transition to parliamentary democracy passed a milestone with its two-round, free parliamentary elections. The center-right Hungarian Democratic Forum won a substantial victory over its nearest rival, the Liberal Alliance of Free Democrats. The Hungarian Socialist Party (the former Communist Party) fared badly. An austerity programme was introduced in December, but Hungary

faces difficult years ahead, with reduced living standards and unemployment bound to rise. The Hungarians stress the need for foreign economic support to underpin the new democracy and a market economy. In their foreign relations, there is no doubt that they will increasingly turn towards the West.

8. In *Romania*, the December Revolution of 1989 finally overthrew Ceausescu's dictatorship. However the new government's members have virtually all come from the ranks of the former regime. Elements of the old bureaucracy remained intact. The formation of the Provisional Council of National Unity has defused some contentious issues, but has not redressed the basic imbalance between the National Salvation Front and the welter of new parties. It is hoped that the elections on 20 May may provide the stability that the political situation needs. Even so Romania will need a leader who will not appear compromised by the old regime and who will have the ability to maintain objectivity during fierce political debate. Romania has set out to improve its foreign relations and has reaffirmed its international commitments, including that to the CSCE.

9. In *Bulgaria*, the reformist group that forced out Todor Zhivkov in November 1989, aimed to save the communist party from the fate of those of Poland, Hungary and East Germany. The new leadership has declared its intention to build a law-based democratic state, meeting the highest international standards. The Party's leading role has been removed from the Constitution; multi-party elections will take place in June; the Party is engaged in regular round tables with the opposition. In the field of human rights, civil and religious rights of the Turkish minority have been officially restored,¹⁰⁷ but practices are still far from reflecting the new laws and regulations. In the absence of a more cohesive and effective opposition, the BSP (formerly the BCP) still seems likely to emerge as the biggest single party from the elections.

10. *Yugoslavia* continues in its efforts to conduct economic reforms and introduce potentially far-reaching political changes. With the bulk of the Federal Government's economic reform in place, early in 1990 Markovic introduced constitutional amendments to institute secret, democratic multi-party elections. Political parties are springing up. Many of them are based on one republic and are strongly nationalist. In Slovenia and Croatia center-right or right-wing coalitions and parties are likely to emerge.

11. In *Albania*, reports of demonstrations and general unrest in January were not confirmed. At the 9th Plenum of the Party on 22–23 January, Ramiz Alia put forward a number of economic reforms and called for further decentralisation. Albania has shown further interest in widening its external relations. Despite these developments, rapid changes within the country are not to be expected.

107 [The Greek expert deemed it necessary to note that the term used in the International treaties fixing the Bulgarian obligations on the matter and reflecting reality is "Moslem minorities".]

II. SOVIET UNION: THE NEW PRESIDENCY

12. On 15 March, Gorbachev was elected to the new post of President of the USSR. The move marks a fundamental shift in the power structure of the Soviet Union, along with the Party's relinquishment of its constitutionally enshrined leading role.

13. Last October, Gorbachev was arguing that an executive presidency would detract from the authority of the soviets. But by December or January, he had changed his mind – something for which Politburo member Yakovlev is claiming credit. Having done so, Gorbachev moved fast. He launched the proposal for an executive presidency at the Central Committee plenum on 5 February, and a week later pressed for an emergency session of the Congress of People's Deputies to pass the necessary constitutional amendments. When on 14 February the Supreme Soviet declined to summon the Congress without sight of the proposed legislation, Gorbachev produced a draft, gave the Supreme Soviet one day to debate it and one week for committees to consider it, and secured agreement to the start of the Congress on 12 March, just two weeks later than he had originally intended.

14. It is not known for sure what caused Gorbachev to change his mind, or why he acted in such haste. He and his supporters have offered two main lines of argument. The first was that a strong presidency was urgently needed in order decisively to defend and advance perestroika in the face of growing economic crisis, political instability, crime, ethnic and nationalist unrest. Gorbachev's frustration over delays in introducing a state of emergency in Baku in January reportedly contributed to his decision. Signs in January of "people power" in the Slav heartland, perhaps conjuring spectres of an East European-style "revolution from below", may also have acted as a spur.

15. But these considerations were probably secondary to the other line of argument: namely, that in transferring political power to elected state institutions, a stronger executive was needed to avoid a power vacuum as the Party began to lose its authority. For Gorbachev personally, this must have been at least as urgent as the need to gain control of the country's accumulating crises. Well in advance of the 28th Party Congress (now due to begin on 2 July), he needed a new power base that would distance him from the consequences of any split within the CPSU or its collapse or conversion into a parliamentary party within a multi-party system.

16. Because of the haste, the atmosphere of emergency and the rough manner in which Gorbachev forced through the legislation, strong fears were aroused that the presidency was being given excessive powers. Although many radicals supported the principle of a constitutional presidency, they were particularly concerned that the President in his first term was not going to be elected by popular vote. Representatives of republics were inclined to argue that the presidency should not be instituted until the relationship between the Union and the republics had been sorted

out. They were alarmed at the President's powers to introduce states of emergency. This worry caused the Lithuanians to rush through their declaration of independence on 11 March. However, the vote in the Congress of People's Deputies on 13 March was overwhelmingly in favour of the principle of the presidency, partly no doubt because some concessions to the concerns of radicals and nationalists were on offer. Drafting changes were made more difficult by Gorbachev's procedural trick in having the draft legislation first voted into the constitution, thus requiring two thirds rather than simple majorities to amend it.

17. The President undoubtedly has considerable powers. But in the Soviet context, one of the most important features of the new legislation is that the powers of, and constraints on, the country's leader are defined for the first time. No formal powers at all were vested in the Party's General Secretary. Hence the efforts of successive General Secretaries to accumulate powers – and in Stalin's case, dictatorial ones. The legislation also imposes a clear limit on the leader's tenure and provides for an orderly succession, from now on through a process of universal suffrage.

18. The new President must operate within a constitutional system of checks and balances that assigns considerable powers to the legislature and to a form of constitutional court (the Committee for Supervision of the Constitution). For example, the President cannot dissolve the Congress of People's Deputies; and can dissolve the Supreme Soviet only if its two chambers fall out irreconcilably between themselves. He cannot prevent either body from meeting in regular or extraordinary session. Like the US President, his veto on legislation can be overridden by a two thirds majority in each of the Supreme Soviet's two chambers. He depends on majority votes of the Supreme Soviet and/or Congress for his appointment of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, the Council of Ministers and individual Government Ministers. Equally, he cannot dismiss the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, or its members without the legislature's approval. He has no formal say over the composition of the Committee for Supervision of the Constitution. He cannot declare war unless the country is attacked and cannot introduce martial law, a state of emergency or presidential rule union-wide without the subsequent approval of the Supreme Soviet.

19. More intangibly, the President has to work within the framework of Supreme Soviet legislation. His decrees must be "on the basis of and in execution of the Soviet constitution and laws". While the Supreme Soviet has no formal powers to annul his decrees, it can by majority vote get the Committee for Supervision of the Constitution to rule on their constitutionality or legality. It can also legislate in a contrary sense (at which point the presidential decree would by implication lose its validity); while the Congress can at any time by a two thirds majority amend the constitution, including the President's powers.

20. The President can be removed for violation of the constitution or laws, in the light of the findings of the Committee for Supervision of the Constitution, by a two thirds majority of the Congress. This provision could prove to be quite a catch-all: an unpopular President would need to be scrupulous in being seen to be observing the constitution. He would also have to bear in mind that for election to a second term he requires not only a majority of the total vote but also a victory in a majority of republics.

21. The President is to be advised by two completely new bodies. One is the Federation Council, which is to examine nationalities policy, inter-ethnic disputes and the co-ordination of the activity of republics. It is chaired by the President, but the highest state officials of the 15 Union republics sit on it *ex officio*. Although the President can in principle ignore a majority in the Federation Council, he probably could not in practice do so for long without provoking a conflict between the centre and the republics. On the second body, the Presidential Council, only the Prime Minister sits *ex officio*. The Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet has the right to participate. Other members are appointed by the President, who chairs the Council. In practice, the Council is likely to function as a Cabinet and National Security Council, into which the advice of the Government will be channeled.

22. The country will thus be administered by the President and the Council of Ministers (under its Chairman). Their instruments are a potentially conflicting mix including legislation (in supposedly creative tension with the Supreme Soviet), presidential decree, and resolutions and orders of the Council of Ministers. The intention is that the centre's decisions will be implemented by the republican Governments and local authorities. It is presumably hoped that compliance will be facilitated by the presence of the top republican leaders in the Federation Council, by the provision for joint meetings of the Federation and Presidential Councils, by the mechanism whereby republican constitutions and legislation are to be aligned with those of the centre, and by the participation of representatives of all the republics and lesser territories in the legislature.

23. The Soviet Presidency includes elements borrowed from the French and US constitutions (and in the case of Presidential Rule, the Indian). The powers assigned to the Soviet President do not appear excessive and on paper there are adequate checks and balances. But as Soviet opponents of the Presidency have pointed out, the danger is that given the lack of democratic tradition or "political culture" in the Soviet Union, and against the background of growing economic difficulties and political unrest, old habits could prevail and the limits and controls fail to function. Nonetheless the introduction of the Presidency represents a major step towards the separation of Party and State and the establishment, for the first time in Soviet history, of a legal, constitutional basis for political power. The shift of policy and decision making to the President and his advisory bodies should deprive the Politburo

of the political power it has hitherto wielded. Although new laws aimed at guaranteeing the independence of the judiciary have been enacted, their implementation in practice has not yet been fully tested. The relation between the judiciary and the Presidency is yet to be clearly established.

24. The Presidency will make Gorbachev's position secure and his policies independent of the apparatus and the highest organs of the Party (although it was the Party Central Committee which nominated him for the Presidency). It is more doubtful if Presidential power will be politically effective and contribute significantly towards solving the Soviet Union's current problems. For all the formal powers Gorbachev has received, it is by no means certain that he will have the greater authority necessary to settle conflicts or impose unpopular economic measures. He has no popular mandate (and received only a narrow majority from the Congress itself) and with the Party's authority in sharp decline he lacks sufficient political base or legitimacy. He will moreover now bear direct personal responsibility for policy failings, especially in the economy and is thus likely to become increasingly the target for popular discontent. There is no new local structure of power to implement his policies and some of the Republics (including the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR) could vote themselves the power to ignore Presidential decrees or elect their own Presidents with powers conflicting with those of the USSR President (three Republics, Kazakhstan, Georgia and Moldavia have already indicated an intention to elect Presidents). Gorbachev could hold all the formal levels of power but find that little happens when he pulls them, unless he is prepared to resort to emergency powers and use force.

III. THE CPSU: WHAT LEADING ROLE?

25. The draft CPSU Platform for the 28th Congress, published in the Soviet press on 13 February, contains unambiguous formulations on the abandonment of the Party's constitutional leading role and its monopoly of political power. The revised version of Article 6 of the Constitution adopted at the extraordinary Third Congress of People's Deputies on 14 March drops the reference to the CPSU's role as the "leading and directing force of Soviet society and the nucleus of the political system"; it now states that the CPSU and "other political parties" participate in formulating the policy of the Soviet state and the administration of public affairs. The reference to the Party's leading role has also been removed from the preamble to the Constitution, while Article 51 now refers to the right of Soviet citizens to form political parties. The fundamental revision of Article 6 not only signals the transfer of real political power from the Party to elective state institutions; it also logically implies the withdrawal of the Party from its ubiquitous controlling presence within all public and state organisa-

tions, the eventual withering away of the nomenklatura system and the end of the role of Marxism-Leninism as the State ideology.

26. The institution of the USSR Presidency provides a mechanism for the transfer of political decision-making power from the Party to the State at the top level. The President will be directly accountable to the electorate and to the Congress of People's Deputies, not to the Politburo (to be renamed Presidium and confined to CPSU affairs). The former Article 6 not only referred to the leading role of the Party and its determination of foreign and domestic policy, but also described it as the "nucleus of the political system and of state and public organisations". There are Party committees in every ministry, factory, state farm, scientific and educational establishment and newspaper, to say nothing of the Armed Forces, the KGB and the MVD. If the Party is really to abandon its "privileged status" and "political monopolism", it follows logically that the Party should withdraw its organisations from state and public institutions and disentangle itself from the state and economic administration at every level. Similarly the whole system of party control over the Armed Forces should fall away. However, the Head of the Political Administration of the Armed Forces has warned against any attempt to disband political organs, while conceding that their function could be changed in the direction of providing political education.

27. The unravelling of the Party from the fabric of the system which is the logical consequence of abandoning Article 6 will have enormous and very painful implications for the CPSU. It is doubtful if many in the Party have fully digested those implications and will be willing to accept them. But with the Party in retreat there will be strong radical pressure to follow through.

28. There is no language in the draft CPSU Platform or in the amended Constitution restricting new parties to those which profess socialism or support the existing socialist system, although Yakovlev has implied that new parties would have to stand "on the platform of the socialist choice". In the event the only caveat in the Platform is: "the formation and activity of organisations and movements which expound violence and inter-ethnic strife and pursue extremist and unconstitutional aims should be prohibited by law". The amended Constitution (Article 7) prohibits parties which advocate forcibly changing the constitutional system and the integrity of the socialist state, undermining its security or stirring up social, ethnic or religious strife.

29. The Central Committee Plenum has accepted the most contentious aspect of Party reform defining the relationship of the CPSU to the state and society and its monopoly of political power; but the draft Platform is much more cautious on the other major aspect – the democratisation of the Party itself, notably democratic centralism and the ban on fractions. The draft admits the need for "rethinking the principle of democratic centralism" and calls for the Party Rules

to guarantee pluralism of opinions, freedom of criticism, various approaches and platforms... the minority's right to uphold its views". But it also states that the renewal of the principle of democratic centralism should "ensure democratic unity of Party ranks and prevent the formation of fractions with their own internal organisation and discipline". It appears that on these issues the views of Ligachev prevailed. He declared in his speech at the Plenum that although the principle of democratic centralism needed to be reconsidered, he "opposed the party's transformation into an amorphous organisation or a political club". Eltsin, the only Central Committee member to vote against the draft Platform, explained that he had done so because the draft failed to include radical provisions which he had proposed, notably on lifting the ban on fractions and abolishing the principle of democratic centralism. At the March Plenum, Gorbachev took a distinctly cautious line on Party reform. He referred to the CPSU as "the ruling Party", rejected the idea of changing its name, converting it into a parliamentary-type Party or organising it strictly on a territorial basis. He appeared to rule out permitting fractions in the Party and he bowed to the views of those who wish to retain the term "democratic centralism" in the Party Rules.

30. The ban on formal fractions is the key issue of internal Party reform. Only by permitting fractions can the CPSU develop real political activity within its own ranks so as to compete with other political movements. To preserve its spurious unity at the price of compromise with the conservatives, would condemn the Party to be sidelined in due course. Indeed the Platform appears to admit this in acknowledging that if it does not change, the Party is "threatened with being driven to the sidelines of political life". It is true that legalised fractions would eventually lead to a split in the Party; but at least that might permit a reformist wing to preserve considerable power while claiming the CPSU inheritance (and material resources).

IV. THE BALTIC STATES

31. Re-assertion of the pre-1940 independence of the Baltic States is high on the political agenda of each of them and, in consequence, current relations with Moscow are very much in a state of flux. Gorbachev's offer of greatly-increased autonomy within a much looser federation and a new treaty of union are no longer regarded as attractive enough to most Balts; even a proportion of the non-native inhabitants of the region are evidently prepared to back separatist aspirations. Baltic resolve has inevitably been strengthened by the perception – backed by public statements from members of the Soviet leadership – that force would not be used and the acceptance in principle that secession is possible. Nevertheless military movements and the introduction of economic sanctions featured in Moscow's war of nerves following Lithuania's refusal to renounce its reaffirmation of independence on 11 March.

32. Under the pressure of events in the Baltic States and elsewhere in the Soviet Union, Gorbachev has been forced to accept a differentiated system of federal ties. A machinery for secession has been established for the union republics and adopted by the Supreme Soviet on 3 April. However, the new legislation will not satisfy separatists because of its built-in delaying elements: in order for the secession vote to be valid, at least two-thirds of the citizens permanently resident in the republic have to take part and two-thirds of the voters have to support secession; the result is referred to the USSR Supreme Soviet and Congress of People's Deputies who will take a preliminary decision; a transitional period of 5 years is established for the resolution of security, financial and other issues; any final decision is to be confirmed by resolution of the Congress of People's Deputies.

33. Apart from the legal issues, there are others which will prove difficult to resolve, both locally (the problem of anxious minorities) and between Moscow and the Baltic States. In the latter category, territorial, economic and military issues will predominate. Shortly before Lithuania's attempt to reassert independence, Gorbachev raised the issue of some border areas which it had originally been planned to leave in Belorussia. Gorbachev also pointed out that there had never been a formal recognition that the port of Klaipeda and the surrounding area had been handed back to Lithuania (there had been a prehistory of Lithuanian-German difficulties over this region).¹⁰⁸ Estonians and Latvians will doubtless have views on those border regions of their territory, mainly inhabited by Russians, which were included in the RSFSR in 1944. There have been calls for autonomy in areas of compact Polish settlement in Lithuania and Russian settlement in Estonia. Another important territorial issue concerns the Kaliningrad region of the RSFSR¹⁰⁹ which contains an important naval base and is cut off from the rest of the Soviet Union by Lithuania. There have already been indications of nervousness on the part of its largely Russian population. The Soviet military is concerned about access to its base.

34. Gorbachev and others have tried to frighten the Lithuanians with talk about economic obligations to the USSR and the prospect of paying off at least a proportion of its alleged indebtedness in hard currency. Even after regional self-management for the three Baltic republics came into effect at the beginning of 1990, most of their industry continued to be run from Moscow. The process of disengag-

108 Klaipėda (in German: Memel) is a port in Lithuania. It was the capital of the historical Memelland and in 1807–1808 the capital of Prussia too. Until the Peace Treaty of Versailles the town and its environs were part of Germany, then after the 1923 revolt in the interwar period it became an autonomous region with a German majority within Lithuania. Nazi Germany gained it back in March 1939 through an ultimatum, and finally the area was attached to the Soviet Union after WWII.

109 The Kaliningrad Region was occupied in the thirteenth century by the Teutonic Order, then became part of Prussia in the seventeenth century. Its capital was called Königsberg until 1946 as the administrative center of East Prussia, inhabited by Germans. In 1945 the northern part (15,100 km²) was attached to the Soviet Union, within the Russian SFSR.

ing from the Soviet system will obviously have to be done over a lengthy period. At present little output is exported to the West. The major Baltic concern is obviously over supplies of fuel and the price to be paid for it. There is a heavy dependence on supplies of energy and raw materials from the RSFSR.

35. Naturally the Baltic States are preparing economic counter-claims. At the end of last year, for example, the Estonian People's Front¹¹⁰ and the Estonian Government's Planning Committee set out to analyse economic and political relations between Estonia and the USSR since the 1920s. Among the economic subjects to be explored were: the expropriation of property in 1940–41; Estonia's share in wartime damage reparations; murder, deportation and enforced emigration with the resulting deterioration in socio-economic potential etc. Baltic leaders will certainly wish to avoid a complete break with the Soviet market while for its part the Soviet Union will continue to want access to Baltic industries (more than 150 articles are said to be manufactured only in Lithuania, for example) and food deliveries from the Baltic republics to industrial areas in the RSFSR.

36. The Baltic area is regarded as a key one for defence, as Gorbachev has himself pointed out more than once. Balts see locally based servicemen as an occupation force. There are increasing problems over conscription, with refusals to serve in the Soviet forces or desertions from them, with failures to prosecute by the Baltic authorities. This has prompted the Soviet Army to arrest some of the deserters in Lithuania within Moscow's general campaign of intimidation. Latvia and Estonia have passed legislation providing for alternatives to military service. The Balts may be prepared to negotiate the lease of bases. They would obviously not wish to see concentrations of ground forces, but the region's chief value to the Soviet military is for air defence.

37. One cannot predict with accuracy the course of events as laws enacted by the Baltic States increasingly clash with all-Union legislation. The Baltic peoples are resolutely committed to the pursuit of independence, at as fast a pace as the system will allow. Moscow seems committed to slowing down or derailing those efforts. However, all parties likely realise that violent confrontation would set back not only the course of reform in the Soviet Union, but could have wider implications for the future of East–West relations.

V. POLAND

38. The new government led by Mazowiecki has succeeded in establishing its credibility both at home and abroad over the last six months. The government has initiated extensive economic and political reform. It opted for radical policies of stabilization and liberalization which reflect the liberal convictions of the team around

110 See footnote 42.

the Minister of Finance, Balcerowicz, and are intended to control inflation and transform the economy in the shortest possible time. The pace and extent of economic reform are likely to be subjected to increasing criticism both from opposition parties and from within Solidarity if results are not forthcoming quickly.

39. Initial results of the economic programme which began on 1 January 1990 brought some encouragement: the currency was stabilized and restrictions on the amount of currency which may be exchanged have been eased; public support for the government has remained unshaken despite a drop in real wages in January of about 40 per cent; inflation has begun to slow; in February the IMF¹¹¹ gave strong approval to the programme which was a pre-condition for debt rescheduling. However, it is far from certain that the government will be able to achieve its objective of slow growth by the latter half of this year. Public patience will not be limitless with unemployment likely to rise by an estimated one million [million] in 1990. Under the strain of deteriorating living standards, the first inclination of Polish workers will be to protect themselves and their families by seeking higher wages. Nevertheless, the obvious lack of popular identification with the communist regime, combined with widely shared "national" aspirations and a sense that a complete overhaul of the despised system is now possible, is serving to increase popular tolerance for austerity.

40. Solidarity has maintained its unity despite relations between the political and union wings being placed under strain. The absence of a credible alternative has helped. The old parties are attempting to redefine their roles and new parties have still to establish themselves. The Communist Party (PZPR) dissolved itself on 27 January, setting up a new party, Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, headed by Kwasniewski, a moderate reformer. Public support is low and the new party's standing has not been helped by the debate over Party assets. A splinter group of more radical reformers under Fiszbach formed a breakaway party, the Social Democratic Union. The most serious immediate challenge to the government's economic policies comes from the farmers' lobbies. The continuing rise in agricultural input prices as food prices stabilise is causing discontent. Farmers' lobbies in the Sejm are now uniting to call for the reintroduction of agricultural subsidies. If farmers withhold their produce from the market the government may have to revise its policies.

41. The government has kept the initiative in the area of political reform with the intention of fundamentally changing the political system. The depoliticisation of the armed forces continues. Proposals have been introduced to remove party organs from the work place and from administrative bodies. The legal system and security services are to be overhauled. The Government has also proposed the abolition of the office of censor and amendments to the press and publication laws. Local

111 See footnote 9.

government elections have been brought forward from June to May 1990. These elections will restore representative government to regional and local levels, finally eliminating the stranglehold of the nomenklatura and building greater popular participation in local politics. Although national elections are not due until 1992/93, they may be brought forward to the end of this year or early 1991 and accompanied by a Presidential election. Walesa has declared himself as a future presidential candidate. A genuine way of democratic change is now well underway in Poland. But much will depend on the efficient use of political and economic support granted to Poland by the West.

42. In its foreign policy, Poland is turning increasingly towards the West, while redefining its relationship with the Soviet Union. The Mazowiecki government has profoundly changed Poland's attitude towards Germany. It supports German unification and is in favour of NATO membership of a unified Germany. Foreign Minister Skubiszewski has spoken of a "community of interest" between Poland and Germany which would be dependent on the definitive recognition by a unified Germany of Poland's western border. Good relations have been established with the new regimes in Hungary and Czechoslovakia and prospects for co-operation are reasonably good. Mazowiecki has reiterated assurances that Poland would honour its commitments towards the Warsaw Treaty Organisation though the government has also indicated that Poland hopes to redefine those commitments and "restructure" the Warsaw Pact and economic relations within CMEA.

VI. CZECHOSLOVAKIA

43. The collapse of communist rule in Czechoslovakia was rapid. Malaise had been growing in Czechoslovakia throughout 1989 with increasing signs of opposition from the dissidents, the public, the cultural and intellectual establishments and from within the Party itself. The influence of external events – the collapse of communist authority in Poland (followed by Hungary and the GDR), the bloodshed in China in June¹¹² and Soviet pressure for radical change – highlighted the conflicts in the Party. Public reaction to the brutal police suppression [suppression] of the student demonstration on 17 November caused turmoil in the Party leadership which quickly reversed its policy, thus encouraging an enormous growth in public protest. Events moved quickly. The Party leadership changed twice, with the liberal wing rapidly gaining control under first Urbanek, then Adamec. This new leadership yielded power in a system of round table negotiations in which the dominating

112 On June 4, 1989 at Tienanmen (Heavenly Peace) Square in Beijing, military forces including tanks attacked a protesting crowd of 100,000, mainly composed of students, on the order of the Chinese communist leaders. Estimates spoke of 3600 dead and 60,000 wounded.

role was taken by Civic Forum.¹¹³ A parallel development took place in Slovakia involving an organisation called the Public Against Violence (PAV)¹¹⁴ and the Slovak Communist Party. By the end of the year the Communist Party had lost the constitutional guarantee of its leading role. Vaclav Havel, the dissident writer, who was clearly as surprised as the Party leadership by the success of the rebellion, was elected President of Republic. For the immediate future attention is centred on preparation both for free elections in June and for moving towards a market economy with the introduction of private ownership and foreign capital. In both the political and economic fields, Civic Forum is concerned to maintain the idea of a state based on the rule of law. As a consequence it insists on changes in the law as a step towards democratisation.

44. After the resignation or removal of communists and a few members of other parties, the Federal Assembly of 350 members now has 138 communists, 152 independents and over 50 members of other parties. Communist representation in the Czech and Slovak legislatures has also been cut. In the Federal Government of 22 there are only 4 communist ministers. While one of these is the Minister of National Defence, he has the confidence of Civic Forum. More importantly, security is in the hands of a non-communist Minister of the Interior. The communists are otherwise left with technical ministries (energy, trade, transport) and the decisive voice in economic policy belongs to independent ex-communists. In the Czech and Slovak governments, communists have just under half of the portfolios. The secret police (StB) has been cut and its internal operations have been curtailed. The Party has been removed from the army, the police and security forces, from the judiciary and from education. Local Civic Forum and PAV organisations are pursuing, with differing degrees of vigour, the removal of communists from posts of influence in local administration, industry and other walks of life.

45. The electoral rules for the June balloting permit a proliferation of parties in the new parliament. Delegates will be elected by proportional representation in twelve electoral districts, with a five percent threshold needed to gain a seat. Parties may register with a minimal number of signatures, and red tape has been cut to assure maximum grassroots participation. Close to 40 parties, plus the Civic Forum “movement”, have now qualified for the elections. Civic Forum and PAV are likely to poll heavily but a significant number of the electorate will probably vote for candidates they trust, irrespective of party allegiance (although communists are unlikely to prove popular). Civic Forum (and PAV) still see themselves rather as the mid-

113 Civic Forum was a political movement in the Czech parts of Czechoslovakia established during the “Velvet Revolution” in 1989. Its goal was to unify the Czech opposition and overthrow the communist regime. Václav Havel was its founding leader.

114 Public Against Violence (VPN) was a political movement established on November 19, 1989 in Bratislava. It played the role of the Civic Forum in the Czech Lands.

wives of democracy than as formal political parties. Their aim is to help new parties establish themselves and to support candidates from among them in the forthcoming elections. Civic Forum hope that electoral alliances, if not outright mergers, will reduce the number of parties and introduce more coherence into the electoral process. The outcome of the elections is likely to be a coalition government along the lines of electoral alliances, with Civic Forum having a dominant voice. It is also possible that policy will be determined by round table discussions among the larger parties in parliament along the lines of the present round table system.

46. One issue ripe for this kind of treatment is economic reform. There are few major differences of principle on such matters as introducing market forces, the private sector, foreign capital and currency convertibility, but in practice the speed and the extent of their introduction is already causing controversy: Vaclav Klaus, the radical Minister of Finance, is an advocate of more rapid change than Valtr Komárek the Deputy Prime Minister chiefly responsible for economic affairs or the Prime Minister, Marian Calfa. There are also likely to be deep divisions over private enterprise with some reformers advocating the privatisation of state enterprises and others restricting the private sector, initially at least, to the setting up of new businesses. The extent of foreign ownership is also likely to prove controversial. There is general agreement that Czechoslovakia should not borrow heavily and policy in this area will probably be prudent. This has led to the conclusion that Czechoslovakia is in better shape to move towards a market than the other East European countries. The passage to a market economy will not be smooth, however. While many people will welcome the chance to set up their own businesses, their reaction is not necessarily typical. The reaction of the labour force, once reform begins to hurt, as it inevitably will, is also unpredictable.

47. In the political field the Czech–Slovak relationship and the problem of ethnic minorities, particularly the Hungarians, will require delicate handling. A new constitution to handle these issues will be one of the important tasks of the new legislature after the elections. Growing nationalism among the Slovaks and the heightened awareness of their own identity among the Moravians seem likely to produce pressure for a greater devolution of powers to the Czech and Slovak republics than under the present federal arrangement. The two republics will presumably have their own separate constitutions. Here again much hard bargaining of the round table kind may be necessary.

48. In the foreign affairs field, the basic theme is the need to open up to the rest of the world and to overcome the division of Europe (which left Czechoslovakia on the wrong side of the divide). The new government accepts that this will be a long-term process. The aim is to achieve membership of European organisa-

tions (the EC,¹¹⁵ the Council of Europe¹¹⁶) and to redefine the relationship with the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile Havel's priority has been to put relations with neighbouring countries on a new footing. The Czechoslovaks are reluctant to join any close-knit regional grouping and the old idea of a Czechoslovak–Polish confederation was rejected. But the Bratislava meeting of 9 April reflected Czechoslovakia's interest in some form of regional co-operation with Poland and Hungary. Moreover, Czechoslovakia has recently joined the quadrangular initiative, involving Italy, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Austria.¹¹⁷ Havel's first foreign visit as President was to Germany. Relations with Austria have improved considerably. There are still, however, problems with Hungary – namely the question of Hungarian minority rights and of the Danube Barrage scheme which is under review.

49. The Czechoslovaks have pressed the Soviet Union hard for concessions in their relationship. The Soviet denunciation of the 1968 invasion¹¹⁸ has helped. The Czechoslovaks have obtained Soviet agreement to withdraw all their troops by 30 June 1991; the first stage began on 26 February and will be completed by 30 May. The Czechoslovaks have stated their intention to remain within the Warsaw Pact but they clearly see this as a contribution to an orderly process of negotiating it and NATO out of existence. They have revealed considerable impatience with CMEA and there were signs that Finance Minister Klaus at least would like to take Czechoslovakia out of it. The Czechoslovaks are pressing for radical reform of the organisation. They were particularly critical of its exchange rate mechanisms which they saw as an impediment to convertibility. The federal government has now decided to withdraw from the CMEA agreement adjusting exchange rate co-efficiency, switching to bilateral arrangements. Nevertheless the trade links with the CMEA, particularly with the Soviet Union, will remain important to Czechoslovakia for a long time and Czechoslovak determination to change the system will not be enough on its own to produce radical reform of the organisation.

115 See footnote 6.

116 Council of Europe: regional international organization established in 1949. Its goal was to protect basic human rights, to settle debated question in negotiations, etc. It accepted the European Convention on Human Rights in 1950. Meets in Strasbourg, France.

117 Quadragonale is an intergovernmental organization of four states: Austria, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Italy established on November 11, 1989 in Budapest. The founders wanted to overcome the fractures in the region generated by the Cold War by initiating cooperation between these countries of different political systems and economic structures. See footnote 135.

118 On August 20–1, 1968 the troops of Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, and the Soviet Union, in order to hinder the development of the reform process, occupied Czechoslovakia.

VII. HUNGARY

50. Hungary's transition to parliamentary democracy passed a milestone with its two-round, free parliamentary elections on 25 March and 8 April, the first open-ended contest in over four decades. The center-right Hungarian Democratic Forum won a substantial victory over its nearest rival, the liberal Hungarian Alliance for Democrats. The Hungarian Socialist party (the former Communist Party) fared badly.

51. The elections have taken place against the backdrop of very real economic problems. The country has a very high level of debt (at \$20bn) and is looking for help in servicing it from both the IMF and the European Community. Former Prime Minister Nemeth managed to squeeze an austerity programme through Parliament in December but Hungary faces difficult years ahead, with reduced living standards and unemployment bound to rise. The Hungarians stress the need for Western economic support to underpin the new democracy and a market economy. The new government may adopt policies aimed at encouraging foreign and domestic private capital. The pace of restructuring and privatisation will have to be decided among the coalition partners.

52. Before the elections, the respective electoral platforms of the Democratic Forum and the rival Free Democrats were far closer than their rhetoric would have suggested. While the Free Democrats were pushing for faster economic restructuring, the Forum favoured a somewhat slower implementation, a tighter social safety-net, and more extensive replacement of the nomenklatura, in order to mitigate social backlash. From the popular perspective, failure by the new government to tackle the nomenklatura issue would threaten the credibility of any economic restructuring, at least until ordinary workers also begin to enjoy the benefits of the post-communist system.

53. The beleaguered Nemeth government in December introduced a strict licensing system to reduce exports to CMEA partners (primarily the USSR), responding to an IMF demand that the surplus on quasi-barter trade be phased out as a drain on the economic and a source of inflation. Hungary's CMEA surplus apparently will turn into a deficit over the next few years in any case as CMEA members convert to trade at world prices with settlements in convertible currency. In particular, Hungary will lose its preferential terms of trade in exchanging manufactures for Soviet energy and raws materials.

54. As reform is being implemented in domestic policy, so it is in Hungary's foreign relations. There is no doubt that Hungary will increasingly turn towards the West. An application has already been submitted for membership of the Council of Europe. In the meantime Hungary remains a member of both the Warsaw Pact and the CMEA, though the government would clearly like to see both reformed. They

have said they want the Warsaw Pact to evolve into a mainly consultative body. There is little doubt that many in Hungary would wish to see the country move towards neutrality. An agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops based in Hungary was signed on 10 March. This envisages all forces being removed by the end of June 1991, with 70% having gone by the end of this year.

55. The Government has also been developing its relations with its neighbours. Co-operation with Italy, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia has intensified within the framework of the Quadrangular Initiative. The treatment of the Hungarian minority in Romania remains a source of concern.

VIII. ROMANIA

56. The December Revolution of 1989 overthrew the twenty-four years of Ceausescu's regime, which had become progressively more repressive and idiosyncratic. The uprising appears to have been spontaneous. No organised opposition existed, and there was no individual for the population to rally behind. The Council of the National Salvation Front (NSF) was a movement comprising people from all areas of society, students, dissidents, former regime members, intellectuals and army officers. It declared itself "the supreme power of state" until free democratic elections could be held and it established a government. It ended the policy of "systemization", legalised abortion, halted rationing of food, heat and electricity and set a provisional date for elections. The Communist Party has now totally disintegrated even though it had 3.8 million members prior to the revolution. Historical political parties re-formed and new ones were established – all wanting a share of power in the interim government.

57. Following large demonstrations at the end of January, the NSF and the political parties agreed to establish a Provisional Council of National Unity (PNUC) to replace the NSF Council which would govern until the revised election day of 20 May. Although the Front dominates the new legislature, more than 40 newly created or revived parties have three seats each, and two non-Front members were chosen as vice presidents under President Ion Iliescu. The formation of the PNUC has defused some contentious issues but has not redressed the basic imbalance between the omnipresent Salvation Front organization and the welter of new parties. The opposition, consisting chiefly of the revived National Peasant-Christian alliance, National Liberal party, and Social Democratic party, is weak, disorganized, and led disproportionately by aged activists or repatriated political emigres. In some parts of the countryside, intimidation by Salvation Front supporters has effectively blocked opposition efforts to organize. The Front's control over television, radio, and many newspapers inevitably slants coverage away from opposition platforms and personalities.

58. Fears that the Securitate¹¹⁹ still exists continue. They were transplanted to the defence ministry in December, evidently with their structure and functions close to intact. Development of a robust democracy seems unlikely so long as the new regime appears to be retaining a largely intact secret police. Protests by officers and rank and file against the top military leadership, as well as against continued secret police presence and activity, brought intra-army tensions into the open, and also incidentally dimmed prospects for a military takeover of power. The Council has not begun to tackle the broader issue of the old regime's legacy in terms of the bureaucracy overall. From the beginning, the Salvation Front sought to avoid disrupting the functions of the government and economy. In many ministries and enterprises, only the top two or three levels of management were changed; all other cadres remained in place. Under Ceausescu, corruption was essential to the functioning of government and economic activity. Networks of contacts and patterns of behavior developed under Ceausescu not only thwart any efforts at reforming the economy, but also contribute to the popular perception of a "hijacked revolution".

59. Both the NSF Council and the PNUC have had problems in gaining the trust of the people. The Executive bureau of the NSF was seen to be divided. Dimitru Mazilu, Chairman of the Constitutional, Juridical and Human Rights Commission of the NSF, resigned because of what he saw as the reintroduction of Stalinist policies. Bickering among the political parties and a lack of clarity about their policies undermine the confidence of the people. Demonstrations, for and against the provisional government, highlight the current political confusion. The PNUC is also open to mob pressure. Defence Minister Militaru was forced to resign on 16 February, and the provisional government's headquarters were occupied by a mob two days later. It is hoped that the elections on 20 May will provide the stability that the political situation needs. Even so, Romania will need a leader who will not appear compromised by the old regime and who will have the ability to maintain objectivity during fierce political debate. At present it is not certain whether either Iliescu, the President, or Petre Roman the Prime Minister could fulfil these conditions. The leaders of the other political parties have been too long in the political wilderness. Some political parties are flirting with the idea of a constitutional monarchy.

60. Ethnic minorities have enjoyed greater freedom of expression since the revolution and the interim governments have guaranteed them equal rights as Romanian citizens. The Hungarian minority continues to call for the return of Hungarian language schools and universities. They want a certain degree of autonomy, but have expressed no desire to see Transylvania returned to Hungary. Demonstrations have occurred within Transylvania recently because many feel that the government has

119 The Securitate (in Romanian Departamentul Securității statului) was the secret service of communist Romania.

gone back on its word concerning equal rights. Many Hungarians believe the position of the ethnic minorities has not changed since the revolution, although they have been given automatic places within the PNUC to air their grievances. Unfortunately calls for ethnic rights, particularly by the Hungarians, have also led to the heightening of nationalism amongst Romanians. Nationalism had been carefully fostered by the Ceausescu regime and it now presents a major problem for future governments.

61. Economically Romania has one major advantage: it has little foreign debt. However, the economy will need vast investment and re-organisation to overcome many years of decapitalisation and structural distortion. Political parties seem committed to some form of a market economy, but specific economic plans have not been put forward by anyone. Reconstruction will probably mean unemployment and inflation, neither of which are vote winners in the run-up to free elections. At present Romania is being run on short-term economic strategies aimed at tiding the country over until the elections. The provisional government is drawing down foreign currency reserves paying for imports of food, fuel and energy. Independent trade unions calling for better working conditions and a five-day week have been established. There is fear of mass unemployment amongst the industrial workforce. The NSF Council's decree on small scale private businesses (any business with up to 20 employees) hopes to promote private enterprise. Agriculture also suffered from central planning, rigid, unrealistic production targets and prices, and a complete lack of consideration for local conditions. In his New Year message, President Iliescu announced that peasants in collective and state farms are entitled to elect "general assemblies" which are to decide production quotas and agree delivery contracts with the Government. Peasants can receive a private plot of roughly one acre.

62. The interim government has set out to improve Romania's foreign relations. It has stated that it will abide by all previous bilateral and international agreements and has affirmed its commitment to the CSCE process. United Nations and CSCE member governments have been asked to act as observers during the May elections to ensure a properly conducted vote. Relations with Hungary are still strained over the minorities issue. Relations with Moscow have improved. But there could be problems over relations with the neighbouring Soviet Republic of Moldavia, if there were to be pressure by the Moldavians for reunification with Romania. Romania has however recognized the inviolability of its neighbours' borders. Humanitarian aid from foreign governments has poured into the country since the revolution mainly to help Romania's appalling health service problems; direct aid to government is conditional upon Romania's progress towards democracy after 20 May.

IX. BULGARIA

63. The reformist group that forced out Todor Zhivkov on 10 November 1989, aimed to save the communist party in Bulgaria from the fate which had already befallen the communists in Poland, Hungary and East Germany. The population's longstanding apathy and alienation had begun to reach critical levels by 1989. The regime's campaign against the Turkish minority was especially severe.¹²⁰ Dissident groups which had been slowly proliferating over the previous two years managed to extend their reach despite near-overwhelming pressure from the party and security services. The October 1989 CSCE Eco-forum,¹²¹ which was to have been Sofia's triumphal debut in big-league European diplomacy, instead triggered an explosive increase in dissident activism, which threatened to sweep away the communist party itself.

64. After taking over as Party General Secretary, Petar Mladenov engineered extensive changes in the BCP Politburo, Secretariat and Central Committee, in which Zhivkov's associates were replaced by generally younger, more pragmatic, reform-minded personalities. Zhivkov himself was expelled from the Party and is now in prison. Almost none of his former colleagues remain in the Party and Government leadership. One of the major beneficiaries of these changes has been Andrey Lukanov, the former Minister for Foreign Economic Relations, who took over as Prime Minister from the discredited Atanasov in February. Alexander Lilov, who became BCP Party President at the BCP Party Congress at the end of January, has achieved a remarkable comeback; having been sacked by Zhivkov in 1983 and spent the last six years in the political wilderness, he was re-appointed to the Politburo in December and now heads a reformist four-member Presidium elected by the new Supreme Party Council.

65. The new leadership has declared its intention to build a law-based democratic state, meeting the highest international standards. The leading role of the Party, now renamed the Bulgarian Socialist Party has been removed from the Constitution; multi-party elections will take place in June; the Party is engaged in regular Round Table talks with the opposition which now has its own building and newspaper; and demonstrations and strikes have become commonplace. The leadership has also signalled its determination to improve Bulgaria's human rights record with the repeal of some of the catch-all political offence clauses in the penal code, and, most importantly, a declaration on 29 December reversing Zhivkov's ethnic Turkish assimilation policy. This encouraged many ethnic Turks to return, in the hope of recovering their rights and property in Bulgaria. This led to a nationalist backlash.

120 [See footnote to paragraph 9.]

121 From the middle of October 1989 under the aegis of the CSCE an international conference was held on environmental issues in Sofia.

An especially convened Council for the discussion of the nationality question eventually calmed the nationalists' protests without backing down from the decision on rights, but hard-line party leaders in the provinces who exploited the protests continue to wield significant power and practices are still far from reflecting the new laws and regulations.¹²²

66. The Union of Democratic Forces¹²³ unites under its umbrella a spectrum of opposition groups from the soft-line Discussion Club¹²⁴ to the hard-line free trade union "Podkrepa".¹²⁵ Despite internal squabbling, Podkrepa exercises a powerful influence: almost every decision the Party has taken to liberalise policies has been adopted either in response to a major opposition demonstration, or in anticipation of one. The Agrarian Party, a subservient coalition partner for 40 years, cut overt ties to the communists, called itself a third force at the Round Table talks, and has wooed the Petkov Agrarians,¹²⁶ who belong to the Union of Democratic Forces. A united Agrarian party would pose a serious challenge to communist pre-eminence, since it would combine the developed organisational infrastructure of the formerly coopted Agrarians with the credibility of the Petkov Agrarians.

67. Under Mladenov (who is now the State President), the authorities have shown greater candour in discussing Bulgaria's problems. They now admit to a progressive decline in recent years in the rate of growth of national income. In 1989 national income actually fell by 0.4% and trade turnover declined by 8%. Inflation (previously not acknowledged) is now admitted to be running at 10% annually and the

122 [See footnote to paragraph 9.]

123 The Union of Democratic Forces (UDF/SDS) was based on the coalition of oppositional movements and political parties established in the Institute of Sociology on December 7, 1989. The goal of the founding members was to overthrow the political monopoly of the BCP and its successor, the Bulgarian Social Party, and to initiate economic and political reforms necessary to establish a parliamentary democracy based on political pluralism, western orientation, respect of human rights, and free market economy.

124 The Debate Club was established informally on November 3, 1989 at the University of Sofia at a public meeting under the name Debate Club for the Structural Reforms and the Support of Glasnost'. On December 2, 1989 it was registered under the name Club for Glasnost' and Democracy (KGD). They supported the reforms of Gorbachev, at the same time wanted to keep the political monopoly of the BCP.

125 The Independent confederation of labor – 'Podkrepa' (NKT) was an independent trade union established by intellectuals and artists in Plovdiv on February 8, 1989 following Solidarity as its model. It became an alliance of trade unions on October 28, 1989. After the collapse of the communist regime it became more and more a mass organization of workers, especially popular among miners. It organized several strikes and achieved political concessions from BCP and BSP governments.

126 The Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BZNS, BANU) was established by the Bulgarian peasantry in 1899. After WWII the communist influence in the party began to increase: Nikola Petkov, who created an overtly anti-communist fraction within the party, was condemned to death in 1947 and executed. Other anticommunist members were imprisoned. The party decided to cooperate with the communists (as no other choice remained) at its 27th congress in 1947.

authorities have disclosed a budget deficit. There is a large savings overhang (25 billion leva). In recent months the supply position has deteriorated, with widespread shortages of basic foods. Even early official attempts to mobilise all available labour reserves to plug gaps left by the exodus of over 300,000 ethnic Turks in the summer of 1989 could not reverse a sharp slide in production.¹²⁷ From having traditionally been an agricultural exporter, Bulgaria has now become a net importer. The deterioration in Bulgaria's hard currency current account has contributed to a growing problem of external debt, which now amounts to \$10 billion (gross). Reserves stand at only \$1.3 billion and debt servicing this year could absorb 50% of hard currency revenues. Against this background a request to the West for debt restructuring seems increasingly likely. The new leadership attributes these negative developments to serious political, economic and social errors which have built up over many years.

68. The government's immediate aim is to launch an economic stabilisation programme to deal with the internal and external financial crises. But with an eye on elections on 10 and 17 June, it is unlikely to risk introducing the drastic policies needed. A major short-term objective is to reduce budgeting expenditure. It is foreseen that subsidies (which currently amount to 25% of budget expenditure) will be drastically cut, although prices of basic raw materials and consumer goods are likely to remain under some form of control for a specified period. The stabilisation programme is to be combined with longer-term restructuring focusing on agriculture, food processing, light industry and tourism. A declared central goal of the reform is to establish an open market economy which will in time be integrated into the world economy (Bulgaria is seeking membership of Western finance and trade organisations including GATT, IMF and OECD, and is negotiating a trade and co-operation agreement with the EC).

69. Despite considerable progress towards political reform in the last four months, the prospects for a radical change in the political balance are still uncertain. The BCP Congress showed the strength of hardline influence in the Party which resulted in early February in the splitting off of a sizeable reformist wing. The opposition groups are inexperienced, disorganised and only loosely united. They generally lack charismatic leadership. They also lack the confidence and ambition to win an election. Unlike elsewhere in Eastern Europe, the Communist Party's real hold on power has not yet been seriously weakened, although party organisations in the armed forces have been abolished. The BCP/BSP has been more successful than others in keeping ahead of the opposition by offering concessions and thereby controlling to some extent the pace of reform. Although the opposition have little confidence in assurances that the Interior Ministry and State Security bodies have been depoliticised and restricted to their proper functions, the pervasive atmosphere of

127 [See footnote to paragraph 9.]

fear which characterised the Zhivkov era has been much reduced. In the absence of a more cohesive and effective opposition the BSP still seems likely to emerge as the biggest single party from the elections.

* * *

X. YUGOSLAVIA: THE MARKOVIC GOVERNMENT AND THE REFORM PROCESS

70. Yugoslavia has not undergone dramatic change in the manner of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. It nonetheless continues in its efforts to conduct economic reform and to introduce potentially far-reaching political changes. During the past year, increasing inflation developed into hyper-inflation and had begun to jeopardise the foundations of the economic system and the processes intended to increase economic stability and to improve life generally in the country. In the face of this situation, which was becoming more and more serious and was endangering major changes already made in the economic system to reduce state intervention and to bolster free markets and free enterprise, the Markovic government saw itself obliged to submit to Parliament, towards the end of 1989, an austerity plan.

71. Among the radical measures in the government's austerity plan, the most spectacular was currency reform (introduction of a "heavy" dinar). Markovic proposed several other measures including freeing interest rates, removing price controls until 30th June 1990 with the exception of certain basic services, and indexation of salaries based on the rate of the DM, with November 1989 salaries as a benchmark. The measures, which came into force as from January 1990, also included a proposed law on the movement and the employment of socially-owned capital, as well as a proposed law on financial revitalisation and on bankruptcy and liquidation of banks and other financial organizations.

72. The initial results seem encouraging and international financial institutions support the government's reforms. During a single year under Markovic, national indebtedness has been reduced from \$21 billion to \$16 billion and currency reserves have risen to \$7.5 billion. Monthly inflation which had been of the order of 64.5% in December 1989, was reduced to 17.3% in January 1990 and 8.4% in February 1990. However, the freeze in salaries until June 1990 has given rise to increasing popular discontent because of the persistent rise in prices.

73. Internecine quarrels continue to create serious tensions between the Republics. Kosovo has proved a catalyst for the development of some of the arguments. In December, Serbs from Kosovo and from other regions of Yugoslavia planned a demonstration in Ljubljana. The Slovenes banned it. The Serbs reacted by instituting a blockade against Slovenian goods. The situation in Kosovo itself remains tense.

Trouble flared in January and early February, with large demonstrations throughout the Province, resulting in many deaths. The Slovenes withdrew their contingent from the special Federal militia force in Kosovo. They are currently withholding payments to the Federal Fund. So far, the military has not been deployed in a direct security role in the Kosovo, though units have been reinforced in the Province.

74. Disputes between the Republics contributed to the breakdown of the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists, which was held in January. Also at issue were questions relating to democratic centralism, communist monopoly of power, the future shape of the LCY and the introduction of a multi-party system. The LCY had become steadily weaker and polarised. The republican Congresses in December mostly concluded that political reform had to be embraced, but for some it was more a question of rhetoric rather than showing a real commitment to reform. It was obvious that it would be difficult for the Federal Party to contain the differences. With the disintegration of the LCY at the Federal level and the inability of the Federal Presidency to act decisively, it was possible for Markovic to step into the political vacuum and attempt to take a grip on the Federal situation and act as a government more in the Western European mould.

75. From the beginning of his tenure in March 1989, Markovic had acknowledged the linkage between a market economy and a pluralistic political system, both of which he supports. But for tactical reasons, he moved first on the economy – because it was in crisis and because he felt a healthy economy could ameliorate political tensions. With the bulk of his economic reforms in place, early in 1990 he introduced constitutional amendments to institute secret, democratic multi-party elections throughout Yugoslavia. Several of the republics have already instituted such changes. Slovenia and Croatia have amended their constitutions and scheduled multi-party elections in April. Only Serbia, where Milosevic had moved the elections up to November 1989, and Macedonia will not have elections this year. Although at that time the most popular local politician, Milosevic nevertheless rigged his own race; three relatively unknown candidates were added to the ballot at the last minute to make it a “competitive election” and candidates from other parties were not allowed.

76. Political parties are springing up. The problem with this is that most are based on one republic, some are even more localised. There are no strong all-Federation parties. A number have been established by disaffected intellectuals and it is hard to judge how much real popular support they can attract. Many of them are in fact strongly nationalist, especially in Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia. It is difficult to predict the outcome of the elections. The April elections in Slovenia resulted in a majority for the coalition of center-right parties (DEMOS). However, the Communist Party will remain the single largest party in Parliament. In Croatia it seems possible that the right-wing Croatian Democratic Union will emerge as the largest party.

XI. ALBANIA: RUMOURS AND REALITIES

77. In a period when there were dramatic changes in Central and Eastern Europe, Albanian leaders said they would continue to pursue their “independent socialist” line, uninfluenced by events beyond their borders. The regime has maintained that the case of Albania is different because the communist regime was not imposed on them. The reality is in fact more mixed. After the events in Romania there was speculation in the West that something similar might happen in Albania, and in January there were reports of demonstrations and general unrest. It was reported that in the northern city of Shkoder a 1000-strong student-led protest took to the streets, followed by disturbances in several other districts. The authorities were then quick to react and put down the unrest, holding many under arrest. A Party Plenum was then held immediately to cope with the situation. However, there is no doubt that these accounts were much exaggerated, particularly as they were presented in the foreign media. Nevertheless, some impact seems to have been felt by the Albanian leadership, as the outcome of the hastily convened 9th Plenum of the Party (22–23 January) subsequently showed.

78. At the Plenum, in a speech mixing flexibility and traditional Albanian communist intransigence, President Ramiz Alia put forward a number of economic reforms, called for further decentralisation. The latter was to be reflected in the opening-up of basic level Party meetings to all. There should be competition in the election/appointment of managers, specialists and Party cadres. He also appeared to propose multi-candidate elections for the People’s Assembly. He said that consideration should be given to the possible limitation of any individual’s mandate in a given organisation to a specified number of terms. Several recent speeches have in addition talked of the need to combat bureaucracy and to decentralise some of the decision-making process.

79. The Plenum’s decisions are being implemented step by step: construction activity is encouraged and people have started building their own houses; people are now allowed to own livestock, to till gardens around houses and to sell products at competitive prices. Travel restrictions are eased, people can now travel abroad on presentation of an invitation, regardless of family connections; passport formalities are also simplified. Attention is paid to the human rights situation for the first time, which could also affect in the future the condition of the Greek minority in Albania. The Interior Minister spoke publicly on the number of political and ordinary prisoners and about their treatment. A Ministry of Justice will be recreated to proceed with judicial reforms. Telephone communications have been improved: international automatic dialling is being introduced as a result of a co-operation agree-

ment (Italy, Greece, UNDP,¹²⁸ ITU¹²⁹). However, except in the case of the two co-operating countries which supply technical assistance and know-how, the system functions one way in providing Albania with world-wide connections. Markets, yet in short supply, are beginning to improve; basic commodities are available, though rationed items remain unchanged.

80. As events in Eastern Europe may have affected Albania's domestic policy, they are also likely to have done so in the case of international relations. 1989 saw the expansion of Albania's relations with Western states and the extension of contacts with East European countries, including re-establishment of full diplomatic relations where there had been a rupture. Questions must now arise as to whether the reforming countries of Eastern Europe will continue to show interest in Albania and if they do not, whether other countries will exploit this. In any event the Albanians have expressed interest in widening their external relations. Sokrat Plaka, the Deputy Foreign Minister, in an interview earlier this year, said that Albania wished to be friends with all those who wished to be friends with them. He also expressed the wish for Albania to have contact with the European Community and to become in some way associated with the CSCE process. Balkan co-operation retains its importance. Much effort will be devoted to the Ministerial meetings to be held in Tirana in October 1990. The Adriatic Initiative between Italy and Yugoslavia might be enlarged by the addition of Albania and possibly Greece.

81. In view of its new foreign policy orientations, Albania needs more support than criticism from the West. At the same time, continuing severe violations of human rights in Albania must be taken into account. The priority given to economic recovery might also prepare the ground for more political changes. However, given the possibilities of the country and the basics of its history, rapid changes of the kind which occurred in Eastern Europe seem unlikely. A moderate approach would therefore provide further incentives for the process of opening-up and rapprochement with the West.

NA: The Situation in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, C-M(90)11 (May 8, 1990).

128 The United Nations Development Programme is a global network of development of the UN, and one of the executive organs of the General Assembly of the UN, seated in New York. In co-operation with local governments it tries to solve problems of development. It supports mainly investments improving human life quality and not only economic growth.

129 The International Telecommunications Union (ITU) is a specialized agency of the UN since 1947, whose task is to promote international cooperation in telecommunication. Its numerous committees elaborate proposals which are taken into consideration by national governments when adjusting their laws regarding telecommunication. Seated in Geneva.

DOCUMENT 6.
CONSEIL DE L'ATLANTIQUE NORD
NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL
NATO CONFIDENTIAL
ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/FRENCH DOCUMENT
20th November 1990

C-M(90)66

THE SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE
APRIL 1990 TO OCTOBER 1990

Note by the Secretary General

1. I attach a report on "The Situation in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe" forwarded to me by the Chairman of the Expert Working Group which met at NATO Headquarters from 17th–19th October 1990.

2. I would remind you that the report is the responsibility only of those experts who participated in the Working Group.

3. This report will be placed on the Agenda of the Council meeting on 28th November.

(Signed) M. WÖRNER

NATO,
1110 Brussels.

THE SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE

Note by the Chairman of the Expert Group

1. Experts from Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States met at NATO Headquarters from 17th to 19th October 1990 to prepare the attached report.

2. This document covers the period 12th April 1990 to 19th October 1990.

(Signed) O. SEREBRIAKOFF

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I. GENERAL TRENDS AND OUTLOOK

1. *In the USSR*, the last few months have been marked by a rapid decline in the prestige and authority of central political institutions, including the government, the Supreme Soviet and President Gorbachev himself.

2. This decline was accompanied by the polarisation of political forces. The right-wing conservatives within the Party were active and outspoken in opposition to perestroika at the 28th Party Congress and especially during the first stage of the Russian Party Congress; the left radicals, following their successes in the local and republic elections in the Spring, acquired a significant political base in the Russian parliament and in the Soviets of Moscow, Leningrad and a number of other major cities.

3. There have been increasing signs of disintegration of the Soviet Federation and of fragmentation of political power. The assertion of varying degrees of sovereignty by the Republics sparked off a further round of declarations of their own sovereignty by autonomous formations and ethnic groups within them. Yeltsin's election at the end of May as Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet dealt a severe blow to Gorbachev's authority. With his espousal of Russian sovereignty, he seems to have gained support for a programme which combines radical economic and political reform with robust defence of Russia's economic interests.

4. This period has witnessed numerous attempts to construct a new economic reform programme, with Gorbachev so far unsuccessful in steering a course between incompatible proposals. Although initial reactions to his compromise programme are not very promising, it remains to be seen what the reactions of the Republics will be.

5. The break-down of political structures has been fuelled by the continuing deterioration of the economy marked by growing shortages of basic commodities including bread, cigarettes, meat, vodka, etc. Political instability in turn has exacerbated the economic situation. Republican and regional protectionism has hampered distribution, helping to create shortages; while the breakdown of political and administrative authority has obstructed the gathering in of what should have been a record harvest.

6. As a small sign of encouragement, trends towards democratization and greater freedom continued as indicated by recent votes by the Supreme Soviet on religious freedom and legalization of other political parties.

7. Arms control and East/West relations continued to be the top Soviet foreign policy priorities. For example, Gorbachev accepted German membership in NATO and condemned Iraq's invasion of Kuwait – the latter was a major test of “new thinking” – and took particular care to keep Moscow's new relationship with Washington on track with his visit to the United States in May/June and his meeting with President Bush in Helsinki on 9th September. For the Soviets, the key achievement of the Washington meeting was the signing of a trade agreement.

8. Shevardnadze's Asian trip in early September reflected continued Soviet interest in promoting policy goals first outlined in Gorbachev's 1986 Vladivostok speech. Soviet Third World policy was generally seen in efforts to reduce economic and political costs.

9. Although multiparty elections were held in most of Eastern Europe in the Spring of 1990, the transition to pluralist democracy has proceeded at an uneven pace. At one extreme, the *GDR* collapsed more rapidly than most had expected. “Reform” communist parties were defeated and discredited in *Czechoslovakia* and *Hungary*, and political debate focused more and more on the pace and scope of economic reform and removal of former communists from positions of power in ministries and the economy. In *Poland*, the emergence of independent parties from within Solidarity has accelerated, and a consensus developed that the *de jure* division of power agreed to in the round table accord must be replaced by direct presidential and parliamentary elections in the near future.

10. In *Bulgaria* and *Romania*, reconstituted communist parties won majorities in free, if flawed, elections but appear increasingly unable to govern effectively in the face of domestic economic deterioration.

11. *Ethnic tensions*, largely repressed under communist rule, have re-emerged and created internal and foreign policy problems for several countries. The Antall gov-

ernment's emphasis on the treatment of Hungarian minorities in neighbouring countries has increased friction with Romania and Czechoslovakia. Tension between Hungarians and Romanians in Transylvania erupted into violent clashes in March¹³⁰ and the National Salvation Front government thus far has rejected the ethnic Hungarians' principal demands for local autonomy. A strong Slovak push for autonomy has made negotiations on the restructuring of the Czechoslovak federation a priority concern in Prague. In Bulgaria, though the fact that the Turkish minority was able to form a political organisation (Movement for Rights and Freedoms – MRF)¹³¹ and is now represented in the Assembly constitutes a positive development, the MRF's eligibility has been challenged by ethnic Bulgarian nationalist groups.

12. *Removal of the communist nomenklatura* from positions of power has been a central element in opposition criticism of government policy in Poland and Hungary, and to a lesser extent in Czechoslovakia. In each case non-communist governments, while working to establish political control of their military and intelligence establishments, have rejected comprehensive purges that might deprive them of the services of qualified professionals; they also have moved slowly on the replacement of officials in economic ministries and large state enterprises. Opposition parties and groups, such as the Centre Alliance in Poland¹³² and the Free Democrats and Young Democrats in Hungary, sharply attacked this policy, arguing that it has, in essence, given the nomenklatura the opportunity to retain its position.

13. A second point of cleavage that emerged between non-communist governments and oppositions has been the desirability of *radical market-oriented reforms*, thus far identified primarily with the Balcerowicz plan in Poland. The oppositions, to some degree, have joined the former communists in stating that not enough attention is being paid to devising social safety nets sufficient to cushion the population against

130 In March 1990 riots took place between ethnic Hungarians and Romanians in Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely, at that time having a Hungarian majority). The unrest resulted in five deaths (three Hungarians, two Romanians) and 278 injured. The antecedent of this event was a Hungarian demand for the establishment of mother tongue education. In response, Vatra Românească transported Romanians from the countryside with the aid of the Romanian government, who vandalized the city center, then attacked peacefully protesting ethnic Hungarians.

131 The Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS, MRF, HÖH) is a political party in Bulgaria whose aim in general is to secure human and civil rights with special attention to minority rights. In practical terms this meant that the party dealt with the problem of ethnic Turks, therefore it was often called "Turkish Party." It was established on January 4, 1990 in Drûndar (near Varna) as successor to the Turkish National Movement for Liberation, then it became a national organization on March 26–27, 1990.

132 The Center Civic Alliance (POC) was an alliance established by several parties joining their forces in the parliamentary elections of 1991 in Poland. It was organized by the Center Agreement from the remainder of the Solidarity Citizens' Committee, independents, and rightist Christian parties. The goal of the alliance was to organize broad support for Lech Wałęsa, who was unwilling to approve it. In the elections of 1991 they advertised and demanded foreign policy supporting the West, accelerated privatization, and broad economic reforms.

inflation and unemployment. In this connection, the extent to which trade relationships with the Soviet Union should be preserved (primarily to assure reliable energy supplies, but also to ease unemployment by preserving export markets for otherwise unsaleable goods) has also become an important ingredient in the political debate.

14. In the sphere of *foreign policy*, the most striking development during the period has been the de facto dissolution of the Soviet alliance structures, the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). Most of the concerns which hitherto justified continued Eastern European allegiance to the Pact – the need to assure progress in CFE negotiations¹³³ and to institutionalise the CSCE process – have either been addressed satisfactorily or undergone major change. The Political Consultative Committee meeting scheduled for November is likely to be the summit at which the transformation of the Warsaw Pact will be decided. As a multilateral organisation, CMEA has for all intents and purposes ceased to exist. Beginning in 1991, CMEA trade is to be conducted in hard currency at world market prices, but the East Europeans are seeking to preserve some measure of barter trade to assure minimum imports of Soviet oil and gas and to preserve markets for some manufactured goods.

15. To fill the vacuum created by the *demise of the Warsaw Pact* Czechoslovakia and Poland are actively promoting a new security structure within the CSCE. There are also efforts to increase co-operation through such subregional groupings as the Balkan Co-operation¹³⁴ and the Pentagonale,¹³⁵ and general interest in participation is high. Multilateral meetings between Heads of State and Government and Foreign Ministers have become commonplace. Finally, East European countries – especially Poland, Romania, and Hungary – have cautiously and carefully begun to establish political and economic contact with independent parties and movements inside the Soviet Union itself.

16. Despite their difficulties over oil, Central and Eastern European countries have joined the trade embargo against Iraq¹³⁶ and, as compensation, are hoping to receive economic assistance as well as general financial support for the reform process.

* * *

133 See footnote 77.

134 In September 1987 the foreign ministers of the Balkans (Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Yugoslavia and Turkey) met in Belgrade. Several proposals for cooperation were discussed. A year later, in June 1988, the representatives of the foreign ministers met again and agreed to continue the negotiations.

135 For the antecedents see footnote 117. Czechoslovakia joined the Quadrilateral (now Pentagonale) cooperation in 1990 and Poland in 1991 (now Hexagonale).

136 The sanctions imposed by the UN Security Council meant an almost total financial and commercial embargo, which began on August 6, 1990 and lasted until May 2003. The overt aim of the measures was to force Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait, to pay a war indemnity, and to abandon its plans for the development of weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

17. The weakening of *Yugoslavia's* federal structure accelerated as non-communist governments elected in Croatia and Slovenia began immediately to develop plans for a confederal structure, which Serbia strongly opposes. Serbian repression of the Albanian majority in Kosovo and tensions between the Serbs, Croats and others have made the problem of beginning the structuring of a new Yugoslav state even more difficult.

18. *Albania*, the only country in Central and Eastern Europe where a Leninist party retains a monopoly of power, stepped up its campaign of opening to the outside, permitting selective travel abroad, seeking diplomatic relations with the United States and the EC, and requesting full membership in the CSCE.

II. THE SITUATION INSIDE THE SOVIET UNION

19. In previous years, the sign that Mr. Gorbachev was back at his desk after a long summer break has been some spectacular, surefire, political move. This year he returned early, his holiday cut short by the need to cope with such crucial and sensitive issues as economic reform, reconstitution of the Union and the Soviet–Lithuanian negotiations. After the period starting in 1985 when Mr. Gorbachev went from strength to strength, the ground now seems to be slipping from under his feet.

20. From an institutional point of view, there is a clear risk that the central authority will be pushed to the sidelines by the demands of the new republican authorities. The recent battering administered by the Russian Parliament and its President, Mr. Yeltsin is the most significant development in this connection: decree banning the sale by the federal authorities of Russian strategic resources (energy, gold, diamonds...) without the Republic's permission; economic agreement negotiated directly between Russia and Lithuania; diplomatic feelers put out by Mr. Yeltsin (particularly towards Japan). Demands are also coming in from other republics, particularly in the field of internal security (national militias in the Caucasus) and even of defence (constitution of a "national army" currently being discussed in the Ukraine).

21. Politically speaking, Mr. Gorbachev is suffering from a "lack of legitimacy". There are signs of the "erosion of power" phenomenon, with public opinion laying the blame for the failure of economic reform and the sharp drop in living standards fairly and squarely at the door of the past five years' leadership. Furthermore, despite his declared intention of co-operating with the reformers, Mr. Gorbachev is still General Secretary of a Party which is fast losing its hold. The end result is a loss of presidential credibility: Mr. Gorbachev has resorted to "ukazes" (decrees) to counter some of the bolder republican initiatives (decree annulling the control of the Russian banking system decided by the Parliament of the RSFSR; decree requiring

the disbandment of nationalist militia; decree declaring null and void the Estonian declaration of independence). These texts have remained a dead letter.

22. At the 28th Party Congress, and although Mr. Gorbachev remained General Secretary, some of the most popular Party members resigned, thereby creating an ongoing haemorrhage. The Politburo has undergone structural changes such that its days as an official decision-making body are over.

23. The crunch for economic reform will come this autumn. The crisis is deepening, with a breakdown of the main pillars of the economy on the one hand (budget deficit, financial crisis, underlying unemployment, an estimated foreign debt of 60 billion roubles, a fall in industrial output, widespread shortages, disaffection with monetary transactions) and economic disintegration on the other hand (erection of protectionist barriers by the republics, and even the cities, rise of economic nationalism and even "localism").

24. The Soviet economy has continued to go rapidly downhill in 1990. According to statistics published at the end of July, Soviet national income fell by 2%, labour productivity by 1,5% and the shortage of food and consumer goods gathered pace during the first six months of the year, compared with the same period in 1989. The winter looks set to be hard, with the possibility of insufficient heating and the probable need to provide food aid for certain cities, a situation which could spark off social unrest.

25. The political will to force the pace and scope of economic reform is now clearly evident. Among the planners, however, there is disarray. Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Yeltsin together launched the debate on the new government programme, which provides in particular for the dismantling of economic monopolies and the reform of the banking system. Mr. Yeltsin, however, is insisting on the resignation of the Ryzhkov government, which Mr. Gorbachev is keeping on for fear of destabilizing the central authority. In his usual way, the General Secretary tabled a compromise proposal, which appears to be a modified version of the 500-day plan already adopted by the Russian Parliament. By 16th October, Mr. Yeltsin was already voicing his opposition.

26. Whichever way the reforms are applied (either at federal or at republic level), there are bound to be a number of stumbling-blocks, both administrative (lack of appropriate executive structures, other than in the present ministries, which run on lines incompatible with reform) and social (initially, the effects of market forces are bound to cause dismay in the population).

27. Yet, it is the future of the Union which constitutes the greatest challenge. The nationalities problem is now more central than ever. Developments in this area will hold the key to three basic issues. As regards the exercise of political power in Moscow, pressure from the republics, now demanding some essential prerogatives (economic policy, diplomacy and even defence), could mean that eventually central

authority will lose all substance. Above all, and despite attempts at co-operation (through the creation, for example, of a joint economic group), there is plainly a deep-seated rivalry between Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Yeltsin, fraught with one-upmanship and discord. In addition, economic progress may be held back, or even prevented, both by continuing centrifugal tensions and by friction between specialists. Last but not least, the USSR's international standing is at stake.

28. The signs of internal disintegration are rife. Almost all the republics have now adopted declarations of sovereignty (and even, in the case of the Baltic states and Armenia, declarations of independence). The process of fragmentation is spreading. At present, it is the republics, and even the autonomous regions, which are challenging the authority of the federated republics (Karelia, the Adzhars¹³⁷ and Abkhazes in Georgia,¹³⁸ and so on). There is a continuing build-up of inter-ethnic tension.

29. The big question is whether what has now become the inevitable transformation of the USSR can be brought about by largely peaceful means. There is no disguising the many potential causes of violence which could change the course of events: 60 million people living outside their republic of origin (including 25 million Russians); close inter-meshing of different ethnic groupings (particularly in the Caucasus and Central Asia; attitude of organs of state such as the Army, the KGB and the Communist Party to a disorderly breakup of the Union.

30. Another question is whether the process of dismemberment can be arrested by the new Union Treaty proposed by the central government. There are admittedly a number of factors on the side of a negotiated transition to a new form of diversified co-operation, particularly economic interdependence and geographical solidarity. At all events, Russia will continue to play a decisive rôle in the new structure. All the present evidence, however, points to a virtually irreversible tide of events. It is thus conceivable that the future Union Treaty will be obsolete even before the negotiations start.

31. There can be no doubt that Mr. Gorbachev is now facing the most testing time since he came to power. Nevertheless, his position, though under attack, is not irretrievably compromised. He holds a number of cards: some institutional room

137 Adjara, conquered by Russia in 1878, was occupied by British and Turkish forces after WWI, then after 1920 it belonged to the Republic of Georgia. The Turks relinquished the territory on condition that autonomy would be granted to the Muslim minority. Therefore the Adjar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was established in the region under Georgian sovereignty.

138 Abkhazia became the part of independent Georgia, established in 1918 in the wake of the Russian Revolution in 1917. In 1921 the Red Army occupied Georgia and Stalin created the autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Abkhazia. Despite formal autonomy, Georgian centralist tendencies remained in force. In early 1988 the Georgian opposition to communism declared its program for the abandonment of autonomies within Georgia. In 1989 Georgian nationalists organized mass protests in Abkhazia declaring the Abkhaz people northern Caucasian immigrants and not indigenous in the region.

for manoeuvre (a majority in the federal Supreme Soviet, the federal Ministries' power of obstruction, particularly where Russian initiatives are concerned), the possibility of appearing as the arbitrator between the republics and ethnic groups. Last but not least, there is his international prestige as winner of the Nobel Peace Prize and his ability to appear before Soviet public opinion as the most credible spokesman with the West.

III. THE ARMY AND POWER IN THE SOVIET UNION

32. The Army, which is directly affected by the current political, economic and psychological crisis in the USSR, is sometimes suspected – on the strength of indications that are diversely convincing but invariably difficult to interpret – of wishing to interfere in the internal political debate. It is ill-prepared to do so, however, both traditionally and organization-wise. The trials it is now experiencing testify, above all, to a painful and protracted modernization process ensuing from the new political situation.

33. The Army's inordinate encroachment on civilian society, a process aided and abetted by Brezhnev, was bound to be challenged by perestroika. After a temporary respite, the restructuring movement was extended to the Soviet armed forces, which have since met with some humiliating rebuffs: the Rust affair,¹³⁹ the onslaught of "transparency" among the rank and file, the withdrawal from Afghanistan¹⁴⁰ and the loss of the generals' monopoly in the determination of military doctrine.

34. Today, there are four aspects to this ongoing process:

- attempts to counter the continuing erosion of central authority are primarily an Army responsibility: massive commitment of the armed forces for peace-keeping operations; repercussions of spreading anarchy; rising crime; demands by an increasing number of republics for their own armies (Ukraine, Bielorrussia and Russia);

- the Army is experiencing the adverse effects of the – economic crisis just as much as other bodies, and perhaps even more: low pay, the housing crisis – most acute for military personnel;

- the pressure by most of the East European countries for a Soviet withdrawal is affecting the troops' morale;

139 Mathias Rust, German amateur pilot, became famous for his illegal landing with his private plane on Red Square in Moscow on May 28, 1987. Flying from Helsinki to Moscow, his plane was detected by Soviet anti-aircraft defense several times, but no order to destroy the intruder was given. Rust's penetration of Soviet defense lines (supposed to be impenetrable) had a huge impact on Soviet forces and numerous leaders and officers of high rank were relieved of their positions, including the then Minister of Defense, Sergey Sokolov.

140 See footnotes 5 and 44.

– finally, the “new thinking” in Soviet foreign policy has led to the crumbling of a set of values perhaps considered immutable by some members of the armed forces: waning of the ideological conflict with the West; unilateral disarmament measures announced in December 1987; cutback in the defence budget; surrendering of Germany to NATO without any tangible quid pro quo. However, most of the officer corps seemingly support the new direction of Soviet military policy.

35. The military seem unlikely to interfere in the political arena – at all events on their own initiative. However, Mr. Gorbachev cannot afford to disregard the concerns of the Army as an institution. Some of its top-ranking officers (Yazov, Moiseyev) have been permitted to voice them publicly and a few symbolic gestures by the authorities (promotion to Marshal of the Defence Minister, tribute paid to the armed forces on 9th May – VE Day¹⁴¹) have soothed the sharpest wounds to military self-esteem.

36. The armed forces will none the less have to undergo a radical shake-up, the shape of which is gradually emerging: after for long rejecting even the idea of a career army, the Minister of Defence has finally accepted the aim of gradual professionalization, to be achieved by “customized military service” arrangements. As if wishing to suggest that this idea, too, is now outdated, Mr. Gorbachev himself has broached openly the possibility of forming a “professional Army of volunteers”, which would no doubt prove more loyal than an army of conscripts amid the upheavals still in store for the Soviet Union. He has also broken another taboo by suggesting the creation of “national-territorial” units, which would be assigned to the republics while remaining under central government control.

37. These proposals are designed to map out an alternative to the moves by the federated republics’ parliaments or authorities, which pose a far greater threat to Union cohesion.

38. The new relationship between the central authorities and the republics will undoubtedly be decisive for the future of the Soviet armed forces. One thing is certain: the Army cannot avoid a wide-ranging and painful modernization process. In the wake of the reductions stemming from the disarmament negotiations, it will be left with up-to-date and efficient weaponry. Manning levels will have to be correspondingly adjusted, in other words substantially cut. A move in this direction has already started. This reform, however, remains just as fraught with uncertainty as the future of Soviet society.

141 The unconditional surrender of the Third Reich was signed on May 7, 1945, it came into effect at 11:01 pm on May 8, 1945, Central European Time. According to Moscow time this was May 9, therefore in the Soviet Union the traditional victory parade always took place on May 9.

IV. POLAND: THE FIRST YEAR OF THE MAZOWIECKI GOVERNMENT

39. Disagreements over the pace of economic and political reform led to a split within Solidarity. The presidential elections on 25th November will be followed by parliamentary elections in Spring next year and their outcome will determine the future of the reform process.

40. The radical programme of economic reform and austerity followed by the government has had considerable success in its two priority areas: reducing inflation – down from 78% in January to under 2% in August – and eliminating the chronic shortages of food. This, however, has been at the expense of a deeper than expected recession; real wages have fallen by a third, industrial production is down by 30% and unemployment reached 820,000 (4.7%) at the end of August, with a forecast figure of 1.3 million by the end of the year. Though the government had planned for a smooth transition period, the effects of the austerity programme and the drastic drop in average living standards led to increasing social unrest and political discord. The strikes by railway workers in May, defused only by Walesa's intervention, were followed by farmers' protests in July which culminated in the decision of the PSL (Polish Peasant Party) to withdraw from Mazowiecki's coalition on 19th September because *inter alia* of the lack of influence on agricultural policy and especially on the farmers' main demand, the reintroduction of guaranteed minimum prices. Farmer unrest is likely to resume and to spread to other sectors, such as mining.

41. In the area of political reform, the government has found itself increasingly on the defensive. Walesa has sharply criticised the Prime Minister for moving too slowly towards political pluralism, privatisation and restructuring, and for the government's failure to root out the old communist nomenklatura, while Mazowiecki has defended his more measured approach. The local elections held in May produced a low turn-out but demonstrated that with the exception of the PSL, which won nearly 7% of the votes, none of the parties outside the Solidarity movement has a significant electoral base.

42. Walesa's presidential ambitions have contributed to dividing Solidarity and led to the development of two groups within the movement: the pro-Walesa Centre Alliance, and the Citizens' Movement – Democratic Alliance (ROAD)¹⁴² which supports Mazowiecki. These two groups are likely to provide the focus for political debate in the run-up to the presidential election, although they have not yet defined

142 The Citizens' Movement for Democratic Action (ROAD) was a free market based socialist political party in Poland in 1990–1991 with centrist socialist views in economic affairs and conservative and moderate conservative principles regarding social questions. It was formed from the members of the Solidarity Citizens' Committee who supported Tadeusz Mazowiecki during the presidential elections in November–December 1990.

clear policy differences. The Catholic Church has largely refrained from exerting the direct political influence it brought to bear during the conflict with the communist régime, now that new democratic political institutions have been established. Each group, however, is attempting to enlist the support of the Church as the election campaign gets underway.

43. In the field of foreign policy, the Mazowiecki government's overriding objective of Poland's return to Europe has been pursued against a background of developments in its two powerful neighbours: the accelerating process of German unification and domestic instability in the Soviet Union. Mazowiecki and Foreign Minister Skubiszewski succeeded in securing guarantees for Poland's western border which will be enshrined in a treaty. Partly as a result of the relaxation of tension over this issue, the process of Soviet troop withdrawals is to be accelerated. As far as the Warsaw Treaty Organisation is concerned, Poland sees it as having only a limited rôle as a consultative mechanism that would provide an element of stability in the transition to a European security system. During the past year, Warsaw has put forward far-reaching plans for economic and political co-operation with Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Bilateral relations with the West have been strengthened, and Poland has continued to pursue its long-term objective of membership of the Council of Europe and of the European Community; the terms of an association agreement with the latter are currently under discussion.

V. CZECHOSLOVAKIA: FORGING A NEW IDENTITY

44. Czechoslovakia is going through a difficult period of transformation. With revolutionary euphoria fading, Havel and his relatively inexperienced team are facing up to the difficult business of governing. Far-reaching changes in the federal system, in local government and in the economy have been put forward. Some sections of the public have expressed disappointment with the pace of change, while others have voiced concern at its consequences. Slovak nationalism is growing and challenging the basis of the Czechoslovak state.

45. In June the first free elections held in Czechoslovakia since 1946 resulted in a victory for Civic Forum.¹⁴³ Havel was re-elected President on 5th July and again named Calfa as Prime Minister, with Dubcek as Federal Assembly chairman. Thus all the key players from the November revolution have been returned to office. The new government is dominated by Civic Forum and Public Against Violence (PAV),¹⁴⁴ with support from the Slovak Christian Democratic Movement (CD-

143 See footnote 113.

144 See footnote 114.

M).¹⁴⁵ A striking feature of the new cabinet is the absence of any of the historical Czech parties and the abundance of ethnic Slovaks. In accordance with electoral law, the current parliament will remain in office for only two years and will have the primary tasks of drafting a new federal constitution and enacting new economic legislation.

46. Politically, the growth of Slovak nationalism and the drive for equality with the Czechs are the major issues. At a meeting of the Prime Ministers of the Federal, Czech and Slovak governments at Trencianske Teplice in August, the Slovaks secured Czech and Federal agreement to a much more extensive devolution of powers to the two republics than had been expected. Support for the idea of a separate Slovak State is growing, but given an increased willingness on the part of the Czechs to accommodate Slovak wishes, the federation may survive. The Moravians are also demanding greater recognition of their identity and are likely to succeed in securing, in the forthcoming reform of local government, the restoration of Moravia/Silesia¹⁴⁶ and Bohemia¹⁴⁷ as major sub-divisions of the Czech Republic.

47. In the field of political reform, two new initiatives have been taken to root out old communist influence. Under the reform of local government, the Soviet style national committee system will be abolished and replaced by a commune system of self-administered towns and villages. Legislation to bring this about is being rushed through in time for communal elections on 24th November. Secondly, a review is to be undertaken of all leading posts in the administration and in the economy with a view to purging the system of the old nomenklatura.

48. The economy is not performing well; GNP growth which slowed to 1% in 1989 is expected to be negative this year. Unemployment is still low but must inevitably increase as reform policies bite. The Gulf crisis¹⁴⁸ has hit an economy that was already suffering disruption in vital oil supplies from the Soviet Union and a serious contraction in trade with the CEMA countries. On 17th September, the Federal Assembly approved the government's blueprint for economic reform. It is based on

145 The Christian Democratic Movement is a moderate rightist party in Slovakia established in 1990 supporting the quick introduction of a western style market economy.

146 Moravia (in Czech: Morava, in German: Mähren) is a historical region in the eastern part of the Czech lands, including parts of the former Silesia, Moravian Silesia. When Frederick the Great conquered the larger part of Silesia in the war of 1740–1748 (War of Austrian Succession), the southernmost part of the province remained under Habsburg rule.

147 Bohemia is the name of a historical Czech region located at the central and western part of the present day Czech Lands (in Czech: Čechy, in Latin and English: Bohemia, in German: Böhmen). The term comprises the medieval Czech Kingdom without the Moravian part known as the Margravate.

148 On August 2, 1990 at dawn, Iraqi troops attacked and the same day occupied Kuwait. Saddam Hussein, the President of Iraq, accused the state of petrol overproduction that decreased world prices and this caused harm to the economy of Iraq. Further accusations were that Kuwait stole oil from Iraq during the Iranian–Iraqi War and even occupied territories. The UN Security Council agreed to label the attack of Iraq on Kuwait as aggression, and the USA sent troops to the region.

price liberalisation, conversion to hard currency trading at world prices, currency convertibility and privatisation. Prime Minister Calfa described the reform package as a definite decision to forge ahead with quick and radical measures towards a modern market system, although it emphasises social concerns and ecological priorities. Specific pieces of legislation and a timetable will be submitted to the Federal Assembly at a later date. However, the transition to a liberal market economy is proving more problematic than the transition to political democracy.

49. In foreign affairs, Czechoslovakia is seeking to reintegrate itself in the West. In March, a trade and co-operation agreement between the EC and Czechoslovakia was signed in Brussels, and Calfa later called for early talks on an association agreement. In April, Czechoslovakia was granted the status of “extraordinary guest” by the Council of Europe in response to its application for full membership and in September it was readmitted to the IMF¹⁴⁹ and the World Bank.¹⁵⁰ Czechoslovakia is also working towards disengagement from the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and is seeking a reform of its *modus operandi* with the CMEA countries. In parallel, it is seeking closer ties with NATO, as evidenced by Secretary General Wörner’s visit to Prague in September, and has been playing an active rôle in regional co-operation and the CSCE process. It has produced new structures and Prague as the site for the CSCE. With regard to the Gulf crisis, Czechoslovakia is eager to establish its credentials as a responsible member of the United Nations.

VI. HUNGARY: THE INTERNAL POLITICAL SPECTRUM

50. The first period of the Antall government has gone relatively smoothly compared with the difficulties experienced by some of the other emerging democracies of Eastern Europe. Although partisan wrangling over the nature of transition, rising unemployment, inflation and falling living standards have soured public attitudes, the government has proceeded with its democratisation programme and has dealt with legislation on local elections. There has also been some reform of the administrative system. The government has, however, been criticised for failing to remove wholesale the communist bureaucracy.

51. Hungary’s multiparty elections in March/April, the first for 43 years, constituted a milestone in its transition to parliamentary democracy. The centrist Democratic Forum won a surprisingly large victory that enabled its chairman Antall to form a coalition government with the right-of-centre Smallholders and the Christian Democrats. Antall immediately struck a backstage deal with the opposition

¹⁴⁹ See footnote 9.

¹⁵⁰ The World Bank is an international financial institution established in 1945 in Washington. Among its goals one can find the decrease of poverty and securing stable loans for developing countries.

Free Democrats to concede the presidency to Free Democrat Goncz in exchange for a freeze on opposition to the government. This informal agreement did not last for long, however. In the run-up to the recent local elections, the Free Democrats attacked the government for concentrating on secondary issues at the expense of more important matters such as privatisation and land reform. The low turn-out in these elections, of which the Free Democrats were the principal beneficiaries, provided some evidence of public apathy with democracy and scepticism about the government's ability to halt the economic decline.

52. Further strains have been placed on the coalition by the Smallholders' election pledge to return land to its pre-1947 owners which is impracticable and unconstitutional. Antall has managed to duck the issue so far but further footdragging on land reform increases the risk of a split. The issue is an integral part of the pending ownership law which will have a major impact on creating a business climate attractive to foreign investment.

53. In the economic field, domestic difficulties have been partly offset by improvements in the external sector. Industrial production by state enterprises and large co-operatives was 8% lower in the first half of 1990 compared with a year earlier: GDP held up reasonably well but unemployment doubled to about 1% of the labour force in June and is expected to reach 2% by the end of the year, and consumer prices were 26% higher in the first half of 1990 and are still rising. On the other hand, Hungary registered a \$ 200 million surplus on the convertible currency account during the first half of 1990. However, the cut in Soviet oil deliveries and the Gulf crisis, coupled with the effect of the summer drought on agriculture, are inevitably having an adverse effect on both internal and external sectors, and Budapest now forecasts a \$200 million current account deficit for 1990.

54. The Antall government is moving ahead on privatisation, particularly in retail trade and services. As part of the privatization programme, it has proposed to sell 20 of its major companies, and to convert over half the farmland to private ownership. Bankruptcy proceedings have already been initiated against a number of loss-making state enterprises and more are in the pipeline.

55. In June, the Hungarian parliament passed a resolution mandating Hungary's negotiated withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty Organisation by the end of 1991. As a first step, Budapest has effectively halted all military contacts and ended participation in joint military manoeuvres. It also initiated bilateral talks to replace obsolete bilateral friendship and mutual assistance treaties with co-operation agreements. The government intends to link the pace of these negotiations with the CFE talks to avoid jeopardising the agreed withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary by 30th June 1991.

56. The Antall government has made treatment of the ethnic Hungarians living in neighbouring countries and access to them a major thrust of its foreign policy.

Relations with Austria on this score are excellent and a new dialogue has been initiated with Yugoslavia. But Antall's declaration that he considered himself Prime Minister "in spirit" of all Hungarians, including those living abroad,¹⁵¹ has contributed to friction with Slovakia and Romania. Relations with the federal government in Prague have so far been cordial, but Slovakia's increasing assertiveness is raising new concerns.

VII. BULGARIA: THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC REFORM

57. The period under review has been dominated by the elections to the Grand National Assembly, Mladenov's replacement as President by the opposition leader Zhelev and by the continuing political stalemate which prevented the formation of a new government for so long. Meanwhile, the economy has continued to deteriorate sharply, with the Gulf crisis aggravating Bulgaria's difficulties.

58. In the June elections, the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) won almost 50% of the vote and 211 out of 400 seats in the new Parliament, with the principal opposition coalition, the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)¹⁵² gaining 144 seats, the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF) 29, and the Agrarian Party 16. Despite some irregularities and instances of intimidation by the BSP, the general view of Western observers was that the elections had been free and fair and that such malpractices had not significantly affected the result.

59. But despite its election victory, the BSP was unable to form a government for three months. It tried to persuade the UDF to join a coalition in order to share responsibility for the harsh measures which will be needed to reverse the economic decline. But the UDF, which had fought the election on a clear-cut anti-communist platform, had no incentive to let the BSP off the hook. There followed a prolonged period of political stalemate during which public anxiety over the visible decline in living standards was matched by growing impatience with the political situation. Strikes and demonstrations in June and July led to a wave of resignations and a further purge within the ruling party. Mladenov was forced to resign as President over evidence that he had advocated the use of tanks against demonstrators in December 1989. After much deliberation, he was replaced by UDF chairman Zhelev with BSP member Semerdzhiev as Vice-President.

60. Interim Prime Minister Lukanov submitted the resignation of his government in August, announcing that henceforth, the BSP would only govern in a coa-

151 The sentence refers to the words of József Antall, Hungarian Prime Minister at the third general meeting of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) on June 2, 1990: "In legal sense, according to Hungarian public law I consider myself as the prime minister of *all* Hungarian citizens of this country of 10 million – and in my heart I'd like to be Prime Minister of 15 million Hungarians."

152 See footnote 123.

lition with the opposition. The UDF, however, still refused to join. The strained relations between the two parties were not helped by the ransacking and partial destruction by fire of the BSP's headquarters on 26th August. The new government, led by Lukanov, was finally formed on 19th September and is composed almost entirely of BSP members.

61. Both the main political parties remain fragile alliances. The BSP is seriously divided between the reformist faction led by Lukanov and more orthodox elements centred on Lilov, whose recent re-election as party leader has further limited the government's room for manoeuvre. The UDF, established as an umbrella organisation of 17 parties with widely differing philosophies and agendas, has been growing in popular support, particularly among the young, but has difficulty in imposing internal discipline on its constituent groups.

62. The third major force is the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF) which in practice is the party of the Turkish ethnic minority. The fact that they were able to form a political organisation and are now represented in the Assembly constitutes a positive development. However the MRF's eligibility has been challenged by ethnic Bulgarian nationalist groups. There are widespread fears that the MRF's justified pressure for human and cultural rights could be followed by demands for autonomy. The government has attempted to allay nationalist fears by stating that Bulgarian would remain the country's official language, while Dogan, the MRF leader, has adopted a conciliatory style in parliament. The local elections in December will play an important role in consolidating the rights of the Turkish minority.

63. The economy, which underwent a protracted slump in the 1980s, is now in a state of near collapse. Repayments of capital and interest on the \$ 10.8 billion external debt have been suspended and foreign trade is at a standstill. Cuts in oil deliveries from the Soviet Union have been compounded by the Gulf crisis and the supply position remains acute. Industrial production is down and the population has been hit with food shortages, rationing and sharply higher prices. The political stalemate has left the economic reform programme in limbo, although Zhelev has announced his intention to submit to parliament far-reaching legislation on privatisation and market reforms.

64. Economic considerations are influencing the considerable emphasis on westward orientation that Bulgaria is placing in its foreign policy. In May, Bulgaria signed a trade and co-operation agreement with the European Community. Progress has also been made towards Bulgaria's admission to the IMF and World Bank. Bulgaria has supported UN sanctions against Iraq in spite of the considerable economic cost. Trade with most of the CMEA countries is in serious difficulty.

VIII. ROMANIA: IS IT GOING ANYWHERE?

65. Romania's progress towards pluralistic democracy and a free market economy is halting and far from secure. The violent events of June¹⁵³ seriously undermined the government's credibility both at home and abroad. The summer has been characterised by a wave of social unrest. Romanian nationalism appears to be growing unchecked. Further economic decline will heighten domestic discontent and, given the continued weakness of the opposition and relative strength of the military and security services, may produce more authoritarian responses to domestic challenges.

66. The presidential and parliamentary elections in May resulted in a landslide victory for Iliescu and the National Salvation Front (NSF). Some cases of vote-rigging and intimidation were reported, but it is unlikely that they had any significant effect on the final outcome. However, the political situation remained tense after the elections. Some groups refused to accept the results and occupied University Square, demanding an end to communist and securitate influence in the government. Talks between the demonstrators and the government collapsed and on 13th June, and violence broke out. When the police failed to restore order, Iliescu summoned thousands of miners to "protect the revolution". Aided and abetted by "agents provocateurs", they stormed through the capital, beating up student and opposition demonstrators, ransacking the headquarters of the main opposition parties and attacking innocent bystanders.

67. Between 13th and 15th June over 1000 people were arrested, some of whom are still detained. The government's repression and human rights abuses caused a storm of international protest. The decision by Western countries to freeze progress on trade and aid agreements helped persuade the authorities to improve access to the detainees and may have deterred them from further recourse to mob rule by the miners.

68. As a result of the violence, the government was not formed until 28th June. With Petre Roman as Prime Minister, it contains a number of relatively young ministers, several of whom are pro-market, but lacks political and administrative experience. The newly elected parliament is still plagued by lack of formal procedural order and rules. The NSF controls both chambers but has yet to initiate substantive legislation. A constitutional commission has begun work on drafting a new constitution but does not expect it to be promulgated for 18 months.

153 Between 1990 and 1999 there were six *mineriadă* protests of miners, the most significant taking place on June 13–15, 1990. The miners of the Jiu valley travelled to Bucharest to "restore order" among those who were demonstrating for democratic elections and the resignation of Ion Iliescu. The miners occupied and damaged several buildings and clashed with protesting crowds on University Square in Bucharest.

69. Since the new parliament began work, several parties have split or re-grouped. There is, however, still no opposition large enough to play an effective role. There are also signs of splits within the NSF itself. Roman seems to have more reformist leanings and a better sense of the importance of human rights than Iliescu. While Iliescu's position looks strong enough in constitutional terms, his performance suggests that he is ill-suited to his role, and public confidence in the NSF is diminishing.

70. The problems surrounding the Hungarian minority persist. Although the minority's party, the HDUR, exhibited the most effective organisation by an opposition group in the elections, emerging as the second largest party in the parliament, the NSF has so far failed to satisfy the HDUR's demands as regards the rights of the Hungarian minority, and there is much potential for further discord. The government has to some extent allowed the Romanian nationalist lobby a free rein, possibly to distract attention from the worsening economic situation.

71. Economic prospects are poor and performance in many areas is down on 1989. Inflation, not yet a problem, could soar if price controls are lifted. Unemployment was significant at midyear and rising. Food supplies to the population increased substantially during the first half of the year, but only when measured against the pitiful levels of the Ceausescu [Ceausescu] years and shortfalls in supply continue to be reported. The Iliescu government is slowly loosening central controls over the economy but has yet to announce a comprehensive reform programme. In July, parliament passed a law on privatisation that requires most state owned companies to transfer 30% of their assets to a new national privatisation agency, and the government foresees 70% of the economy in private hands in three years. Nevertheless, the political environment necessary for market oriented reforms to flourish is still a long way off in Romania.

72. In foreign affairs, Romania would clearly like to strengthen its relations with the West and appears to understand the need to improve its human rights and democratisation record in order to meet the conditions for aid. The trade and co-operation agreement with the EC which was suspended following the events of 13th to 15th June is to be signed in October. Romania's adherence to the policy of sanctions against Iraq is causing hardship at home but has helped its image abroad. Iliescu made his first official foreign visit to Yugoslavia where he expressed support for Balkan co-operation and proposed the establishment of a regional CSCE forum in the Balkans, and also visited New York for the UNGA. Romania has expressed the wish to attend sessions of the Pentagonale¹⁵⁴ as an observer.

154 See footnotes 118 and 135.

IX. YUGOSLAVIA: THE OUTLOOK

73. The erosion of the Yugoslav federation accelerated during the last half year. Slovenia and Croatia elected anti-communist governments in April/May multiparty contests, increasing the distance between them and the more authoritarian and centralist government of Serbia. The economic programme introduced by the federal government at the end of last year continued to hold down inflation, but Prime Minister Markovic has been unable to duplicate his economic success on the political stage. The country's overriding problem, Kosovo, grew steadily more intractable. Serbia's dissolution of the provincial government, selective firing of Albanian workers, and militia occupation of the streets finally goaded ousted Albanian officials to declare an independent Kosovo republic and promulgate a constitution. Most Yugoslavs now doubt that the country can continue in its present form, and even a confederal arrangement that includes all the republics is in doubt. The army remains the only force which is committed to the integrity of Yugoslavia.

74. After several unsuccessful attempts in the early spring to resuscitate [resuscitate] the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, effectively dissolved when the Slovenes walked out in January, even the Serbian party gave up the attempt and, at a July Congress, merged with its socialist alliance front to form the Socialist Party of Serbia.

75. Meanwhile, free elections in the republics, beginning in April, have brought to power leaders with dramatically different visions of Yugoslavia's future. In Slovenia, a coalition of anti-communist parties (DEMOS) won the majority of assembly seats, while the head of the reformed communist party (Party of Democratic Change) took the presidency.¹⁵⁵ The government has since been drafting a new constitution to define the republic's "confederal" relation to the rest of Yugoslavia. The Croatian elections were swept by a nationalist movement, the Croatian Democratic Union, led by Franjo Tudjman, who became the republic's president. Tudjman's exploitation of nationalist symbols during the campaign and the Serbian reaction aroused Croatia's Serbian minority, some 12% of the population. In Serbia, President Milosevic was elected president of the newly-formed Socialist Party of Serbia, reuniting party and state powers in a manner directly contrary to the prevailing trend in Eastern Europe. Elections are to be held in November in the Republics of Bosnia–Hercegovina and Macedonia. There has been talk about elections in the Republic of Serbia, and at the federal level, but up to now no firm commitments have been made.

155 Milan Kučan was the chairman of the ZKS (League of Communists of Slovenia) in 1986–1989, which was the predecessor (also in a legal sense) of the SDP (Stranka demokratične preнове – Party of Democratic Change). He became the president of the Collective Presidency of Slovenia in 1990–1992. For additional information see the Biographical notes in the Appendix.

76. On the future structure of the country, the Serbian authorities' initial position was to insist that the only possibility was a federation. Gradually, they appear to have realised that a serious discussion of the future of the federation must take place. Federal President Jovic then took the initiative and proposed that there should be a referendum on the future federal structure. The proposal is likely to anger the Slovenes and Croats, as the cornerstone of their position is that republican interests are paramount, and that any attempt to impose unwelcome constitutional and legal reforms on the individual republics is unacceptable. Croatia and Slovenia have been considering ideas for a confederation.

77. These political developments are taking place against a backdrop of sporadic inter-ethnic unrest. There have been clashes in Croatia, in Bosnia, and in Kosovo.

78. The situation in Kosovo remains intractable. Earlier in the summer the Serbian authorities took over virtual control in the province after Albanian delegates to the Assembly had declared that they would not accept the new Serbian constitution. In early September a one day strike was held in protest. There have been further clashes between Serbs and Albanians. The decision to promulgate a constitution taken at a covert meeting of the dissolved Kosovo Assembly on 7 September, was a direct challenge to the Serbs and may have brought ethnic tensions to breaking point. The Serbian authorities immediately sought to arrest the members of the Assembly who had adopted the constitution and four Albanians lost their lives in incidents the following week.

79. Against this background of fragmentation, Ante Markovic is trying to continue with his package of economic reform, but with increasing difficulty. Markovic himself remains popular, and the only politician at federal level with any real degree of credibility, but it is becoming increasingly difficult for him to impose his will and push through his reforms.

X. ALBANIA: PROSPECTS FOR INTERNAL REFORM

80. Albania remains Europe's only totalitarian communist state; nevertheless, it is showing signs of opening up to the outside world. Domestic political and economic reform has as yet been marginal but the foreign policy changes – especially overtures to the CSCE – may well force the pace of domestic change.

81. Albania now has diplomatic relations with well over one hundred countries. Party chief and Head of State Ramiz Alia speeded up the process when, on 17 April at the 10th Plenum of the Albanian Workers Party's Central Committee, he expressed the desire to open diplomatic relations with the United States, the Soviet Union and the European Community, and announced a liberalisation of travel provisions, including issuing passports more freely. The timing of the Alia "democratisation" initiative was presumably keyed to the visit, from 11 to 13 May, of the UN

Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar who welcomed the moves, but underscored international concern with the human rights situation in Albania.

82. Tirana's official communications with Western governments concerning its request to join the CSCE as a full participant before the Paris Summit in November¹⁵⁶ stressed Albania's adherence to the principles of the 1975 Helsinki Declaration,¹⁵⁷ but omitted any reference to the CSCE sessions of the past 15 years. The Albanian regime, however, has not committed itself to implementation of the provisions of specific CSCE documents, such as multiparty elections and free and competitive market economies.¹⁵⁸

83. Diplomatic relations with the USSR were re-established in August and a trade delegation visited Moscow in September. Albania also made an effort in April–June to remove a number of longstanding irritants in bilateral relations with neighbouring countries; for example, six Albanians who had been living in the Italian Embassy in Tirana for years were permitted to leave the country, as were two brothers who had been the subject of a number of *démarches* by the Greek government. Meanwhile the difficult conditions under which the Greek minority lives remain unchanged.

84. The regime took a much harder line in early July, when thousands of Albanians took refuge in foreign embassies in Tirana. The police used force to block entrance to the diplomatic premises and on several occasions entered diplomatic compounds to forcibly remove asylum seekers. But with the international spotlight on the drama, an apparently embarrassed government was moved to isolate the problem and find ways to get those already in embassies out of the country.

85. Internal reforms thus far seem to be driven primarily by foreign policy interests; that is, the Alia government seems willing to make only those internal changes necessary to gain acceptance in the international community. Albanians still have difficulty getting passports and permission for foreign travel. The government has constructed a wall around the embassy section in Tirana and turned it into a ghetto. Economic reforms have been marginal: the size of private plots has

156 This refers to the Summit of the CSCE held in Paris, November 19–21, 1990, where the European security policy, the economic situation in Eastern Europe, and the Gulf Crisis (Kuwait) was discussed. On November 21, the Charter of Paris for a New Europe was signed, which reflects the last fifteen years after the Helsinki Accords (the development of free democratic elections as the only acceptable form of government, freedom rights, and minority rights) and proposes methods of future cooperation.

157 The Final Act of Helsinki (Helsinki Declaration, Helsinki Accords) is an agreement containing political obligations for the 35 countries of the CSCE who signed the treaty on August 1, 1975. It involved three groups of questions ("baskets"): common European security; scientific, economic, technical and environmental cooperation; and humanitarian and other cooperation (especially in human rights) between member states.

158 Albania, which was not among the signatory states in 1975, requested full partnership at the Paris Summit, but was awarded only observer status.

been increased, prices for sale of garden produce have been decontrolled, crafts shops may be opened, and religious propaganda has been decriminalised (although churches and mosques were not reopened). Alia has expressed a strong interest in Western investment and indicated that Albania would permit the repatriation of hard currency profits from joint ventures, but no legislation or regulations have been enacted to liberalise treatment of foreign investors.

NA: The Situation in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, C-M(90)66 (November 20, 1990).

DOCUMENT 7.
CONSEIL DE L'ATLANTIQUE NORD
NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL
NATO CONFIDENTIAL
ORIGINAL: ENGLISH DOCUMENT
24th April 1991

C-M(91)18

THE SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE
OCTOBER 1990 TO MARCH 1991

Note by the Secretary General

1. I attach a report on "The Situation in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe" forwarded to me by the Chairman of the Expert Working Group which met at NATO Headquarters from 25th–27th March 1991.

2. I would remind you that the report is the responsibility only of those experts who participated in the Working Group.

3. This report will be placed on the Agenda of the Council meeting on 2nd May 1991.

(Signed) M. WÖRNER

NATO,
1110 Brussels

THE SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE

Note by the Chairman of the Expert Group

1. Experts from Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States met at NATO Headquarters from 25th to 27th March 1991 to prepare the attached report.

2. This document covers the period 20th October 1990 to 27th March 1991.

(Signed) H. J. PETERS

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I. GENERAL TRENDS AND OUTLOOK

1. *Soviet domestic politics* took a turn to more conservative positions during the last half year, primarily because of the democratic forces' disorganization, a growing assertiveness on the part of traditionalists, and the continued unravelling of ethnic, social and economic structures. As a result, the military-industrial complex, the security services, and the CPSU apparatus have become more influential in both domestic and foreign affairs.

2. *Republic pressure* for greater autonomy and even outright independence has shifted the internal political climate in the Soviet Union significantly. Faced with a threat to the integrity of the Union, the Kremlin has chosen to clamp down rather than permit the centrifugal spiral to continue. Media controls, greater KGB visibility, and joint army/MVD patrols in the union's cities are all part of this effort.

3. The establishment of the Council of the Federation as the main official body within the presidency, the growing voice of the republics in budgetary matters, and the role played by republican representatives in negotiation of the new Union treaty all suggest that the republics that are willing to remain within the Union are gaining power at the expense of the centre and may well continue to do so in the future.

4. These developments have tended to circumscribe *Gorbachev's power*, although he still enjoys considerable freedom of manoeuvre. Nevertheless, the loss of most, if not all, of the original team that introduced perestroika, notably the resignation of Shevardnadze, has weakened the reformist impulse, at least for the moment. Yeltsin's challenge, moreover, could pose serious dangers for Gorbachev, particularly if Yeltsin is able to become a popularly elected President of the Russian Federation.

5. Meanwhile, the negative factors that caused *economic deterioration* in 1990 accelerated as the Soviet Union entered 1991. The country's central administrative apparatus has been hampered, and there has been no viable replacement. On the contrary, since the defeat of the Shatalin 500-day radical plan last October, market-oriented economic reform has been thrown into disarray. After nearly 18 months of furious debate and false starts, economic reform is still floundering. Retrograde decrees and public statements by the new Prime Minister and the Head of the KGB on the economy are further steps away from reform.

6. On the *foreign policy* front, Gorbachev remains persuaded that the basic innovations associated with "new thinking"¹⁵⁹ still serve Soviet interests. The domestic imperatives that argued for "new thinking" – the need for foreign economic support and a stable international environment – remain compelling. The tone and style of Soviet foreign policy have changed, however. At the very least, some of the nimbleness and intellectual vitality associated with Shevardnadze is gone. Further, domestic challenges have forced Gorbachev to rely more on traditional sources of power. Given the resurgence of more conservative voices, the public debate on foreign policy issues has sharpened. One result has been an emphasis on pursuing policy lines less visibly identified with the West, notably on arms control issues.

7. With the formal dissolution of the *Warsaw Treaty's* military structure decided on 25th February, and the likelihood that both the Warsaw Treaty itself and the CMEA will soon formally cease to exist, the Soviet Union's relations with its former allies in Eastern Europe have entered a new phase. They are now negotiating, or intend to negotiate, new bilateral treaties with the Soviet Union (and with each other) containing elements of passive security. Separate agreements on military co-operation dealing with matters such as the purchase and resupply of equipment are likely to follow. These agreements may go some way towards meeting concerns

159 See footnote 57.

about a security vacuum in Eastern Europe as well as reducing the Soviet Union's sense of isolation. Moscow may also try to insist on a strictly neutral status for these countries, analogous to that of Finland or Austria, while trying to preserve a *droit de regard* for itself in the region. It already views with suspicion the declaration on triangular co-operation signed by Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland at Visegrad on 15 February, as well as their aspirations to have closer relations with NATO.

8. Two issues – the desirability of radical, market-oriented economic reform and the adequacy of efforts to purge the communist nomenclatura from positions of influence – dominated politics in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Having won election as *Poland's* president, Walesa chose to retain Vice-Premier Balcerowicz and voiced general support for continuation of the “shock therapy” of his reforms. This alienated many of his campaign supporters as well as the new leadership of Solidarity, which has brandished the threat of general strikes to win rollbacks of wage controls and subsidy cuts. A similar cleavage split the *Czech* Civic Forum, divided between a right-of-center, radical reform party led by Finance Minister Klaus, and a liberal “movement” committed to improvements in the social safety net. The vetting of former secret police “collaborators” in Czechoslovakia also threatened to compromise senior federal, Czech, and Slovak officials. In *Hungary*, the Antall government maintained a decisive majority coalition but appeared increasingly vulnerable to accusations of hesitancy in developing a clear economic programme and – as in the case of arms sales to Yugoslavia – to establish effective controls over military and intelligence activities.

9. Balkan politics, by contrast, remained bogged down in the fundamental controversy over the legitimacy of communist or successor parties in implementing democratization and market reforms – even when such parties had come to power through essentially free elections.

10. Only in *Bulgaria* did the advent of a coalition government in December 1990 finally permit adoption of a radical reform programme acceptable to the IMF.¹⁶⁰ It also appeared to leave the opposition Union of Democratic Forces¹⁶¹ and Agrarian Party well positioned to win local and national parliamentary elections as early as this spring. In *Romania*, by contrast, the National Salvation Front (NSFG) government's efforts to enunciate and implement slightly less ambitious reforms aroused substantial opposition from organized labor, including two serious rounds of transport strikes. A disunited collection of urban intellectuals, trade unions, and parliamentary opposition parties perceives the NSF as a communist movement opposed to market reforms and unwilling to reform the secret police. However, a majority of the population continues to support the government.

* * *

160 See footnote 9.

161 See footnote 123.

11. *Yugoslav* politics remained totally dominated by efforts to find a new *modus vivendi* in face of competing visions of the best possible future relationship. This follows the traumatic events in Belgrade in early March¹⁶² from which new hope emerged that flexibility will be shown in efforts to find a solution. The economic reforms begun by Prime Minister Markovic in 1989 have been severely hampered by political conflict but a minimal agreement will hopefully emerge on a government programme for the transitional period.

12. In *Albania*, communist leader Ramiz Alia progressively yielded to demands for democratization to an extent unimaginable only six months earlier. In rapid succession, he got rid of some of the leading hard line elements from the ruling workers' party, permitted formation and registration of opposition parties, delayed scheduled parliamentary elections to permit them time to organize, and allowed formation of independent unions and an independent human rights organization. Albania, however, still faces enormous economic problems and powerful conservative forces which could derail the reform process.

II. THE EXERCISE OF POLITICAL POWER IN THE SOVIET UNION

13. Rejection of Shatalin's radical economic programme, the enhancement of Gorbachev's presidential powers, the crackdown in the Baltic republics and increasing control of the mass media all represented a shift away from the broadly reformist programme of the early days of perestroika.

14. Although Gorbachev appeared to support it last summer, the Shatalin economic reform plan eventually lost out because it gave too much power to the republics and called for too rapid a switch to a market economy, steps threatening to many of the industrial managers. Gorbachev's turn to more conservative economic figures represents a commitment to give economic stabilization priority over efforts to move towards a modified or regulated market economy.

15. Gorbachev asked in mid-November for establishment of a presidential form of government with greater formal powers for himself and the Council of the Federation. This reorganization which included transformation of the council of ministers into a cabinet of ministers subordinated to the President and abolition of the Presidential Council, is still in process. It is intended, however, to give Gorbachev and the republics greater power to meet more effectively the many challenges posed by the growing crisis within the country.

162 On March 7, 1991, disregarding its prohibition by the Serbian government, a crowd of almost a hundred thousand people protested on the streets of Belgrade to demand the resignation of the Milošević government and the television leadership. Tanks, armored cars, and riot police attacked the protesting crowd. Two victims died, more than 90 were injured, and 600 were arrested.

16. The crackdown in the Baltics appeared at the time to presage a decided turn to the right and the likelihood of presidential rule in the Baltics and perhaps elsewhere. Gorbachev's defence on 14 January of the previous day's killings in Lithuania¹⁶³ fostered this impression since he appeared to countenance illegal actions taken by the military. The role of the MVD in the subsequent events in Latvia suggested further that the security forces were united in the need for repressive action and would be able to get their way. Subsequent events have, however, weakened this impression; the Baltic republics still enjoy some degree of internal autonomy and the armed forces have had to return to their barracks. Lithuania's ability to conduct its plebiscite on independence and to establish, with regime compliance, its own postal service, as well as Latvia's and Estonia's plebiscites on independence, suggest that Moscow might be prepared to tolerate a wide range of activities in the Baltics as long as they do not directly confront the Soviet authorities there.

17. In recent months, Gorbachev has pointed to the deterioration of executive power at all levels of government as one of the major dangers facing the country. His reform of the presidency is one step toward repairing this situation, and proposals for changes at lower levels have addressed the same problem of making old institutions – soviets and their executive committees – serve new democratic objectives. Another step in this direction has been the enhanced power given to the republics in Gorbachev's latest reorganizations.

18. How much additional authority has actually been given to the republics is still unclear. The performance of the Council of the Federation to date suggests that Gorbachev recognizes he will succeed only if he is able to enlist the support of a majority of the republics and that he is willing to give them new powers to gain this support. Negotiations between the centre and the republics over the 1991 USSR state budget indicated a shift of power and responsibilities to the republics that may become more pronounced in coming months.

19. Improved relations with the republics, and the revised claim to represent a political centre that Gorbachev stressed in his visit to Bielorrussia, are the basis for his latest tactics for coping with the traditionalists. These steps have become particularly important in light of the failure of the democratic forces to unite and develop a cohesive programme. Furthermore, the hopes created by the establishment of freely elected soviets at the republic and local levels earlier in 1990 did not materialize as they failed to become agents of democratic reform. Under these circum-

163 On January 13, 1991, just a few hours after Gorbachev had confirmed at the session of the Supreme Soviet that he did not want to use force, Soviet military troops occupied the buildings of the radio and television and some ministries in Vilnius. The occupation of Parliament was hindered by a living chain of Lithuanian civilians. At least thirteen people were crushed by tanks, and 230 were injured.

stances, Gorbachev has had to look elsewhere for support to maintain his own freedom of manoeuvre.

20. Yeltsin is meanwhile stepping up his direct challenge to Gorbachev, laying the groundwork for the establishment of the position of a popularly-elected president of the Russian Federation, a post he expects to win. The intensity of the attacks each has made on the other recently suggests that at least under present political circumstances, neither is seeking compromise, but the defeat of the other. Yeltsin holds many cards, including his personal popularity, the low esteem in which many Russians hold Gorbachev, and growing social discontent. On the other hand, he has not yet had to stand the test of political responsibility, and his impulsive temperament and political inconsistency may make him vulnerable.

III. THE SOVIET UNION : THE INCREASED POLITICAL ROLE OF THE ARMY, THE KGB AND THE CPSU

21. Gorbachev's new reliance on the traditional instruments of power in order to strengthen the authority of the centre has been accompanied by a rapid growth in the political prominence of the army, the KGB and – once again – the CPSU. In speeches during his visit to Bielorrussia at the end of February Gorbachev described the army and the KGB as “the institutions which form the pillar of statehood” and called for the “renewed CPSU” to form the nucleus of a “coalition of centrist forces”. The revival of the old power structure has been facilitated by the failure of the new democratic structures to function cohesively or effectively.

The Armed Forces

22. The new political prominence of the army was strikingly underlined by the recent attendance of Gorbachev for the first time at the traditional meeting on 22 February to mark Armed Forces day¹⁶⁴ and at the mass demonstration in support of the army organised in central Moscow on the following day. Only about 18 months ago the army's prestige, influence and public profile had reached a low ebb. In the summer of 1989 General Yazov was barely confirmed as Minister of Defence and a Supreme Soviet resolution forced the release of students from military service against bitter military opposition. Military uniforms had almost disappeared from

164 The day of the armed forces was first celebrated in Soviet Russia in 1919, commemorating the first mass enlistment in the Red Army on February 17, 1918. In January 1919 the celebration of this event was merged with the commemoration of the establishment of the Red Army. In 1919 the date February 17 happened to be a Monday. Thus, the celebrations were postponed to the next Sunday, February 23. From then on this became the date of the commemoration, originally named the Day of the Red Army. Beginning in 1923 it became the Day of the Red Army and the Fleet, renamed in 1949 as the Day of the Soviet Army and the Fleet.

the Lenin mausoleum on ceremonial occasions. The armed forces were being reviled in the press for their intervention in Tbilisi in April 1989¹⁶⁵ and in Baku in January 1990¹⁶⁶; for the bullying of recruits; and for devouring the lion's share of the nation's economic resources. The military counter-attack was launched last year with outspoken speeches at the RSFSR and All-Union party congresses excoriating the "anti-army" press and questioning "new thinking" in Soviet foreign policy. In November Gorbachev was heckled at his meeting with military deputies.

23. The military have recently adopted an increasingly overt political role. At the February plenum, the Chief of the General Staff Moiseev made an outspoken attack on Boris Yeltsin. Dozens of generals have signed letters in the military and party press condemning Yeltsin for his comments following the Vilnius killings in January. The group of public figures who appealed in January to Gorbachev to declare a state of emergency and introduce Presidential rule in zones of major conflicts if "constitutional methods" proved ineffective included the Deputy Minister of Defence Varennikov, the Chief of the General Staff Moiseev, Marshal Kulikov, Admiral Chernavin (the Naval Commander in Chief) and General Shatalin (head of the MVD troops).

24. At the Party congresses last summer the generals were shouting their complaints from the wings. Now their views are being voiced from near the centre of the political stage. Marshal Akhromeev, Gorbachev's military adviser, and author of an outspoken article in *Sovetskaya Rossiya* last November which referred to the possible use of the army to preserve the unity of the state and its social system, has recently published a keynote article on Soviet foreign policy in *Pravda* (admittedly in much more measured terms). Yazov, now promoted Marshal and recently reconfirmed by the Supreme Soviet as Minister of Defence in the new Cabinet, this time with a solid majority, recently published an interview in *Pravda* for Army Day in which he appeared to take issue with official policies on a number of fronts, suggesting that the US bombing in the Gulf had gone beyond the UN Security Council's mandates¹⁶⁷; expressing alarm at "one-sided concessions" in arms control agreements; and rebuking the Supreme Soviet for last year abolishing the draft of students.

165 The nationalist riots in Georgia (see footnote 138 and 170) were transformed into mass protests for independence in April 1989, which were brutally suppressed by Soviet forces in Tbilisi. Sixteen persons, mainly women, were killed: they were brutally beaten or died in a gas attack.

166 In order to hinder the escalation of tensions between Armenians and Azeris, the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union introduced state of emergency for the whole area of the SSR of Azerbaijan (excluding the capital, Baku) on January 15, 1990. This was extended to the capital several days later. More than 26,000 soldiers were deployed to restore public order in Baku on January 19–20, 1990.

167 The UN Security Council condemned Iraq because of the attack on Kuwait (decision 661) and implemented economic sanctions against the aggressor (see footnotes 136 and 148). After long diplomatic negotiations, on November 29, 1990 the UN delivered an ultimatum to Iraq (decision 678) to withdraw its forces by January 15, 1991. At the same time it authorized the international coalition to implement the decisions with "any necessary means."

25. Formerly, especially after the bloodshed in Tbilisi in April 1989, the army appeared reluctant to be drawn into internal politics or to take on the “inappropriate role” of maintaining public order. In Vilnius in January the security forces seemed only too eager to take the law into their own hands; while the appointment of General Gromov as First Deputy Minister for internal affairs and the joint decree by the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of December 1990, recently backed by Presidential edict, has institutionalised the army’s involvement in policing functions. In the Baltic republics and increasingly elsewhere the army has become a significant political constituency.

The KGB

26. The KGB as an institution came under severe attack under glasnost as revelations multiplied about its past crimes and abuses and pressure grew to reduce its powers in keeping with the proclaimed intention of introducing a state based on the rule of law and parliamentary democracy.

27. The response of the KGB was to launch a public relations campaign stressing its less tainted role in foreign intelligence (from which most of its new leadership has been recruited), and to shift the emphasis of its internal activities from countering political subversion to the fight against organised crime and corruption. However, new functions and rights recently assigned to the KGB in a series of presidential edicts have in practice given it considerable power to interfere in and influence the economy; those powers in turn are being exploited to influence the internal political struggle.

28. The new economic powers acquired by the KGB in recent months include:

- a) To check on distribution of food and consumer goods, together with workers control bodies.
- b) To monitor the implementation of the monetary exchange together with Gosbank¹⁶⁸ and the Ministry of Finance. To take part in “special groups” for this purpose sent to central and republic banks.
- c) Additional powers to enter “without hindrance” the premises of enterprises and organisations including joint ventures, cooperatives and individual businessmen; to search for and confiscate documents; to check goods and raw materials; obtain information on foreign economic deals concluded by any organisation.
- d) To investigate, together with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, criminal associations with inter-republican, international and “corrupt” links.

168 Gosbank, the Central Bank of the Soviet Union, was the only bank in the country between the 1930s and 1987. It was one of several Soviet economic authorities.

29. There are clear signs that the KGB is in fact using its powers for specific economic and political ends. A series of commercial "scandals" which the KGB has exposed (and probably set up) have served to discredit prominent democratic politicians, eg RSFSR Deputy Prime Minister Filshin, and the RSFSR Deputy and Chairman of the Moscow Cooperatives Association, Artem Tarasov.

30. Kryuchkov's own public statements make it clear that the KGB has a vested interest in stirring up hostility towards the market economy and that it is successfully exerting influence on economic policy.

31. The KGB is clearly acquiring increased authority and influence in the decision-making process. At a meeting in November last year with a group of people's deputies Kryuchkov said that the KGB should be represented as "a structural part" of the new Security Council (to which Kryuchkov has now been appointed). He suggested that part of the KGB's role would be to provide the Council with "an analytical service" on political developments in the Soviet Union and abroad. The KGB is already a rival to the MFA in supplying intelligence on foreign affairs and the principal source of information for the leadership of internal political developments.

THE CPSU

32. The CPSU, apparently destined for the political sidelines following the abandonment of its constitutionally enshrined leading role and failure to reform itself at the 28th Party Congress, is again reasserting itself. Gorbachev, who had appeared to distance himself from the party, is now increasingly identifying himself publicly with the CPSU, describing it insistently as "the ruling party", which, as he claimed in Minsk on 26 February has "gained the upper hand".

33. Party officials are being assigned to key posts in the state and government hierarchy, notably Yanaev as Vice President and Pugo as Minister for Internal Affairs. And among Gorbachev's advisers, academics are being replaced by party functionaries. Party officials are also involving themselves more overtly in policy matters. The Politburo and Secretariat no longer confine their agenda to internal party matters. The Party groups in the USSR and the RSFSR Supreme Soviets are beginning to function in a more active way.

The Failure of the New Structures

34. The rise in influence of the old instruments of power has been facilitated by the failure of the new state structures to function effectively as a system of political power. This is partly due to the uncontrollable dynamic of the rapidly unfolding political power struggle.

35. Gorbachev set up the new state structures in 1988–90 in order to outflank CPSU opposition to economic reform while creating a legitimate democratic basis for political power, but the new institutions lacked any effective mechanism for implementing central decisions and maintaining nation-wide cohesion to replace the former nomenklatura.

36. In spite of their successes in the Spring 1990 local and republic elections, the reformers virtually abandoned any attempt to gain influence at the centre, which as a consequence came increasingly to be dominated by the right. Republic institutions then sought to increase their own power at the expense of the centre, ignoring or overriding presidential edicts and engaging in the “war of laws”. Democratically elected local Soviets proved equally unresponsive to central instructions and embarked on uncoordinated policies, which often reflected their inexperience or incompetence.

37. The essential weakness of the Centre was Gorbachev’s own lack of real legitimacy as a President elected by a quasi-democratic Congress rather than by popular vote. His attempts to shore up his authority by accumulating more and more formal powers only compounded the problem and underlined his impotence. The frequent Constitutional amendments and changes in the power structure undermined the centre’s credibility, further damaged by the constitutional anarchy unleashed by the republics.

IV. THE NATIONALITY ISSUE IN THE SOVIET UNION

38. In the Baltics, the quest for independence posed the most direct challenge, and became the focal point for a heavy-handed Kremlin response. After the Soviet Defence Ministry announcement that troops would be moved into the Baltics and other Republics to enforce the draft, a violent confrontation took place on 13 January at the Vilnius TV tower which left 15 dead and hundreds wounded. Public announcements that a shadowy national salvation committee had taken over the republic further inflamed the situation. The Lithuanian leadership barricaded itself inside the Supreme Council building, Soviet forces occupied other communications facilities, and sporadic clashes occurred [occurred] throughout the republic. But in the face of strong international and domestic criticism, a stalemate evolved; the centre attempted to distance itself from the events, the central press began a coverup [cover-up], and Gorbachev, Defence Minister Yazov, and MVD Chief Pugo all sidestepped accountability.

39. The talks that were supposed to get underway last fall have not yet started, and after the Vilnius violence, Lithuania announced that they would not be possible until the radio and TV facilities and other occupied buildings are returned to local control. The Kremlin named a new team for the talks, replacing the one announced last July, but neither side now seems to place much faith in the process. In its own response to the All-Union 17 March referendum on the future of the Un-

ion, Lithuania held an independence poll on 9 February. Days before the poll Gorbachev issued a decree declaring it “juridically invalid”. Nevertheless, 85 percent of the voters participated and 91 percent of them voted for independence.

40. Fears of a Soviet crackdown in Latvia began growing in November, after a war of words broke out between the Latvian Supreme Council and Moscow over the status of Soviet military personnel in the republic. Following the Lithuanian TV tower episode, the Latvians erected barricades throughout Riga to block Soviet military access. Nevertheless, black beret units attacked and occupied a number of Latvian institutions, including the press center and a police training school. A 20 January black beret attack on the local MVD building resulted in 5 killed and a number of wounded. With tension high, the Latvian Parliament decided to follow Lithuania’s example and held its own vote on independence on 3 March; over 77 percent of the 88.9 eligible who voted opted for independence.

41. Estonia also held an independence referendum. 77.8 percent (82.9 percent of the eligible participated) voted for independence on 3 March. It has, however, managed to hold to a less confrontational approach. Strikes organized by Russian nationalist interfront forces and several bomb explosions in Tallinn, evidently part of a deliberate effort to destabilize the situation, did not result in bloodshed.

42. Several jurisdictions of the RSFSR have also accelerated their drive for greater autonomy. Thirteen of the RSFSR’s sixteen autonomous republics have passed sovereignty declarations proclaiming the supremacy of their laws over those of the RSFSR or the Union. All expressed an intent to remain in the Soviet Union, and to sign the Union Treaty, but two, Tataria and the Chechen–Ingush Republic, have chosen to secede from the Russian Federation.¹⁶⁹ As in the rest of the Union, the autonomous republics are plagued by a host of economic and environmental problems and seek greater sovereignty in order to control their own resources.

43. Under pressure from a growing independence movement, the Ukrainian Government made serious attempts to implement its June 1990 Sovereignty Declaration. The Parliament, despite its Communist majority, gave in to student demands last October that Prime Minister Masol resign and that a new republic constitution be adopted before a Union Treaty is signed. Public protest, aroused by the arrests of

169 Though Tatarstan (Tatar Autonomous SSR) declared its independence from the Soviet Union on August 30, 1990 and in 1992 a referendum was held about the new constitution also declaring independence (supported by the 62% of the participants), full sovereignty was not achieved as the Russian Constitutional Court considered it unconstitutional. The Chechen–Ingush ASSR was divided into two parts on June 4, 1992. Ingushetia remained part of the Russian Federation, while the legal status of Chechnya continued to be debated after two wars of the Republic of Chechnya against Russia (1994–1996, 1999–2000). In 2009 the Russian troops left the region, while a government of pro-Russian Chechens was formed. As a result of the second Chechen War, Chechnya remained subject to the Russian Federation.

opposition Deputy Khmara and of a Western Ukrainian religious leader, demonstrate the difficulty of implementing a harder line toward political opposition.

44. Although over a hundred pro-independence political parties emerged in Georgia before its October multi-party Parliament elections, the victorious round-table party, led by now-President Gamsakhurdia, effectively dominates the Parliament.¹⁷⁰ The Gamsakhurdia government has adopted an extremely defiant attitude towards Moscow; it immediately declared a 3–5 year transition to independence and began arming a newly-created national guard, which it plans to staff through compulsory republic conscription. Adding to tensions in the Republic, Tbilisi imposed a state of emergency in part of South Ossetia after that autonomous region in mid-December declared itself a republic, independent of Georgia.¹⁷¹ Since then, at least 33 have died in clashes between Georgians and Ossetians, and the USSR Supreme Soviet is debating intervention.

45. Moldova is now split three ways, with a radical popular front, a moderate faction supporting sovereignty, and conservative communists favouring Moscow – all contending for influence. Republic President Snegur has so far played a rather passive, but liberal, political role, and been tolerated by all three blocs, but the strains of polarization are beginning to tell; he threatened resignation in February and demanded more presidential power. Separatist moves by the Gagauz minority in October,¹⁷² and by the Russians and Ukrainians in the Dnestr region in Novem-

170 Zviad Gamsakhurdia with his comrades in 1988 established the Society of Saint Ilia the Righteous, which was a religious organization and a political party at the same time. In the first democratic elections in Georgia the organization entered into alliance with the Helsinki Union of Georgia and other democratic forces establishing the Round Table – Free Georgia (in Georgian: Mrgvali Magida — Tavisupali Sakartvelo) coalition obtaining 64% of the votes and majority in the Supreme Council of Georgia. For more details on the activity of Gamsakhurdia see the Biographical Notes.

171 After the Red Army occupied Georgia in 1921, the South Ossetian Autonomous Region was organized within the Georgian SSR. On November 10, 1989 the regional council of South Ossetia asked the Supreme Council of Georgia to reorganize the region into an autonomous republic. In the summer of 1990 the Supreme Council of Georgia prohibited the establishment of regional parties. As a response on September 20 the establishment of the South Ossetian Democratic Republic within the Soviet Union was declared. The Georgian government led by Gamsakhurdia declared the December elections in Ossetia illegal and on December 11 the autonomy of the region was suppressed by the central government. As a response to this step Moscow declared a state of emergency in South Ossetia and sent troops to its seat, Tskhinvali. Soon, on January 1, 1992, Russian troops were suddenly withdrawn, after which a bloody civil war began.

172 The Gagauz are a Turkish speaking, Christian people who live mostly in one region of southern Moldavia. The change in the constitution of the Moldavian SSR in 1989, which established the Moldavian official language, initiated heavy resistance among the minorities of Moldova, including the Gagauz. They considered this the first step toward the unification of Romania and Moldavia. Thus the Gagauz ethnicity supported Soviet, then Russian orientation instead of unification.

ber,¹⁷³ were declared illegal by the Kishinev Parliament and triggered a series of Moldovan nationalist demonstrations against the minorities.

46. The Nagorno-Karabakh territorial dispute remains the key issue for Armenia and Azerbaijan. Armed attacks by both sides in the outlying regions of the mostly Armenian-inhabited region have resulted in several deaths and serious local shortages of food and energy supplies. At the same time, Azerbaijani blockades of rail lines to Armenia have aggravated the already bleak economic conditions in the latter republic. The Soviet military remains a forceful presence in Azerbaijan. The Armenian Supreme Soviet has been moving in a separatist direction and rejected the 17 March All-Union referendum.

V. POLAND: SITUATION IN THE RUN UP TO THE GENERAL ELECTION

47. The momentum of political and economic reform has slowed over the last 6 months. Presidential elections were held at the end of 1990 and the campaign was bitter. They revealed the fragility of Poland's nascent democracy. Walesa's decisive victory over Mazowiecki during the first round of balloting but failure to achieve a majority of ballots had been anticipated. Most observers were shocked, however, when the Premier finished third, falling behind Stanislaw Tyminski, a Polish-born Canadian entrepreneur who emerged from nowhere to capitalise on the collapse of support for the government and the divisions in the ranks of Solidarity movement. He effectively tapped into the most disgruntled segment of the population by pledging instant wealth. In the second round run-off against Tyminski on 9 December Walesa won nearly three-quarters of the vote as Mazowiecki's supporters rallied to him against the Tyminski threat.

48. Walesa decided to retain Balcerowicz, believing that to do otherwise would risk loss of substantial international assistance [assistance] but the decision alienated many key supporters and caused his first choice for Premier, Jan Olszewski, to withdraw. Walesa then chose Jan Bielecki, a parliamentarian from the small Liberal-democratic Congress,¹⁷⁴ for the premiership. Bielecki, deeply committed to free

173 On September 2, 1990 the Ukrainians and Russians living along the Dniester river seceded from the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic and declared the independence of the Transnistrian SSR. Though Gorbachev refused in his presidential decision to accept this, the separatist authorities remained strong. On March 2, 1992 a conflict evolved between Moldavia and the separatists that provoked the intervention of the fourteenth Russian army in the conflict. According to the peace treaty of July 21, 1992, Moldavia renounced its right of interference of any kind, but refused to acknowledge the independence of Transnistria, still considering it an integral part of Moldavia.

174 The Liberal-Democratic Congress (KLD) was a conservative-liberal political formation in Poland originating within Solidarity and led by Donald Tusk. It encouraged the adoption of a free market economy, the broadening of personal freedom and rights (in the Catholic sense), Europe-

market reforms, appointed members of the Mazowiecki government including Balcerowicz and Skubiszewski to his own cabinet and added several experts from his own movement. Walesa meanwhile moved to increase the powers of the presidency vis-à-vis both the government and parliament. The idea was criticized as an improper effort to enhance presidential authority, and he opted finally instead for a small, twelve-member advisory commission. The Sejm rejected proposals for an election on May 26 and resolved to dissolve itself in the autumn. Elections are to be held by the end of October.

49. Some political parties have already begun to realign in anticipation of parliamentary elections. They are seeking either to forge coalitions or to turn existing coalitions into unified parties. The Sejm voted in favour of a proportional electoral system last October. Support for a mixed proportional/majority system has since increased amongst the larger parties in particular. At the end of February Walesa sent the Marshal of the Sejm his own draft electoral law based on a mixed system. All political parties have the additional problem of establishing their identity with a public which is still confused over the splits within the Solidarity movement. At the beginning of March the Centre Alliance (PC), which supported Walesa in the Presidential elections, established itself as a unified party under the same name, modelled on Germany's Christian Democratic Union. It is most likely to win the largest share of the vote. Even on their own reckoning, however, this is unlikely to be more than 20 per cent, at most.

50. Poland's stabilization programme produced impressive results during the first half of 1990. The zloty exchange rate remained firm with minimal intervention but inflation is still stubbornly high, though much of it is associated with corrective price rises. Inflation ended the year at a monthly rate of 5.9 percent and rose to 12 percent in January 1991. Structural change and systemic reform also continued to lag behind expectations. Against this backdrop, the economy continues to experience substantial negative growth. GDP fell 12 percent in 1990, with industrial production in state enterprises falling 23 percent compared with 1989. Observers note, however, that economic activity in Poland does not give the appearance of a country in the throes of deep economic recession. It has shown enormous resilience in difficult times, increasing its output by 17 percent (private industrial output rose 8.5 percent), according to official statistics. Employment in the private sector now accounts for 11.6 percent of non-agricultural employment. Unemployment rose to 1.1 million by the end of 1990, equivalent to 6.1 percent of the labor force. The monthly increase in job losses accompanying the decline of the public sector peaked in July, however, and diminished steadily during the remainder of the year. Real

an integration, rapid privatization, and the decentralization of the government. In 1991 the party obtained 7.5% of votes, which meant 37 seats in the Sejm.

wages fell nearly 31 percent in 1990. The bulk of the decline was early in the year. Wages grew faster than prices beginning in July.

51. Poland continued to post impressive gains in its hard currency trade accounts during 1990. Exports soared 39 percent to 11.9 billion dols [dollars]. The resulting trade surplus was more than double that achieved in 1989. For this reason, Poland will continue to conduct some ruble-denominated trade in 1991 with Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Romania until its surpluses with those countries are reduced. The shift away from the old CMEA trade and payments mechanism to hard currency settlement and world market prices in January 1991 means a further reduction in trade in the region.

52. In foreign policy, Poland is working hard to develop close relations with Western states and institutions. Negotiations are underway on an Association Agreement with the European Community. After fully free elections have been held Poland will join the Council of Europe. Negotiation of the "Friendship and Cooperation Treaty" with Germany was interrupted while Poland underwent its change of government, but have resumed. With the demise of the Warsaw Pact, Poland is anxious to avoid a security vacuum in Central and Eastern Europe. It is pursuing regional cooperation with Czechoslovakia and Hungary and should join the Pentagonal¹⁷⁵ in August. Good relations with the Soviet Union remain a necessity. The new Polish government condemned the Soviet use of force against the Baltic republics in January, but maintained a cautious line on the issues of Lithuanian sovereignty and independence despite public pressure. An agreement has yet to be signed on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland. The Soviets want until 1994 but the Poles are insisting they leave by the end of 1991. This has led to difficulties with the transit of troops through Poland from the former GDR.

VI. CZECHOSLOVAKIA

53. In the general political field the problems of drafting new constitutions which will accommodate the often conflicting demands of the federation and Slovakia found temporary solution in a law on the competences of the Federal, Czech and Slovak governments passed by the Federal Assembly in December. Under this power-sharing agreement, the federation will retain control of defense, monetary, and foreign policies and continue to formulate domestic and foreign economic strategy. Federal and republic budgetary and taxation authorities will be independent of each other. The two republics will control social policy, will have broad powers to regulate their own economies under the umbrella of a federal market, and will be able to enter into international agreements with the consent of the federation. The trilater-

¹⁷⁵ See footnotes 117 and 135.

al negotiations that produced this agreement represented a triumph of consensus politics, in which all three participants remained committed to the process and willing to compromise to bring it to a successful conclusion.

54. Some major areas of potential disagreement remain however to be resolved. The debate about the status of Moravia and the insistence of the Christian Democratic Movement that the federation should be based on a treaty between “sovereign” Czech and Slovak republics which would delegate certain powers upwards to the federation, eg defence, highlight fundamental disagreements about the structure of the state which are likely to cause lively dispute. While clumsy handling might lead to the danger of Slovak secession, public opinion polls in Slovakia suggest that at present there is limited popular support for independence. There is, however, undoubtedly support for a considerable measure of autonomy. The most likely outcome is a compromise producing a federation considerably looser than many Czechs would wish. Moravian aspirations could be satisfied by devolution within the Czech Republic, perhaps by the re-creation of Czech and Moravian provincial local governments.

55. New parties and new inter-party alliances continue to be formed and strains in existing parties and movements have produced splits. Some of the post-November 1989 parties are dividing along national lines with the Slovak organisation becoming independent. The most significant feature of this process has been the evolution of Civic Forum¹⁷⁶ into an alliance between a new right wing Civic Democratic Party consisting of supporters of Vaclav Klaus and a centre group called Civic Movement, including Jiri Dienstbier and supported by centre left social democratic elements who want to preserve the original concept of Civic Forum as a broad coalition. It was agreed, however, that the Forum would continue to exist as an entity and its two constituent parts have agreed to a “firm” coalition until the June 1992 parliamentary elections. Divisions in the Public against Violence¹⁷⁷ are rather different although they may have the same result for PAV in the longer term.

56. Vaclav Havel played an indispensable role both as president and the country’s moral leader by fostering a stable, tolerant climate to guide the transition from totalitarianism to democracy. He facilitated the negotiations over Czech–Slovak power-sharing and urged a moderate approach to the vetting of former communist officials; he may be the only political leader capable of maintaining the current screening process within reasonable limits. His great popularity probably ensures re-election in 1992 if he wants it, but his departure from political life cannot be precluded.

57. Economic conditions worsened during 1990 as a result of uncertainties associated with economic reform and the deteriorating external environment. Net

176 See footnote 113.

177 See footnote 114.

material product¹⁷⁸ fell an estimated 3.5 percent, led by declines in industrial production and in construction activity. Agricultural output is expected to show some growth. Devaluation raised the cost of imported inputs, [inputs] particularly of oil, which was already in short supply. The leadership however, continues to transform the economy to a market system and took some important first steps during 1990. Czechoslovakia's trade balance deteriorated significantly in 1990 despite generally restrictive financial policies.

58. Concern about recent developments in the Soviet Union has increased Czechoslovak eagerness to strengthen its security position. It has accordingly cultivated relations with NATO and sought to sign specific agreements with neighbouring countries, particularly Hungary and Poland. Czechoslovakia also sought the earliest possible orderly rescinding of the military structures of the Warsaw Pact.

VII. HUNGARY

59. The socio-political climate in Hungary continued to worsen because of falling living standards, government hesitations, and growing tension between the center-right coalition led by the Democratic Forum and the opposition, especially the center-left Alliance of Free Democrats. The most serious crisis faced by the government was a blockade of main roads throughout the country by taxi drivers and hauliers at the end of October 1990. The unrest was triggered, among other things, by an increase in the price of petrol. After three days, a compromise was reached; the main opposition party, the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) together with the Young Democrats, condemned the government for failing to consult anyone before introducing the increases. The main consequence of the taxi blockade was to bring a change in the government attitude towards economic problems. Since this crisis, the Antall Government has somewhat improved its communication with the population while defining a more coherent economic policy.

60. The Antall government's relationship with the Independent Smallholders' Party was precarious, marked by the latter's threats that it might bolt the ruling coalition. The government's draft compensation bill, introduced in February, sparked a stormy debate in parliament which is likely to drag on for weeks. If adopted, the bill would end the supremacy of state property in the agriculture field and provide the first compensation to those whose possessions were seized in the forced collectivization after 1949.

61. The government came in for heavy criticism for slowness in tackling Hungary's economic problems. The latest available data show that as a result of the col-

178 Net material production was one of the main macroeconomic indices in the COMECON countries. Most branches of the tertiary category were not included in these calculations, only the sectors characterized by material products.

lapse of the old welfare system, an inflationary economy, and unemployment, an increasing number of Hungarians lived below the officially defined “social minimum”. Yet the bulk of Hungary’s insolvent state enterprises have yet to undergo restructuring. However, the appointment last December of Mihaly Kupa as Minister of Finance brought a more coherent economic thinking into the Government.

62. GDP fell 2.5 percent last year as Hungary struggled to convert to a market economy. Inflation ran at over 30% in 1990. The 21 billion dollar foreign debt imposes a debt service of 3.9 billion dollars in 1991. Hungary now is experiencing severe balance of payments stress, largely resulting from the phaseout of CMEA barter. Budapest has satisfied IMF terms for a three-year funding facility and has lined up loans from the G-24¹⁷⁹ and other sources to cover much of the remaining 1991 payments gap.

63. In foreign policy, the government enjoyed some success, particularly in its effort to assert Hungarian national interests, proceed towards integration into Europe, joining the Council of Europe in November 1990, find a new relationship with the USSR, and strengthen bilateral and regional ties (trilateral and Pentagonal co-operation) with countries of the region. Nevertheless, the handling of the controversial arms sale to Croatia last December – denial of the deal for weeks followed by an embarrassed acknowledgement and expression of regret by Antall in Belgrade – strained relations with Yugoslavia and sparked a major domestic crisis. The opposition Free Democrats called for the resignation of Foreign Minister Jeszenszky and Interior Minister Boros [Boross] for their role in the arms deal.

VIII. BULGARIA: THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC REFORM

64. The resignation of Socialist Party (BSP) Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov on December 19 marked a significant move away from the communist era. For six months, the lack of understanding between the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) and the BSP had paralyzed the parliamentary process.

65. The new government, formed in December and led by a non-Party lawyer, Dimitur Popov, is a coalition of BSP, UDF, Agrarian and non-party representatives. However, it includes no members of the third largest parliamentary group, which represents the interests of the population of Turkish origin, the Movement for Rights and Freedoms.¹⁸⁰ At first sight, the UDF appeared to have done rather less well in the distribution of portfolios than they might have expected as the main

179 G-24 [Group of 24] was a section of the G-77 established in 1971 by the developing countries of the United Nations. Its main aim is to coordinate the point of view of the developing countries in financial and development questions and to represent their interests during international financial negotiations. Though the organization does not belong to the IMF, the latter provides a secretariat and services to the G-24 in Washington.

180 See footnote 131.

opposition party. But the most unpopular BSP representatives from the previous government (eg Gotsev, the former Foreign Minister) were forced to stand down; the Ministry of the Interior was at last prised away from the BSP and entrusted to a non-party lawyer, Khristo Danov; the key economic Ministries are now in the hands of UDF representatives and several of the BSP Ministers are reformers.

66. In January all the major political parties reached an agreement "on guaranteeing a peaceful transition to democratic society", incorporating a legislative programme which included major economic and constitutional reforms; the original aim was to hold local elections in March and further parliamentary elections in May, although both are now likely to be delayed. In addition, the government, trade unions and employers organisations signed a "social peace" agreement under which the government undertook to combine economic reform measures with provisions to protect the most vulnerable sections of the population. The trade unions undertook to refrain from general strikes; the agreement will be in force until the end of July.

67. The BSP meanwhile has suffered a steady drop in popular support. Furthermore several small factions have formed within the BSP's majority parliamentary bloc; the latest, the "Europa" group, contends it will no longer vote in lockstep with the party leadership. This fragmentation coincided with a developing UDF effort to assign the BSP full responsibility for the consequences of communist rule. Zhelev, a former UDF leader, pressed the attack in partisan fashion on February 13, urging the BSP to return assets it inherited from the communist party, admit guilt for the country's current economic catastrophe, and open Communist Party archives as agreed in the December political agreement. Zhelev may have calculated that supporting attacks on the BSP could forestall defections from the UDF's uneasy 16-party coalition. Podkrepa¹⁸¹ has already left the UDF, taking on associate status, and its leader, Constantin Trenchev, has said the trade confederation will soon field a political party, possibly advocating a constitutional monarchy.

68. Having secured a measure of political consensus on a plan of action, and with the encouragement of the IMF, the government has recently embarked on a long-awaited programme of radical economic reform. The key elements are a substantial liberalisation of prices with effect from 1 February, an increase in interest rates from a basic 1% to between 35% and 46%, and a ban from 1 April on all hard currency trading within Bulgaria. The exchange rate of the lev against hard currencies will be allowed to float entirely free, despite the risks arising from the lack of foreign currency reserves. Parliament has also approved a budget for 1991 on lines agreed with the IMF. This programme of shock therapy is accompanied by emphasis on privatisation, together with reform of taxation, demonopolisation and normali-

181 See footnote 125.

sation of foreign economic relations. A new law on foreign investment is said to be ready in draft. These radical moves have been made against a background of rising inflation and unemployment, and falling industrial production (down 11% in 1990) and exports (down by one-third). There remain critical shortages of food and energy with consequent real hardship for the population. Offers of Western financial assistance have so far done little to compensate for losses to Bulgaria arising from the Gulf War,¹⁸² the transition to hard-currency accounting for intra-CMEA trade at world prices, a decline in Soviet oil deliveries and the disappearance [disappearance] of the GDR market.

69. In foreign policy, Bulgaria has joined other Central and Eastern European countries in condemning Soviet action in Lithuania,¹⁸³ and in pressing for the early dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty's military structures. But its efforts to join other regional groupings, such as the Pentagone and the tripartite group of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary have only been partially successful. President Zhelev has continued actively to pursue a policy of closer links with Western Europe, having during the period under review visited Paris (for the CSCE Conference), the Council of Europe in Strasbourg and the United Kingdom. He has also visited Japan, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. Prime Minister Popov attended the World Economic Forum at Davos, and in February there was an exchange of Prime Ministerial visits between Bulgaria and Greece. The Greek Defence Minister also visited Bulgaria, and the Chiefs of the Armed Forces of the two countries signed a protocol on co-operation in defence matters. Relations with Turkey have improved considerably during the period under review. Under an economic and trade agreement signed in January, Turkey undertook to supply fuel oil and electrical energy, as well as to extend a consumer and investment loan of 75m dollars. However, the Bulgarian Government's decision to allow Turkish to be taught in schools in Turkish-speaking areas, even on an experimental basis, has provoked a series of protests and strikes by Bulgarian nationalists in the areas concerned.

IX. ROMANIA

70. The ruling National Salvation Front (NSF) has faced intermittent labor and social unrest since last November, when Prime Minister Petre Roman announced economic reforms which aroused initial opposition from a people reeling from decades of privation. However, the Government still appears to enjoy the support of the majority of the population.

71. The government has at times sought to boost its popularity by appealing to nationalist and ethnic sentiments. There are also continuing doubts about the gov-

182 See footnotes 136, 148 and 167.

183 See footnote 163.

ernment's performance on other matters of human rights. The official report on the suppression of student demonstrations last June failed to criticize fully the conduct of the police, military, and security services, and placed the responsibility for calling in coal miners to attack the students on President Iliescu. Weekly opposition television broadcasts were ended in late January, and half of the Hungarian and German language programmes were shifted to a channel broadcasting mainly in the South, where minority populations are smallest, (the Government claims that it does not control Romanian TV). Opposition newspapers still find it difficult to procure newsprint and upgraded office space, though there is no evidence that the government is trying to stifle them.

72. Roman continues to maintain a certain distance between his government and Iliescu. He and his young and technocratic team in the government are keen to press ahead with economic liberalisation, and are relatively responsive to Western attitudes to issues such as human rights in Romania. The Minister of Culture, Plesu, resigned in protest at the ejection of ex-King Michael from the country, while on a one-day visit on Christmas Day (he later withdrew his resignation). This incident gave rise to a controversy over whether a referendum should be held to decide between a republic or a monarchy.

73. The President, who resigned from the NSF last July, has maintained contact with the party, but has also had meetings with representatives of other parties, opposition groups, trade unions and church representatives. He has travelled abroad, including a visit to China, during which he appeared to condone the Tiananmen Square repression,¹⁸⁴ but a visit to the Soviet Union was postponed because of developments in the Baltic Republics. Iliescu is very unpopular with the intellectuals in the non-parliamentary opposition, who see him, with some justification as an unreconstructed communist. He has become Chairman of a National Council for Defence, which includes relevant members of the government and is responsible for a range of security issues. After one of its recent meetings the public were reminded of the 1969 law requiring citizens to report to the police within 24 hours details of any foreign guests in their homes. This was put in the context of the threat of terrorism connected with the Gulf situation.

74. The economy is in a very bad state. Production declined dramatically in 1990, in some sectors by up to 40%, and has only picked up slightly in some sectors this year. Agriculture did quite well, however. Sanctions against Iraq, from whom Romania was to receive considerable deliveries of oil in repayment of debt, was estimated by the Romanians to have cost some \$3 billion. To add to the energy crisis, the Soviet Union refused to supply further oil and gas if Romania did not fulfil its obligations for deliveries to the USSR. Many industries have been shut down for

184 See footnote 112.

two months to conserve energy and ensure supplies to the population in what has been a very harsh winter. The government managed to resolve the recent rail strike, which was preventing deliveries of Romanian exports to the Soviet Union upon which energy supplies from the USSR to Romania depend. It came close to declaring a state of emergency, but a new law on labour disputes was rushed through parliament and a deal was done with the union. The Minister for social Affairs, Stoica, resigned, however. A strike in the airline, TAROM, at the turn of the year caused large losses, and led to the airline being closed down and being recreated as a shareholding company.

75. A law on land has been adopted, providing for some private ownership, but allowing the large state and collective farms to remain intact if they wish. Further rises in retail prices, including food prices (after the intervention of the President), are planned for April, postponed from 1 January because of popular discontent. Many people felt that price liberalisation in advance of privatisation, and hence competition, was unjust, and would simply give rise to uncontrolled inflation. There are plans to issue vouchers to the population, for the purchase of shares in enterprises.

X. WHAT FUTURE FOR YUGOSLAVIA?

76. It is extremely difficult to predict what the future holds for Yugoslavia and whether it can stay together, or whether there is sufficient will to compromise in order to work out even a minimum functioning constitutional set-up. If the will does not exist it is possible to envisage a further erosion of the powers and influence of the centre. This raises the spectre of the country descending into outright civil war. Kosovo and the Serbian minority area of Croatia remain particularly dangerous potential flashpoints. At the same time, the economic reform programme remains the subject of great contention.

77. The federal authorities are still making efforts to bring the representatives of the republics together and to work out a new constitutional arrangement. Prime Minister Markovic is at the same time endeavouring to secure agreement on minimum functioning for the federation in the transitional period. The format for these talks has been that of "summit" meetings with all members of the Federal Presidency present, together with the Presidents of the republics. So far these meetings have achieved little, but it might be argued that the very fact that they are still talking is a positive sign.

78. There have now been six such meetings but at least two have been abortive because President Tudjman of Croatia has not been present, owing to allegedly provocative actions taken by the Serbian Federal President Jovic. At a recent meeting on 1st March, preliminary consideration was given to a draft agreement on a future Yugoslavia. After the 19th March statement by the Supreme Defence Command,

the agreement to hold a round of meetings among the Republic Presidents raised hopes of new flexibility and determination to find a way out of the constitutional impasse towards a new *modus vivendi*.

79. Up to now the participants in these summit meetings have divided along predictable lines. The Slovenes and Croats have supported the idea that Yugoslavia should become a confederation of independent sovereign states, modelled on the European Community. Serbia and Montenegro are in favour of a federation, with considerable powers for the central authorities. The two remaining Republics find themselves in the middle. At one point the Bosnian President, Alija Izetbegovic, suggested that there might be an asymmetric federation, i.e. a federation of four republics linked in a confederation to the other two. It has also tended to be the Bosnian view that they want a federal Yugoslavia but this must include both Slovenia and Croatia. The Moslems in Bosnia together with many other Yugoslavs fear that confederal proposals (and possibly even ideas of asymmetry) would lead in effect in a Greater Serbia.

80. The Slovenes had participated in these talks, while at the same time taking steps to dissociate themselves from Yugoslavia. A plebiscite in December produced a massive majority for independence and gave the government and Parliament six months to prepare for severance from the federation. While it appears that some in the republic are concerned about secession and its political and economic consequences, a momentum has built up which means that the process is moving inexorably forward and it is now doubtful whether any political leaders could backtrack.

81. The situation of Croatia is certainly more problematic. 12% of the population of the Republic are Serbs, who have already declared an autonomous province of Krajina. Already this year there have been confrontations between the Serbs and the Croatian police, most recently in Pakrac. This followed a tense period in January, when the federal authorities ordered the disarming of Croatian special militia. Subsequently the military prosecutor in Zagreb ordered the arrest of the Republic's Defence Minister, Martin Spegelj. Most recently, President Tudjman has been accused of endangering the country's independence, an act contrary to the constitution, because he wrote to President Bush expressing his concern about events in Yugoslavia. Tudjman has accused the Serbian authorities of using the Yugoslavian People's Army (JNA) to provoke unrest, with the ultimate aim of toppling the Croatian government.

82. The Serbs may demonstrate more flexibility in negotiations on the future shape of Yugoslavia in the aftermath of the traumatic events of early March in Belgrade, with opposition demonstrators on the streets, a heavy-handed security response, and eventual concessions to the opposition. All this has shown the vulnerability of Serbia's President Milosovic in his own Republic. Moreover, differences have appeared between Serbia's staunchly pro-Yugoslav Army and Milosovic, who

took a more clearly pan-Serbian than Federalist stand during the crisis involving the functioning of the Federal Presidency. The end of the close alliance between the Army and Serbia could, if confirmed, dissuade the Serbs from the use of force in solving internal problems and considerably de-dramatize the Yugoslav scene.

83. The next few months are crucial with the deadline for Slovenian preparations for secession on 23 June and with the key date of 15 May for the handover within the Presidency. The Croatian leadership have said that they cannot envisage staying in a Yugoslavia without Slovenia. The Bosnian leadership have said they cannot conceive of a Yugoslavia without its western Republics. The Serbs are adamant that Croatia cannot secede from the federation taking any Serbs with them. If they try to do a deal with the Croats to change the internal borders, which they claim are purely administrative, many Bosnians fear that their Republic would be carved up.¹⁸⁵ To see a way out of the impasse will need considerable imagination and flexibility on the part of all the leaders in Yugoslavia.

XI. ALBANIA: PROSPECTS FOR INTERNAL REFORM

84. Albania has made strides toward political and economic reform in the past several months. Party leader and Head of State Ramiz Alia tried to regulate and moderate the pace of change as the country moved toward its first multi-party elections on 31 March but on several occasions appeared on the verge of losing control of the process. Many Albanians continued to vote with their feet, as the flow of refugees to Greece, Yugoslavia, and Italy continued.

85. In early December 1990, Alia announced the legalization of independent political organizations. Within days, the first opposition party, the Democratic Party, was formed and registered. The Democrats were followed by several other parties, including the Republican Party, Ecology Party, and, most recently, Agrarian Party. In addition to the electoral parties, a forum for the defence of human rights and independent trade unions have appeared. The government originally set parliamentary elections for 10 February, but, in the wake of a miners' strike, postponed them until 31 March, in partial accession to opposition requests for more time to organize and campaign. The Democrats and Republicans are publishing their own newspapers, and the government press has given some coverage to the opposition demonstrations and unorganized protests.

86. The human rights situation in Albania remains problematic. The forum for human rights has detailed the numbers and conditions of political prisoners

185 It is difficult to evaluate the reasonability of the Bosnians' fears due to the lack of evident sources. The statement that Tudman Croatian and Milošević Serbian presidents decided to dismember Bosnia during their secret talks in Karadorđevo on March 25, 1991 cannot be proven without a doubt.

after a widely publicized New Year's pardon. Religion remains a grey area. Mosques and churches have recently been reopened, but religious practice has not yet been legalized.

87. Albania hosted the Balkan Foreign Ministers Conference in October, considered a great achievement by Tirana. Tirana since has seen high level visits from Bulgaria, Turkey and Italy, while the visit of the Greek Prime Minister was the first by a Western Head of Government in the post-war period. Negotiations on diplomatic recognition are underway with the United Kingdom and the European Community, and Albania also applied for full participation in the CSCE, while diplomatic relations have been re-established with the United States.

88. Tirana's policy toward the Yugoslav autonomous province of Kosovo meanwhile changed significantly. The regime's position, at the Balkan Foreign Ministers Conference for instance, had been that although it was concerned for the human rights of ethnic Albanians in a neighbouring country, Kosovo was an internal Yugoslav matter. In its first political pronouncements, however, the Democratic Party called for a peaceful, democratic union of Kosovo with Albania. After the Democrats had thus made Kosovo an issue, Alia became much more aggressive in his statements and in receiving visitors from Kosovo. The continuation of Serbia's purely repressive policy in Kosovo, whilst Albania proceeds on the road to democratization, would in any case strongly reinforce separatist forces within the province, causing a significant deterioration in relations between Albania and Yugoslavia.

89. If Albania is to continue down the road to reform, the new Assembly will have to adopt a new Constitution and the Government will have to get to grips with such issues as depoliticisation of the army and the disastrous economic situation. Alia has been remarkably frank about the difficulties the Albanians are encountering, both those from natural causes as well as those brought about by human failings. A hard winter followed by a summer drought has led to crop failure and a drastic reduction in hydro-electric power. A fall in labour productivity has meant that objectives have not been reached. Unemployment has consequently increased. Hard currency losses amount to one third of the country's entire annual exports. Albania is not to export food for the time being in order to try and improve food distribution for the population.

90. The reform process appears irreversible. However, there remains the possibility that it could be derailed by further outbreaks of violence, giving a pretext for intervention by the conservative forces.

NA: The Situation in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, C-M(91)18 (April 24, 1991).

DOCUMENT 8.
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THE SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE OTHER
CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES
MARCH TO OCTOBER 1991

Note by the Secretary General

1. I attach a report on "The situation in the Soviet Union and Central and Eastern European countries" forwarded to me by the Chairman of the Expert Working Group which met at NATO Headquarters from 23rd to 25th October 1991.

2. The report is the responsibility only of those experts who participated in the Working Group.

3. In accordance with the document CM(91)54 on new procedures of the Expert Working Groups approved by the Council on 17th July 1991, the Expert Working Group on the Soviet Union and other Central and Eastern European countries is still to produce one yearly report; the autumn session appeared as a more appropriate occasion to do it.

4. This report will be placed on the agenda of the Council meeting on 4th December 1991.

(Signed) M. WÖRNER

NATO,
1110 Brussels

THE SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER
CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Note by the Chairman of the Expert Group

1. Experts from Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the

United States met at NATO Headquarters from 23rd to 25th October 1991 to prepare the attached report.

2. This document covers the period 28th March to 25th October 1991.

(Signed) O. SEREBRIAKOFF

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I. USSR: POLITICAL AUTHORITY AND REPUBLICS' ROLE

1. Gorbachev is trying to create a constituency for a functioning centre. However, given the realities of power at the moment, such a constituency can only come from the republics; most of them now appear to believe that their interests are better served by keeping the centre weak or by seeking complete independence, severing all relations with the centre. The outcome will depend on the Russian Republic and President Yeltsin who is now the dominant political force on the scene.

2. Whether as a cause or catalyst, the devolution of power to the republics implicit in the draft Union Treaty was a major factor in prompting the coup attempt of August 19. Each of the republics responded to the coup's failure differently, in line with specific internal developments and attitudes towards union within the USSR.¹⁸⁶ But the varied responses also reflected a number of similar

¹⁸⁶ On August 19-21, 1991 a coup d'état took place in the Soviet Union to remove Gorbachev. According to contemporary observers the reason for this was objection of conservative, centrist

concerns, centering around a shared vulnerability to shifts of policy by the central authorities, as long as the Centre retained control over the armed forces, security organs, and powerful organisations such as the Communist Party. To varying degrees, it was also brought home to all that their respective communist parties were primarily interested in maintaining themselves in power and willing to ignore established laws to that end.

3. In consequence, even among those republics willing to remain in the Union, the consensus was that a loose confederation, which left them considerable freedom of action, was the most centralized form of government that would be acceptable, and that for a transitional period only.

4. The republics together with Gorbachev are faced with decisions on the form of post-transitional government the country will have, the powers to be delegated to central institutions, and the nature of the ties that will bind the republics. Differences run deep between centrists and those who want broad republic autonomy, but all will be under strong pressure to move quickly to prevent a breakdown of services and order during the coming winter.

5. The main question is whether to re-establish some form of central authority. The tide is running very much against the federalists at the moment: power resides largely in those republics that are determined to enhance their own authority and prevent any revival of a tyranny just thrown off.

6. Furthermore, the role of authority is under question not only at the national level; many of the republics face destabilizing ethnic or political disputes within their borders. The resurfacing of inter-republic antipathies in the form of suspicion of Russian intentions, or Russian fears of mistreatment of Russian minorities outside the RSFSR, as well as Russian perceptions of subsidising other republics is a further destabilizing element. These factors, as well as the inherent weakness of some of the republic governments themselves, suggest that the erosion of authority at the centre could have a dangerous multiplier effect at the republic level.

7. Because of this, the main conflict in coming weeks is likely to be between the drive to decentralize and the necessity of preserving needed government functions and services. The majority of the republics claim to want to limit the centre's functions to foreign and defence affairs. But the legacy of a centralized state, with its economic integration at the national level and its nationwide communications, energy, and transportation networks, may make it essential to delegate considerably broader powers to Moscow while posing practical barriers to meaningful independ-

groups (who wanted to keep the structure of the Soviet Union intact) to the signing of the new federal agreement (planned for August 20) which would secure broader autonomy for the member states. The reaction of the leaders of the federated states is worth mentioning: Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Kazakhstan, Moldavia, and Kyrgyzia were against the coup, Azerbaijan approved, while the others (Belarus, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Georgia, and Armenia) remained neutral.

ence for any republic seeking to leave the Union. There will also be conflicts between individual republics in the same field.

8. Gorbachev has partially recovered from the humiliation of betrayal and captivity to regain a position of some stature in arranging the USSR's political transition. He forced the Congress of People's deputies to sanction the republics' efforts to abolish central organs and functions, and he now is the only viable figure of central authority in the transitional government. Nonetheless, the final shape of a new union will depend largely on the republics themselves.

9. Whatever his position over the longer term, Gorbachev has made it clear that he will try to reconstitute a centre that has a broad role. This runs counter to the inclination of the republics, most notably Russia which is determined to forge a weak centre and the Ukraine which is resolved to seek full independence. He has little more than the force of his personality at present, plus the grudging admiration of some politicians, to sustain him as he pursues what seems to be an elusive goal.

10. Events since the coup have demonstrated the extreme fragility of Soviet political life and the dangers of a further breakdown of authority, particularly as the country enters a bleak winter. If, as seems likely, the "transitional" organs of power created by the Congress of People's deputies prove their inadequacies, the imminent prospect of a breakdown of order may convince some republic politicians of the need for a federal system and a constitution that preserves an important role for the central government. Others will seek solutions by cutting their ties with the Centre and relying on bilateral inter-republic arrangements. In any case, there will be serious difficulties in coping with economic and security problems.

11. Russia and Ukraine are key to the new relationship among the republics. Ukraine faces the challenge of fulfilling its stated commitment to non-nuclear status, while reaching interim agreement on shared control of Soviet nuclear forces on its territory, and seeking to assume complete control over Soviet non-nuclear military assets. While Russia and Yeltsin appear committed to Union arrangements, there is a significant number of Russians who are of the opinion that their republic will best be served by dissolving a union which they believe is a drain on Russian resources.

II. THE BALTIC STATES

12. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are likely to develop differently, partly due to the varying size of the Russian, Polish and other sections of the population in the three countries. The current process of granting citizenship and thereby voting rights could either alienate or integrate the minorities.

13. Large-scale prosecution of those who held responsible office during the Soviet occupation could cause further ethnic tensions. At present the signs are encour-

aging regarding the Lithuanian–Polish dialogue over the rights of the Polish minority in Lithuania.

14. The three Baltic governments have achieved some results in direct negotiations with the Soviet Ministries of the Interior and Defence and with the KGB, but official state-to-state negotiations have yet to begin.

15. A speedy withdrawal of the Soviet forces remains a primary objective of the Baltic governments, but neither the Soviet nor the Russian or Belorussian leaders have yet formulated their positions. The Soviet armed forces have stated that in their opinion, the withdrawal should not begin until the withdrawal from Eastern Europe has been completed.

16. Difficult negotiations with Moscow lie ahead. The status of local Russians and the future status of the Kaliningrad Oblast¹⁸⁷ could cause friction with the RSFSR, and long-buried border disputes may reemerge.¹⁸⁸

GENERAL SITUATION IN THE NEW DEMOCRACIES OF EASTERN EUROPE

17. The demise of communism in the USSR constituted a watershed for the new democracies of Eastern Europe. The emergence of independent Soviet republics added to East European concerns about border, refugee, and migration issues, and fears of instability in the East may stimulate new calls for a pan-European security structure. Economic priorities – negotiating viable trade agreements and ensuring that new Western assistance to the USSR is not at East European expense – are assuming greater importance.

18. The East European sense of living in a security vacuum continues to lead them to pursue further institutionalisation of CSCE; closer and more rapid linkage to EC, NATO, and the WEU;¹⁸⁹ and closer trilateral cooperation between Warsaw, Prague and Budapest and within the Hexagonale.¹⁹⁰

19. The Soviet collapse has also created even greater uncertainty about the viability of existing trade commitments. Even within a much reduced volume of bilateral trade, the Soviet Union has been unable either to make the hard currency pay-

187 See footnote 109.

188 See footnote 108.

189 The Western European Union (WEU) was an international organization and military alliance created in 1954 by the amendments of the 1948 Treaty of Brussels, which laid down the collective defense of Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg. It ceased to exist in 2011. Its function was to secure the common defense of the Western European allies of the US after the failure of the Treaty establishing the European Defense Community. Lacking proper infrastructure and common army, its significance soon began to fade. In 1991 the member states were: Belgium, France, Greece (since 1995), the Netherlands, Luxemburg, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Portugal (since 1989), and Spain (since 1989).

190 See footnotes 117 and 135.

ments called for in bilateral agreements, or to deliver many of the goods contained in indicated lists for barter transactions. East European trading arrangements with individual republics – especially Russia and its autonomous republics, Ukraine, and those Southern republics with oil reserves – have as a result already expanded, with emphasis on barter transactions in order to forestall unemployment. But the coup attempt placed in sharp focus Eastern Europe's dependence on Soviet energy sources and the potential for political intimidation by a hardline regime in Moscow. Reduction of reliance on Soviet oil and gas is now a major East European objective.

20. There are signs of disillusionment with political processes in varying degrees in Eastern Europe; in some cases because political parties or parliaments do not adequately represent the agenda of important segments of society, in other cases because of frustration with the economic hardships that prevail in spite of political and economic reform. Political processes are more mature in some countries than others, with Romania and Albania having the farthest to go. Accompanying the disillusionment and frustration are signs of resurgent nationalism, most obvious in Czechoslovakia, Romania and in tragic proportions in Yugoslavia.

21. An extended period of continuing political jockeying, fragmentation and consolidation is anticipated in such countries as Bulgaria with fissures in the two leading parties, in Czechoslovakia as it plays out the future relationship between Czechs and Slovaks (in all likelihood within the federation)¹⁹¹ and in Romania with its still weak organised political opposition. In Poland there could be tensions over the balance of power between President and Parliament, particularly if post-election political parties fail to reach consensus on economic policy. The Hungarian coalition bears watching, particularly to see if the Smallholders party can outlive its essentially one-issue platform of compensation. Albania is expected to take further steps along the political reform road in the next round of national elections as it seeks to choose a parliament more widely representative of Albanian society. Bulgaria and Albania face another winter of severe economic hardship and special reliance on foreign assistance to see them through. In Yugoslavia, the international effort to stop the fighting and settle the crisis peacefully continues.

IV. POLAND ON THE EVE OF THE FIRST DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS

22. For whoever emerges as prime Minister, the principal question will be the formation of a coalition government likely to pursue the transformation programme, yet capable of making corrections to it. One thing at least is clear: the recession will inevitably persist. The State coffers will remain empty for a long time yet, and the

191 Eventually Czechoslovakia disintegrated into two states on January 1, 1993: the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

population should not expect a rapid improvement in its lot. In addition, the new government will need to address calls for an anti-corruption campaign targetting [targeting] the former Communist nomenklatura.

V. HUNGARY: INTERNAL DISENCHANTMENT

23. Under the lacklustre Antall coalition government, Hungary remains one of the most stable countries of the region, despite growing popular resentment over the uneven impact of the emerging market economy. Indeed, the population exhibits a general sense of pessimism, deriving from the perception that political life is remote and inaccessible, resentment of Prime Minister Antall's personal style of rule, and concern that the current deep recession will persist indefinitely. There is strong support for the government's foreign policy, especially its emphasis on the rights of Hungarian minorities in neighbouring countries. How to respond to the Yugoslav crisis has become a principal foreign policy priority.

VI. SEPARATISTS AND FEDERALISTS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

24. In Czechoslovakia, Czechs and Slovaks continue to be preoccupied with negotiations on forming a new common state, but do not question the existence of such a common state. Separatist sentiments on the part of a small minority of Slovaks and Czech impatience with Slovak insistence upon weakened federal authority are unsettling, but all three governments appear determined to reach agreement on a new constitutional arrangement.

25. So far consensus on economic reform has not been seriously strained. But as the recession bites, particularly as unemployment rises, the standing of the left and of the trade unions, which had suffered from public disenchantment with anything which smacks of socialism, may begin to recover. Pressure will grow for the relaxation of reforms in general and for special concessions to Slovakia, which has been particularly hard hit by the recession because of its general dependence on inefficient large-scale state enterprises and vulnerability to cut-backs in arms production.

VII. ROMANIA: FRUSTRATION AND CONTESTATION

26. The coalition government led by Stolojan intends to continue the economic reform programme of its predecessor but has frozen prices of staple goods for the winter in the hope of warding-off further worker unrest. It still, however, faces significant opposition on reform issues from the NSF mainstream. There is reason for concern that though the new constitution to be adopted by the end of the year

guarantees human rights in theory, the new national security law does not adequately guarantee against abuses by security services on which the post-Communist government has continued to rely. Nationalism is a growing force particularly in Transylvania. The question of a possible reunification with Moldavia also contributes to the nationalist trend which may be exploited in the forthcoming elections.

VIII. BULGARIA: THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC REFORM

27. The non-communist UDF movement¹⁹² won an important though narrow victory in the October parliamentary elections and will seek to accelerate political and economic reforms. Several factors, however, suggest that the new government may prove unstable and that new elections may have to be called within a relatively short time. The Socialist Party remains a powerful force; several key constituencies representing more than 25% of the voters, notably the agrarians, are not directly represented in Parliament, and the UDF remains potentially dependent on the Movement of Rights and Freedoms (MRF), which represents the Turkish Muslim minority,¹⁹³ for a parliamentary majority. Bulgaria's overall direction is likely to continue towards reform, but the break-up and formation of new political coalitions are highly possible.

IX. THE DISINTEGRATION OF YUGOSLAVIA

28. The efforts of the international community – UN, CSCE, and EC in particular – to assist a peace process for Yugoslavia remain decisive. The first essential step is to encourage an effective ceasefire in the interest of a successful negotiated resolution of the Yugoslav crisis. A continuation of the conflict is of critical concern to Yugoslavia's neighbours.¹⁹⁴ If continued repression of ethnic Albanian rights in Kosovo province provokes an uprising there, it carries the grave risk of drawing Albania in.

192 See footnote 123.

193 See footnote 131.

194 On June 25, 1991, due to the centralizing efforts of Serbia led by Milošević demanding more influence in the whole country, Slovenia and Croatia declared their secession from Yugoslavia. As a result, in the so-called "Ten-Day War" between June 28 and July 7, 1991 Slovenia gained its independence. The Serbian minority in Croatia did not approve the dissolution of Yugoslavia and Croatian independence, and did not show loyalty towards the new state, but began to fight. The Yugoslavian Peoples' Army (JNA) intervened in the fight on the side of the Serbian rebels. A quarter of Croatia was occupied by Serbian volunteers and the JNA. In November 1991 both Serbia and Croatia asked for the intervention of the United Nations. In December the United Nations Security Council ordered a ban on weapon transports for the whole area of Yugoslavia, but the war waged for the independence and territorial integrity of Croatia ended only in 1995.

X. ALBANIA: ON THE WAY TO DEMOCRATISATION?

29. Despite its substantial progress towards democratisation, Albania remains in a severe economic crisis and has only begun to implement key reforms. A difficult winter is in store and major shortages can only be relieved by substantial international assistance. Institutionalisation of political and economic reforms may take some time. Although opposition parties have assumed key economic responsibilities, former communists remain in control of parliament and industrial, mining and agricultural enterprises. Popular discontent verging upon despair is most likely to continue to generate strikes, demonstrations, crime, and mass emigration. Substantial violence in Yugoslavia's autonomous province of Kosovo could have dire consequences for Albania.

NA: The Situation in the Soviet Union and the other Central and Eastern European countries, C-M(91)93 (November 22, 1991).

Appendix

Biographical notes

- Adamec, Ladislav (1926–2007): Czechoslovak politician. From 1987 member of the Presidium of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, in 1987–1988 prime minister of the Czech Socialist Republic. In October 1988–December 1989 he was the last communist prime minister of Czechoslovakia.
- Akhromeyev, Sergey Fyodorovich (1923–1991): Soviet military officer, marshal of the Soviet Union (1983). Member of the CC of the CPSU, leading military advisor of Gorbachev. In 1984–1989 chief of staff. After the failure of the coup d'état against Gorbachev in 1991 he committed suicide.
- Aleksandrov, Chudomir Asenov (1936–1998): Bulgarian politician. In 1981–1988 secretary of the CC of the BCP, in 1984–1988 member of the PB, in 1984–1986 deputy prime minister, supporter of reforms. As the presumed successor of Todor Zhivkov he visited Gorbachev in the summer of 1988. Because of his growing political influence and popularity the anti-reformist group removed him from power by accusing him of suppressing the fact that his wife's father was a 'fascist'. After 1989 he returned and became deputy prime minister in Andrey Lukanov's first cabinet.
- Alia, Ramiz (1925–2011): Albanian politician. In 1949–1955 the leader of the Albanian Association of the Working Youth, in 1955–1958 minister of education and culture. After 1958 chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Parliament. From 1982 Speaker of the Parliament, in 1985–1992 head of state, between 1991 and 1992 president of democratic Albania. From 1948 member of the CC of the Albanian Party of Labor, from 1961 member of the PB and secretary responsible for ideology, in 1985 he became first secretary of the Party of Labor of Albania.
- Andropov, Yuri Vladimirovich (1914–1984): Soviet politician. In 1953–1957 ambassador to Budapest. In 1961–1967 and 1982 secretary of the CC of the CPSU, in 1967–1982 chairman of the KGB. From 1973 member of the PB of the CPSU, in 1982–1984 general secretary of the CC, in 1983–1984 president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.
- Antall, József, Jr. (1932–1993): Hungarian politician. From 1964 senior researcher of the Archives and Library of the Semmelweis Museum of Medical History, in 1964–1967 director of the same institute, in 1967–1984 executive director, in 1984–1990 general director. In 1989–1993 president of the MDF (Hungarian Democratic Forum), in 1990–1993 prime minister of Hungary.
- Atanasov, Georgi Ivanov (1933–): Bulgarian politician. From 1956 member of the BCP, in 1966–1990 member of the CC, in 1968–1976 head of the Department of Science and Education in the CC, in 1976–1978 leader of the Administrative Department, in 1977–1986 secretary of the CC and in 1984–1986 head of the Department of Organizational Affairs. In 1986–1990 member of the PB and prime minister of Bulgaria. In 1966–1990 member of Parliament.
- Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal (until 1934, Gazi Mustafa Kemal Paşa, 1881–1938): Turkish military officer and politician. Hero of the war of independence (awarded with the title *gazi*), founder of the Turkish Republic and its first president in 1923–1938.

- Baka, Władysław (1936–): Polish economist and politician. In 1981–1985 minister responsible for economic reforms, in 1985–1988 and 1989–1991 president of the Polish National Bank. From 1955 member of the PUP and staff member of the CC. In 1988–1989 secretary of the CC, in 1988–1990 member of the PB. He was representative of the government for economic and social questions during the roundtable negotiations with the democratic opposition.
- Baklanov, Oleg Dmitrievich (1932–): Soviet politician. From 1983 minister of general machine building. In the 1980s responsible for the space program. In 1981–1991 member of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. In 1988–1991 member of the CC of the CPSU, participated in the coup d'état against Gorbachev in 1991.
- Balayan, Zori Aykovich (1935–): Soviet journalist, novelist, doctor, sports advisor, and traveller of Armenian origin. In his essays before 1985 he argued that Nagorno (Mountainous) Karabakh has Armenian identity.
- Balcerowicz, Leszek (1947–): Polish economist and politician. In 1969–1981 member of the PUP. At the end of the 1970s he participated in the economic advisory team of the prime minister. Later he became an economic expert of Solidarity. In 1989–1991 and 1997–2000 deputy prime minister and minister of finance. He is known for carrying out economic reforms and restructuring the Polish economy in the 1990s.
- Beliyakov, Oleg Sergeevich (1933–2003): Soviet politician. From 1961 member of the CPSU, head of section then deputy head of department in the Department for the Defense Industry of the CC and deputy secretary of the CC. In 1985–1988 leader of the Department for the Defense Industry in the CC, in 1988–1991 head of the Department for Defense, in 1986–1990 member of the CC.
- Berecz, János (1930–): Hungarian politician. In 1966–1972 secretary of the party committee in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1972–1974 deputy head of Department for Foreign Affairs at the CC of the HSWP, in 1974–1982 head of the same department. In 1982–1985 editor in chief of the daily paper *Népszabadság*. In 1980–1989 member of the CC and in 1985–1989 secretary for ideology, in 1987–1989 member of the PB.
- Bielecki, Jan Krzysztof (1951–): Polish economist and politician. From 1980 member of Solidarity. In the middle of the 1980s he established a consulting office (Doradca) dealing with economics and taxation. In 1988–1991 member of the of the Solidarity Citizens' Committee and in 1991–1994 member of the Liberal Democratic Congress. In January–December 1991 prime minister of Poland.
- Bolgin, Valery Ivanovich (1935–2006): Soviet politician. From 1960 member of the CPSU, from 1961 staff member of the CC, in 1981–1987 deputy secretary of the CC, in 1988–1991 member of the CC. In 1990 member of the Presidential Board of the Soviet Union and cabinet chief of the president of the Soviet Union. Member of the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of Peoples' Deputies. Participated in the coup d'état of 1991 against Gorbachev.
- Boross, Péter (1928–): Hungarian jurist, politician. Arrested and interned in 1957 for revolutionary activity. In May–July 1990 state secretary in the office of the prime minister, then became minister responsible for the Information Agency and National Security Agency. From December 1990 minister of interior and deputy prime minister, in 1994 prime minister. From 1992 member of the MDF (Hungarian Democratic Forum), in 1993–1995 member of the presidency of that party.
- Brazauskas, Algirdas Mykolas (1932–2010): Soviet politician of Lithuanian origin. In 1977–1987 secretary of the CC of the Lithuanian Communist Party, in 1988–1989 first secretary. Strong supporter of Lithuanian independence. Broke with the CPSU, and established the Democratic Labor Party of Lithuania. In 1993–1998 president of Lithuania, in 2001–2006 prime minister.

- Brezhnev, Leonid Ilyich (1906–1982): Soviet politician. In 1957–1982 member of the Presidium (the former PB) of the CC of the CPSU. In 1960–1964 and 1977–1982 chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, in 1964–1966 first secretary, in 1966–1982 general secretary of the CC.
- Bush, George Herbert Walker (1924–2018): American politician, member of the Republican Party. In 1967–1971 member of the House of Representatives, in 1971–1973 US ambassador to the UN, in 1974–1975 chief of Liaison Office in China, in 1976–1977 director of the CIA. In 1981–1989 43rd vice president of the USA, in 1989–1993 41st president of the USA.
- Čalfa, Marián (1946–): Slovak politician. From 1985 head of the legislative department of the Czechoslovak federal government, in 1989 de facto acting president of Czechoslovakia (for 19 days), then prime minister in 1989–1992. He played a key role in promoting the transition from communism to parliamentary democracy.
- Carrington, Peter Alexander Rupert, 6th Baron Carrington (1919–2018): British politician, member of the Conservative Party. In 1970–1974 defense secretary, in 1979–1982 foreign secretary, in 1983–1984 chairman of General Electric, in 1984–1988 General Secretary of NATO.
- Ceaușescu, Nicolae (1918–1989): Romanian politician. In 1945–1948 and from 1952 member of the CC of the RCP, from 1955 member of the PB. In 1965–1969 first secretary of the RCP, in 1969–1989 general secretary. In 1967–1974 president of the State Council, in 1974–1989 president of the republic.
- Chebrikov, Viktor Mikhailovich (1923–1999): Soviet leader of state security and politician. In 1968–1982 vice-chairman of the KGB, in 1982–1988 chairman. From 1950 member of the CPSU, in 1971–1990 member of the CC, in 1985–1989 member of the PB, in 1988–1989 member of the Secretariat.
- Chernavin, Vladimir Nikolayevich (1928–): Soviet naval commander. From 1969 commander of the Submarine Fleet of the Northern Fleet, from 1977 commander of the Northern Fleet, in 1981–1985 first deputy commander-in-chief of the Soviet Navy, in 1985–1991 chief commander of the Soviet Navy, in 1991–1992 commander of the Navy of the Commonwealth of Independent States Navy.
- Danov, Hristo Veselinov (1922–): Bulgarian jurist and politician. In 1947–1985 lawyer in Sofia, in 1985–1990 leader of the department dealing with the qualification of lawyers in the Central Council of the Chamber of Lawyers. In 1990–1991 minister of interior. In 1992–2000 again lawyer in Sofia specializing in civil law. From 2000 chairman of the Constitutional Court.
- Demichev, Pyotr Nilovich (1917–2010): Soviet politician. In 1974–1986 minister of culture, in 1986–1988 first deputy president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. In 1961–1974 member of the Secretariat of the CC of the CPSU, in 1964–1988 candidate member of the PB. He was considered the chief ideologist of the CPSU, who disapproved of the liberal movements in the Soviet Union.
- Dienstbier, Jiří (1937–2011): Czech politician, journalist. In the 1960s he worked for Czechoslovak radio as a reporter dealing with American, West European, and Middle Eastern affairs. He condemned the occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968, therefore he was not allowed to continue his work as a journalist. In 1977 he signed Charter '77. He was sentenced to three years in jail in 1979. He worked as a fireman after his release in 1982. After the collapse of the communist regime in 1989–1992 minister of foreign affairs.
- Dogan, Ahmed (1954–): Bulgarian philosopher and politician of Turkish origin. Researcher in the Department of Dialectical Materialism of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Phi-

- losophy. In 1985 together with other intellectuals of Turkish origin he established the Turkish National Liberation Movement. He was arrested and sentenced to ten years in jail, but was released in 1989. He became president of the Movement for Rights and Freedom (DPS).
- Dubček, Alexander (1921–1992): Czechoslovakian politician. In January 1968–April 1969 first secretary of the CPC, leading politician of the “Prague Spring”. In December 1989–January 1992 president of the Czechoslovak parliament.
- Falin, Valentin Mikhaylovich (1926–2018): Soviet politician and diplomat. In 1951–1958 he worked for the Foreign Ministry, in 1971–1978 ambassador in Bonn, in 1978–1983 first deputy chief of the International Information Department of the CC of the CPSU. In 1982–1986 political correspondent of *Izvestiya*, later editor and editor in chief. In 1988–1991 head of the International Information Department of the CC.
- Filshin, Gennadiy Innokentevich (1931–): Soviet economist and politician. In 1972–1990 lead researcher, later director of the Economic Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. In 1989–1990 lecturer at German and American universities. In 1989–1991 member of the Congress of Peoples’ Deputies and the secretary of the Supreme Soviet Planning and Budgetary-Finance Commission. In 1990–1991 deputy prime minister of the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, then deputy minister of foreign economic relations.
- Fischer, Oskar (1923–): Politician in former East Germany (GDR). In 1965–1975 deputy minister of foreign affairs, then state secretary. In 1975–1990 minister of foreign affairs. From 1948 member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, from 1971 member of the CC.
- Fiszbach, Tadeusz Rudolf (1935–): Polish politician and diplomat. From 1959 member of the PUWP, in 1980 participated in the negotiations in Gdańsk. He opposed the introduction of state of emergency and martial law in 1981. From 1980 member of the Polish embassy in Finland, in 1991–1995 ambassador in Helsinki, in 2001–2005 ambassador in Vilnius.
- Gamsakhurdia, Zviad (1939–1993): Georgian politician, translator, and critic. In 1987–1990 participated in the organization of mass public meetings for the secession of Georgia from the Soviet Union. In 1990–1991 president of the Supreme Soviet of Georgia, in 1991–1992 the first president of independent Georgia.
- Golushko, Nikolay Mikhaylovich (1937–): Soviet state security officer. From 1963 he worked for the KGB in the Ukraine. In 1963–1991 member of the CPSU. From 1992 first deputy minister of state security in the Russian Federation, in September–December minister of state security. In December 1993–February 1994 director of the Federal Counter-intelligence Service of the Russian Federation.
- Göncz, Árpád (1922–2015): Hungarian writer, translator, and politician. After the 1956 revolution he was sentenced to life, but was released in the general amnesty of 1963. After World War II and during the Revolution of 1956 he was a member of the Independent Smallholders, Agrarian Workers and Civic Party, in the era of the regime change he was member of the SZDSZ (Alliance of Free Democrats). In 1990 he became Member of Parliament, first chairman of the new Parliament and de facto acting president. In 1990–2000 President of Hungary.
- Gorbachev, Mikhail Sergeyevich (1931–): Soviet politician. From 1951 member of the CPSU, in 1971–1991 member of the CC, in 1978–1985 agricultural secretary of the CC, in 1985–1991 general secretary of the CC, in 1988–1991 chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. On December 25, 1991 he resigned from all positions and declared the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

- Gotsev, Lyuben Stoyanov (1930–): Bulgarian state security officer, diplomat, politician. From 1952 member of the BCP, in 1963–1974 he was several times on diplomatic mission in the USA, in 1974–1983 deputy chief of State Security, in 1983–1989 deputy minister of foreign affairs. In December 1989–March 1990 deputy minister of interior, in 1990 minister of foreign affairs, in 1990–1991 member of Parliament of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, in 1991–1992 ambassador at the Hague.
- Gračanin, Petar (1923–2004): Yugoslavian military officer and politician of Serbian origin. In 1982–1985 chief of staff. In 1987–1989 president of the Serbian Socialist Republic, in 1989–1991 minister of interior of Yugoslavia.
- Gromov, Boris Vsevolodovich (1943–): Soviet Russian military officer and politician. Participated in the war in Afghanistan, last commander of the Fortieth Army. In the Russian presidential election in 1991 nominee of the Communist Party for the post of vice president, first deputy minister of defense in the Russian Federation, in 2000–2012 governor of Moscow region.
- Grósz, Károly (1930–1996): Hungarian politician. In 1979–1984 first secretary in the Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county committee of the HSWP, in 1984–1987 first secretary at the Budapest branch of the HSWP, in 1988–1989 general secretary of the CC, in 1980–1989 member of the CC, in 1985–1989 member of the PB, in 1989 member of the newly established Presidium, member of the Political Executive Committee (the successor of the PB). After the secession of the HSWP and the formation of the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) member of the CC again. In 1987–1988 prime minister of Hungary.
- Havel, Václav (1936–2011): Czech writer and politician. In 1968, during the “Prague Spring” participated in the reform movement as one of the writers demanding cultural autonomy and the abolition of censorship. From 1970 he was not allowed to publish works in his homeland, but his writings were published in the West. He was one of the founders of the Charter ’77 movement for civil rights and the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Prosecuted (VONS) in 1978. In 1979–1983 and in 1989 he was imprisoned because of his illegal activity. During the “Velvet Revolution” he was a leader and spokesman of the Civic Forum. In 1989–1992 president of Czechoslovakia, in 1993–2003 president of the Czech Republic.
- Hmara, Stepan Ilyich (in Ukrainian: Hmara, Stepan Ilkovich) (1937–): Soviet Ukrainian dentist, political activist, politician. In the 1960–1970s he translated and distributed *samizdat* literature. He was arrested and sentenced to 7 years in labor camp. He spoke for the rights of the Greek Catholic Church, the independence of the Ukraine, and for diminishing the influence of the Communist Party. In 1990–1994 member of parliament. In 1990–1992 founder and deputy president of the Ukrainian Republican Party, from 1992 founder and chair of the Ukrainian Conservative Republican Party.
- Honecker, Erich (1912–1994): Politician in former East Germany (GDR). In 1946–1989 member of the CC of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, in 1946–1955 founder and chair of the youth organization of that party (Free German Youth). In 1971–1976 First Secretary of the party, in 1976–1989 general secretary. In 1976–1989 chairman of the State Council. In 1989 he resigned from all positions.
- Hoxha, Enver (1908–1985): Albanian politician. In 1943–1954 secretary general of the Albanian Communist Party (from 1948 Party of Labor of Albania), in 1954–1985 first secretary, the leader of Albania. In 1944–1954 prime minister, in 1946–1953 minister of foreign affairs and minister of war. In 1976–1985 commander in chief of the army.

- Husák, Gustáv (1913–1991): Czechoslovak politician. From 1969 first secretary of the CPC, in 1971–1987 general secretary, in 1975–1989 president of Czechoslovakia.
- Iliescu, Ion (1930–): Romanian politician. From 1953 member of the Romanian Communist Party, from 1965 member of the CC. In 1996–2000 and 2004–2008 president of the Social Democratic Party (PSD). In 1967–1971 minister for the affairs of youth. In December 1989 leader of the National Salvation Front (FSN: *Frontul Salvării Naționale*). In 1990–1996 and 2000–2004 President of Romania.
- Izetbegović, Alija (1925–2003): Bosnian (Muslim) politician, Islamic activist and lawyer. In April 1983 he was accused of “offences as principally hostile activity inspired by Bosniak/Muslim nationalism” and sentenced to fourteen years in Sarajevo; freed in 1988 by amnesty. In May 1990 he participated in the establishment of the Democratic Action Party (SDA). In 1990–1996 president of Bosnia–Herzegovina, in 1996–2000 member of the Presidency of Bosnia–Herzegovina.
- Jakeš, Miloš (1922–): Czechoslovak politician. From 1977 member of the CC of the CPC, from 1981 member of the Presidium, in 1987–1989 general secretary of the party.
- Jaruzelski, Wojciech Witold (1923–2014): Polish military officer and politician. In 1968–1983 minister of defense, in 1981–1985 prime minister, in 1981–1989 the first secretary of the PUWP. In 1985–1989 chairman of the Council of State (President), in 1989–1990 President of Poland. In 1964–1989 member of the CC of the PUWP, in 1970–1989 member of the PB.
- Jeszszsky, Géza (1941–): Hungarian historian, diplomat, politician, and university instructor. In 1987 founding member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), in 1988–1990 member of the presidium of the party, in 1989–1990 leader of the Committee for Foreign Affairs in the party. In 1990–1994 minister of foreign affairs, in 1998–2002 ambassador in Washington, in 2011–2014 ambassador in Oslo.
- Jović, Borisav (1928–): Yugoslav politician of Serbian origin. In May 1989–June 1992 he represented Serbia in the Presidency of Yugoslavia. In May 1990–May 1991 president of the Presidium of the League of Socialists of Yugoslavia, and general secretary of the Non-Aligned Movement. Member of the League of Serbian Communists and from 1990 member of the Socialist Party of Serbia. An advisor of Slobodan Milošević.
- Kádár, János (Csermanek) (1912–1989): Hungarian politician. In 1948–1950 minister of interior. During the Revolution of 1956 minister of state (*in absentia*) from October 30 to November 4, 1956, then he declared the formation of the new Revolutionary Workers’-Peasants’ Government, over which he presided in 1956–1958. In 1958–1961 again minister of state, in 1961–1965 chairman of the Council of Ministers (premier). In 1956–1985 first secretary of the HSWP, in 1985–1988 general secretary, in 1988–1989 chairman of the Party. In 1944–1951 and in 1956 member of the CC of the Hungarian Communist Party and the Hungarian Workers’ Party (MDP). In 1956–1989 member of the CC and the PB of the HSWP. In 1965–1989 member of the Presidential Council.
- Kadijević, Veljko (1925–2014): Yugoslavian military officer, general of the Yugoslav Peoples’ Army (JNA). In 1988–1992 defense minister of the Yugoslav Federation.
- Kapto, Aleksandr Semenovich (1933–): Soviet Russian sociologist, politologist, politician and journalist. In 1972–1978 secretary of the Regional Commission of the CPSU in Kiev, then secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Ukraine. In 1986–1988 ambassador to Cuba, then leader of the Ideological Department at the CC of the CPSU until 1990. In 1990–1992 ambassador to the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

- Kaputikyan, Silva (Barunakovna) (1919–2006): Soviet poetess of Armenian origin. She was one of the most famous Armenians in literature. Although from 1945 she was a member of the Communist Party, she was also an advocate for the Armenian language and national cause.
- Kevoikov, Boris Sarkisovich (1932–1998): Soviet politician of Armenian origin. In 1973–1988 secretary of the Communist Party in the Nagorno (Mountainous) Karabakh Autonomous Province.
- Khrushchev, Nikita Sergeevich (1894–1971): Soviet politician. From 1934 member of the CC of the CPSU, from 1939 member of the PB and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. In 1938–1949 first secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Ukraine. In 1953–1964 first secretary of the CC of the CPSU, in 1958–1964 also chairman of the Council of Ministers (Premier).
- Kiszczak, Czesław (1925–2015): Polish military officer and politician. In 1979–1981 head of military intelligence, in 1981–1990 minister of interior, in 1981–1983 member of the Military Council of National Salvation. In 1983–1989 leader of the Committee for Law, Public Order and Social Discipline of the Council of Ministers. In February–April 1989 co-chairman of the round table negotiations. In August 1989 prime minister, then deputy prime minister until 1990. From 1945 member of the Polish Workers' Party and from 1948 member of the PUWP, in 1981–1990 member of the CC, in 1986–1990 member of the PB.
- Klaus, Václav (1941–): Czech economist and politician. In December 1989–1992 minister of finance of the Czechoslovak Federation, in 1993–1998 Czech prime minister, in 2003–2013 president of the Czech Republic. From October 1990 chairman of the Civic Forum. He was also the founder of the ODS (Civic Democratic Party) in 1991 and chairman of the party until 2002.
- Komárek, Valtr (1930–2013): Czech economist and politician. In 1964–1967 he lived in Cuba as an advisor of Ernesto Che Guevara. In 1968 he was one of the initiators of economic reforms, in 1968–1971 chairman of the Economic Council of Czechoslovakia. In December 1989–June 1990 deputy prime minister. In 1990–1992 member of the Federal Assembly.
- Krenz, Egon (1937–): Politician in former East Germany (GDR). From 1955 member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. In 1971–1990 representative of the People's Chamber, in 1974–1983 leader of the Free German Youth (FDJ). In 1981–1984 member of the State Council, from 1983 secretary of the CC responsible for security questions. From October 18, 1989 first secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the State Council. Resigned on December 6, 1989 and soon thereafter expelled from the transforming party.
- Kruchina, Nikolay Efimovich (1928–1991): Soviet politician. From 1949 member of the CPSU, from 1971 member of the Central Auditing Committee of the CPSU. From 1971 candidate member and from 1976 full member of the CC, in 1978–1983 deputy head, then head of the Agrarian Committee of the CC, in 1983–1991 acting chair of the CC and chief treasurer of the party. In 1966–1989 member of the Supreme Soviet, in 1989–1991 member of the Congress of Peoples' Deputies.
- Kryuchkov, Vladimir Aleksandrovich (1924–2007): Soviet jurist, diplomat and politician. In 1955–1959 third secretary of the Soviet embassy in Budapest. In 1974–1988 head of the foreign intelligence branch of the KGB, the First Chief Directorate (PGU). From 1978 vice-chairman, in 1988–1991 chairman of the KGB. From 1944 member of the CPSU, from 1986 member of the CC and in 1989–1990 member of the PB. The main instigator and leader of the coup in August 1991.
- Kučan, Milan (1941–): Slovenian Yugoslav politician. From 1968 chair of the Slovenian Youth Association, from 1978 chairman of the Parliament of the Slovenian Federative Republic. From 1982 representative of the League of Communists of Slovenia in the CC of the League of

- Communists of Yugoslavia, in 1986–1989 president of the League of Communists of Slovenia, in 1990–1992 chairman of the collective presidency of Slovenia, in 1992–2002 president of Slovenia.
- Kulikov, Viktor Georgievich (1921–2013): Soviet military officer. In 1940 joined the Red Army, in 1967–1969 commander of the military district of Kiev, in 1969–1971 commander of the Soviet troops in the GDR, in 1971–1977 chief of staff. In 1977–1989 supreme commander of the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, marshal of the Soviet Union. From 1942 member of the CPSU, in 1971–1989 member of the CC and deputy defense minister.
- Kupa, Mihály (1941–): Hungarian economist and politician. Accused of conspiracy in 1958 and sentenced to ten months in jail. Later worked for the Statistical Bureau of Budapest, from 1971 for the Central Statistical Bureau and the Institute of Financial Research. Head of the department responsible for financial political issues in the Ministry of Finance, in 1987–1988 head of the department responsible for public taxes. In 1989 leader of the Secretariat of the Budget Reform Committee. In 1990–1993 minister of finances, leader of the economic cabinet of the government.
- Kwaśniewski, Aleksander (1954–): Polish politician and journalist. In 1976–1977 chairman of the University Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students, in 1977–1982 member of the leadership at the same organization. In 1981–1985 editor of communist journals for the youth. In 1985–1987 minister for youth affairs, in 1988–1989 minister of the cabinet, participated in the round table negotiations. In 1977–1990 member of the PUWP, in 1990–1995 founding member of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland and in 1990–1995 its first chair. In 1995–2005 president of the Republic.
- Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich (Ulyanov) (1870–1924): Soviet–Russian politician. In 1903–1924 first leader of the Bolshevik Party. In 1917–1924 first President of the Council of Peoples' Commissars.
- Ligachov, Egor Kuzmich (1920–1990): Soviet politician. In 1976–1990 member of the CC of the CPSU, in 1985–1990 member of the PB, in 1983–1990 member of the Secretariat and president of the committee responsible for agrarian politics in the CC. Though he originally supported the policies of Gorbachev, in 1988 he was considered the leader of the conservative politicians who were dissatisfied with him.
- Lilov, Aleksandar Vasilev (1933–2013): Bulgarian politician and philosopher. In 1972–1983 member of the CC of the BCP, in 1974–1983 member of the PB and in 1976–1983 member of the State Council. In 1983 he was removed from power. Returns to active politics during the regime change and from 1990 chair of the BCP, then of Bulgarian Socialist Party. In 1962–2001 member of parliament.
- Lobov, Vladimir Nikolayevich (1935–): Soviet military commander. From 1954 member of the Armed Forces, from 1984 commander of the Central Asian Military District, from January 1989 first deputy of the chief of general staff, after the coup of 1991 chief of staff. In October–December 1991 member of the Council of Defense of the President of the USSR. In 1989–1991 member of the Congress of Peoples' Deputies.
- Lončar, Budimir (1924–): Yugoslav diplomat and politician. In 1945–1990 member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. From 1950 worked at the foreign ministry, consul general in New York, in 1965–1969 ambassador in Jakarta, in 1973–1977 ambassador in Bonn, in 1979–1983 ambassador in Washington, in 1987–1991 minister of foreign affairs. In 1993–1995 special envoy of the UN for the Non-Aligned Movement.

- Lukanov, Andrey Karlov (1938–1996): Bulgarian politician. In 1973–1976 minister of foreign trade, in 1976–1986 vice-president of the Council of Ministers and until 1987 deputy president, in 1987–1989 minister responsible for foreign economic relations. Played a crucial role in the removal of Todor Zhivkov. In February–September and September–December 1990 prime minister. In 1963–1990 member of the BCP, secretary of the CC and member of the PB. In 1990–1996 member of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, in 1990–1991 chair of the party.
- Lukyanov, Anatoly Ivanovich (1930–2019): Soviet politician. In 1956–1961 advisor of the Legal Commission of the Council of Ministers. In 1975–1977 participated in the elaboration of the Soviet Constitution of 1977. 1977–1983 head of the Secretariat of the Supreme Soviet. In 1985–1987 chief of the General Auditing Department of the CC of the CPSU, in 1987–1988 member of the Secretariat, in 1988–1990 candidate member of the PB, in 1988–1990 vice-president of the Supreme Soviet and in March 1990–August 1991 president.
- Lushev, Pyotr Georgievich (1923–1997): Soviet military officer. In 1941 enters the Red Army. From 1957 member of the CPSU, in 1977–1980 commander of the Central Asian Military District, in 1980–1985 commander of the Moscow Military District, in 1985–1986 commander of the Soviet Forces in the GDR. From 1986 first deputy of the Soviet defense minister, in 1989–1991 commander-in-chief of the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organization.
- Marković, Ante (1924–2011): Yugoslav politician of Croatian origin from Bosnia. In 1980–1985 president of the Executive Council of the Croatian Socialist Republic, in 1986–1988 president of the Presidency of Socialist Republic of Croatia, in March 1989–December 1991 the last prime minister of Yugoslavia.
- Masol, Vitaly Andreyevich (1928–2018): Soviet politician of Ukrainian origin. In 1987–1990 president of the Council of Ministers in the Ukrainian SSR, in 1990–1998 member of the Ukrainian parliament, in 1994–1995 prime minister.
- Mazilu, Dumitru (1934–): Romanian jurist, diplomat and politician. In 1975–1986 legal advisor of the Foreign Ministry, in 1983–1988 member of the Subcommission of the UN Against Discrimination and for the Rights of Minorities, in 1985–1992 prepared several reports for the UN regarding human rights and youth issues. In 1986–1989 he was placed under house arrest for his activity. In April 1989 he forwarded his report to the UN. From December 26, 1989 first vice-president of the National Salvation Front, he advocated the removal of communists from this organization.
- Mazowiecki, Tadeusz (1927–2013): Polish writer, politician and journalist. In 1958–1981 editor in chief of *Więź*, a Roman Catholic journal. In 1980, during the strikes in Gdańsk, he was an advisor of Wałęsa. Participated in the formation of Solidarity and became the chief editor of the Solidarity's weekly paper. During the state of emergency he was interned. In 1988 he was one of the founders of the Solidarity Citizens' Committee. In 1989–1991 prime minister, in 1991–2001 member of the Sejm.
- Medvedev, Vadim Andreyevich (1929–): Soviet economist and politician. From 1970 deputy director of the Propaganda Department of the CC of the CPSU, in 1976–1986 member of the Central Controlling Committee, in 1986–1990 member and secretary of the CC. In 1986–1988 head of the department responsible for communication between the CPSU and other communist parties of the socialist countries. In September 1988–July 1990 member of the PB, in November 1988–July 1990 chairman of the Ideological Committee of the CC. A close comrade of Gorbachev and in 1990 member of the Presidential Council of the Soviet Union.

- Messner, Zbigniew Stefan (1929–2014): Polish economist and politician. In 1981–1988 member of the CC of the PUWP, in 1983–1985 deputy prime minister, in 1985–1988 prime minister.
- Michael I. (Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen) (1921–2017): King of Romania, the son of Carol II and Helena, Greek princess, grandson of Ferdinand I, King of Romania. Ruled in 1927–1930 and 1940–1947.
- Mikulić, Branko (1928–1994): Yugoslavian politician of Croatian origin, from Herzegovina. From 1965 secretary of the CC of the League of Communists of Bosnia and Herzegovina, later, in 1966 chairman of the party. In 1967–1969 prime minister of Bosnia–Herzegovina. In 1982–1984 president of the Presidium of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia–Herzegovina, in 1984–1986 represents Bosnia–Herzegovina in the Presidium of Yugoslavia, in 1986–1989 president of the Federal Executive Committee.
- Militaru, Nicolae (1925–1996): Romanian military officer and politician. In 1969–1978 commander of the troops of the 2nd Romanian Army. In 1978 he was accused of organising a movement against Ceaușescu as the agent of the GRU (Soviet Military Secret Service) and was removed from his position. In December 1989–February 1990 minister of defense.
- Milošević, Slobodan (1941–2006): Serbian politician from Montenegro. In 1986–1989 president of the Presidium of the League of Serbian Communists, member of the Presidium of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the LCY. In May 1989–January 1991 chairman of the Presidency of the Republic of Serbia, in 1991–1997 president of Republic of Serbia, in 1997–2000 president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In 1990–2006 founder and president of the Socialist Party of Serbia.
- Mladenov, Petar Toshev (1936–2000): Bulgarian politician. In 1971–1989 minister of foreign affairs, in 1989–1990 general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the State Council. In 1990 president of Bulgaria. From 1964 member of the BCP, in 1971–1989 member of the CC, in 1977–1989 member of the PB.
- Moiseyev, Mikhail Alekseyevich (1939–): Soviet military officer. In 1961 joined the Soviet Army. In the 1980s commander of a mixed army, then commander of the Far East Military District. In 1988–1991 chief of staff. Supported the coup in 1991.
- Molotov, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich (Skryabin) (1890–1986): Soviet politician. In 1930–1941 chairman of the Council of Peoples' Commissars (premier). In 1939–1946 peoples' commissar of foreign affairs, in 1946–1949 minister of foreign affairs. In 1953–1956 minister of foreign affairs again and at the same time first deputy premier. In 1956 minister of state control. From 1921 member of the CC of the CPSU and candidate member of the PB, in 1926–1957 member of the PB. Removed from all positions in 1957.
- Nagy, Imre (1896–1958): Hungarian politician. In December 1944 and in 1945 minister of agriculture, in 1945–1946 minister of interior, in 1950–1952 minister responsible for food supplies, in 1952–1953 deputy prime minister, in 1953–1955 prime minister, in October 24–November 4, 1956 prime minister of revolutionary Hungary. In June 1958 sentenced to death and executed. In 1944–1955 and in 1956 member of the CC of the Hungarian Communist Party and (from 1948) Hungarian Worker's Party. In 1945–1949, 1951–1955 and 1956 member of the PB.
- Németh, Miklós (1948–): Hungarian politician. In 1987–1989 member of the CC, in 1988–1989 member of the PB of the HSWP, in 1989 member of the party's four-member presidency and member of the Political Executive Committee that replaced the PB. In 1989 founder and member of the presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party. In 1988–1990 prime minister of Hungary.

- Nikonov, Viktor Petrovich (1929–): Soviet politician. From 1954 member of the CPSU, from 1976 member of the CC, in 1987–1989 member of the PB. In 1983–1985 minister of agriculture of the Russian SFSR, in 1985–1989 secretary of the CC. Member of the Supreme Soviet and from 1989 member of the Congress of Peoples' Deputies.
- Nyers, Rezső (1923–2018): Hungarian politician, economist. In 1960–1962 minister of finance, in 1974–1981 director of the Institute for Economics of the Hungarian Academy of Science. In 1957–1989 member of the CC of the HSWP, in 1962–1974 secretary for economic policy of the CC, in 1966–1975 and 1988–1989 member of the PB. In 1988–1989 minister of state and chairman of the HSWP, chairman of the party's four-member presidency and of the Political Executive Committee. In 1989–1990 founder and President of the HSP.
- Ogarkov, Nikolay Vasilevich (1917–1994): Soviet military officer. In 1937 joined the Red Army and forty years later he became Marshal of the Soviet Union. In 1977–1984 chief of staff and first deputy of the Soviet defense minister. In 1983–1984 military spokesman.
- Olszewski, Jan Ferdynand (1930–): Polish lawyer, publicist and politician. In the 1960s he became a leading defense attorney in political trials. In the 1980s he joined the Solidarity movement, in 1988–1990 member of the Solidarity Citizens' Committee. In 1990–1992 member of the Centre Agreement. In 1991–1993 and 1997–2005 member of the Sejm. In December 1991–June 1992 prime minister.
- Pérez de Cuéllar de la Guerra, Javier Felipe Ricardo (1920–): Peruvian diplomat and politician. From 1940 he worked for the Foreign Ministry, in 1946 member of the Peruvian delegation to the General Assembly of the UN, in 1964–1966 ambassador in Bonn, in 1966–1969 permanent deputy of the secretary, later general secretary of the Foreign Ministry. In 1969–1971 ambassador in Moscow and Warsaw, in 1971–1975 permanent representative at the UN. In 1975–1977 special envoy of the UN in Cyprus. In 1978–1979 ambassador in Caracas. In 1979–1981 United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, in 1982–1991 Secretary General.
- Philby, Harold Adrian Russell "Kim" (1912–1988): He was a high ranking officer of the British intelligence service before he fled to the USSR in 1963. He served as both an NKVD and KGB operative.
- Plaka, Sokrat (1932–2009): Albanian diplomat. From 1975 worked for the Foreign Ministry, ambassador to Belgrade, in 1982–1991 deputy foreign minister. In the early 1980s he worked for the improvement of relations of Albania with Greece and Turkey.
- Pleșu, Andrei Gabriel (1948–): Romanian philosopher, publicist, art historian, and politician. Researcher in the Institute for Art History in Romania. In 1983 the publication of his works was banned. In 1991–1997 lecturer in philosophy of religion at the University of Bucharest. Founder and publishing director of *Dilema Veche*, a weekly paper. In 1989–1991 minister of culture, in 1997–1999 minister of foreign affairs, in 2000–2004 member of the National College for the Study of the Securitate Archives, in 2004–2005 presidential counsellor for external affairs.
- Popov, Dimitar Iliev (1927–2015): Bulgarian jurist and politician. From 1970 judge of the Sofia Municipality Court, from 1983 vice-president, later president of the court. During the first free elections in June 1990 he was the secretary of the Central Committee for Elections. In December 1990–November 1991 prime minister. He was not a member of any party.
- Pozsgay, Imre (1933–2016): Hungarian politician. In 1976–1980 minister of culture, in 1980–1982 minister of education, in 1988–1990 minister of state. In 1983–1994 member of Parliament. In 1982–1988 secretary general of the party's mass organization, the Patriotic People's Front. In 1980–1989 member of the CC and in 1988–1989 member of the PB of the HSWP. In 1989 member of the party's four-member presidency and member of the Political Executive Committee.

- Pugo, Boris Karlovich [in Latvian: Boriss Pugo] (1937–1991): Soviet politician of Latvian origin. In 1984–1988 first secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia, in 1988–1991 president of the Central Control Committee of the CPSU, in 1990–1991 minister of interior. He participated in the coup of 1991 and committed suicide after its failure.
- Rakowski, Mieczyslaw Franciszek (1926–2008): Polish politician, historian and journalist. In 1958–1982 editor in chief of the weekly journal *Polityka*. In 1975–1990 member of the CC of the PUWP, in 1987–1990 member of the PB, in 1988 secretary of the CC, in 1981–1985 deputy prime minister, in September 1988–August 1989 prime minister, in 1988–1989 leader of the Economic Reform Commission. In 1989–1990 the last First Secretary of the PUWP.
- Razumovsky, Georgy Petrovich (1936–): Soviet politician. From 1961 member of the CPSU, from 1961 member and secretary of the CC, from 1988 candidate member of the PB. In 1983–1985 first secretary of the Krasnodar branch of the CPSU, in 1985–1988 head of the Department of Organisation and Party Work of the CC, from 1988 head of the Department of Party Construction and Cadres Policy of the CC, from 1988 chairman of the Party Construction and Cadres Policy. Member of the Supreme Soviet, from 1989 member of the Congress of Peoples' Deputies.
- Reagan, Ronald (1911–2004): American politician, member of the Republican Party. In 1967–1975 governor of California, in 1981–1989 40th president of the US. In 1937–1964 he acted in more than fifty Hollywood movies.
- Ribbentrop, Ullrich Friedrich Willy Joachim von (1893–1946): German politician. From 1932 member of the NSDAP. From 1934 advisor of the imperial government in foreign political issues. From 1936 ambassador to London, in 1938–1945 minister of foreign affairs.
- Rizhkov, Nikolay Ivanovich (1929–): Soviet politician. From 1956 member of the CPSU, in 1981–1991 member of the CC, in 1982–1985 member of the Secretariat, in 1985–1990 member of the PB. In 1982–1985 head of the Economic Department of the CC of the CPSU. In 1985–1991 chairman of the Council of Ministers.
- Roman, Petre (1946–): Romanian politician. In December 1989–October 1991 prime minister, 1996–2000 chairman of the Senate, 1999–2000 foreign minister. In 1989–1992 member of the National Salvation Front, in 1992–2003 member of the Democratic Party.
- Sakharov, Andrey Dmitriyevich (1921–1989): Soviet nuclear physicist, human rights activist. He participated in the planning and production of the first Soviet hydrogen bomb. From the 1960s he played a more and more important role in the struggle for human rights. In 1967 he announced his opposition to the arms race, in 1970 he was one of the founders of the Committee on Human Rights in the USSR. Awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1975. Because of his overt oppositional activity he was forced to live in internal exile between 1980 and 1986. Elected member of the Congress of Peoples' deputies.
- Semerdzhiyev, Atanas Georgiev (1924–2015): Bulgarian military officer and politician. Participated in WWII as partisan. From 1966 deputy minister of defense, in December 1989–February 1990 minister of interior. From February 1990 member of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party. In 1990–1992 vice-president of Bulgaria.
- Shatalin, Stanislav Sergeyeovich (1934–1997): Soviet economist. Specialized in mathematical modeling and planning for the economy. From 1985 he was the most radical Soviet economist, who overtly supported the implementation of a market economy. From 1989 director of the Economic Department of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Advisor of Gorbachev. In 1990–1991 member of the Presidential Council. He worked out a five hundred day program for the transition to a market economy that was rejected by the Soviet government.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

- Shatalin, Yuriy Vasilevich (1934–2000): Soviet military officer. Participated in the war against Afghanistan. In 1982–1984 commander of the Seventh Army Corps in Transcaucasia, in 1984–1986 first deputy commander of the Moscow Military District. In 1986–1991 commander of the internal security forces of the Ministry of Interior.
- Shevardnadze, Eduard (1928–2014): Soviet–Georgian politician. In 1972–1985 first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party, from 1976 member of the CC of the CPSU, from 1978 candidate member of the PB, from 1985 member of the PB. In 1985–1990 minister of foreign affairs. In July 1991 he resigned from the CPSU. From 1992 chair of the Georgian parliament, in 1995–2003 president of Georgia.
- Shimko, Vladimir Ivanovich (1938–1998): Soviet politician. Lecturer at the Department for Defense Industry in the CC of the CPSU, head of the Section later deputy head of Department for Radio Industry, in 1987–1988 minister for radio industry, in 1988–1989 head of the Social and Economic Department of the CC. In 1989–1991 minister for radio industry of the Soviet Union, then of the Russian Federation.
- Shultz, George Pratt (1920–): American politician, economist, and businessman. Worked for four republican US Presidents. In 1982–1989 secretary of state (minister of foreign affairs).
- Skiba, Ivan Ivanovich (1937–): Soviet politician. In 1983–1987 first deputy head of Department for Agriculture and Food Processing of the CC of the CPSU, in 1987–1988 head of the same department, in 1988–1991 head of the Agricultural Department, in 1986–1990 candidate member of the CC. In 1989–1991 member of the Congress of Peoples' Deputies.
- Skubiszewski, Krzysztof (1926–2010): Polish jurist and politician. Lecturer in international law at the University of Poznań, expert on Polish–German relations. Active member of Solidarity. In 1989–1993 minister of foreign affairs.
- Slyunkov, Nikolay Nikitovich (in Belarusian: Slyunykou, Mikalay Mikitavich) (1929–): Soviet politician. In 1983–1987 first secretary of the Communist Party of Belarusian SSR, in 1986–1990 member of the CC of the CPSU, in 1986–1987 candidate member of the PB, in 1987–1990 member of the Secretariat, in 1987–1990 member of the PB. In 1987–1988 chairman of the Committee on Economic Policy, in 1988–1990 chairman of the Committee on Socio-Economic Policy.
- Snegur, Mircea Ion (1940–): Soviet–Moldavian agrarian expert and politician. From 1964 member of the Communist Party of Moldavia, in 1985–1989 secretary of the CC. In July 1989–April 1990 chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian SSR, in April 1990–September 1990 chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian SSR, in 1991–1997 first president of Moldova (as an independent state).
- Sokolov, Sergey Leonidovich (1911–2012): Soviet military officer. In 1965–1984 commander of the Military District of Leningrad, in 1967–1984 first deputy of the defense minister. Commander of the Soviet troops attacking Afghanistan in 1979. In 1984–1987 defense minister, in 1985–1987 candidate member of the PB of the CC of the CPSU. Gorbachev forced him to resign in connection with the Rust Affair.
- Soloviev, Yuriy Filippovich (1925–2011): Soviet politician. From 1955 member of the CPSU, in 1976–1990 member of the CC, in 1978–1984 first secretary of the Leningrad Municipal Branch of the CPSU. In 1984–1985 minister for industrial constructions, in 1985–1989 first secretary of the Regional Committee of the Leningrad Branch of the CPSU, in 1986–1989 candidate member of the PB. In 1979–1989 member of the Supreme Soviet, in 1986–1989 member of the Presidium of the same organization.

- Špegelj, Martin (1927–2014): Croatian–Yugoslav military officer. General of the Yugoslavian Peoples' Army (JNA). In August 1990–July 1991 minister of defense in Croatia, then chief of staff and inspector general of the new Croatian Army. His activities focused on the organization and supply of the army, which contributed to the survival of Croatia in the first years of the war of independence. Retired in 1992.
- Stalin, Iosif Vissarionovich (Dzhughashvili) (1879–1953): Soviet politician of Georgian origin. In 1917–1922 peoples' commissar for nationalities, in 1919–1922 peoples' commissar for state control. In 1922–1934 general secretary of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Russia, in 1934–1953 general secretary of the CC of the CPSU. In 1941–1946 president of the Council of the Peoples' Commissars, in 1946–1953 president of the Council of Ministers. From 1945 *generalissimus*. He created the theoretical doctrine and totalitarian system named after him.
- Stoica, Ion Aurel (1943–1994): Romanian politician. In March–June 1990 deputy prime minister, in June 1990–February 1991 minister of state responsible for life quality and social security, in April–October 1991 minister without portfolio. He was one of the main ideologists of the FSN. In 1992–1994 senator, member of the committees for defense, public order and state security.
- Stolojan, Theodor Dumitru (1943–): Romanian politician and economist. In 1972–1989 worked for the Ministry of Finance. From 1982 deputy head of Department of International Financial Relations. In September 1991–November 1992 prime minister. In 2000–2004 chairman of the National Liberal Party.
- Stolpe, Manfred (1936–): German protestant leader, politician. In 1962–1969 head of the Secretariat of the Conference of Governing Bodies of the Protestant Churches in the GDR, in 1969–1981 head of the Secretariat of the Federation of Protestant Churches. In 1982–1989 deputy chairman of the Federation of Protestant Churches. In July 1990 joined the SPD. In 1990–2002 prime minister of Brandenburg, in 2002–2005 federal minister of transport, construction, and urban affairs.
- Straub, F. [Ferenc] Brunó (1914–1996): Hungarian biochemist. In 1970–1978 director general of the Biological Research Centre in Szeged, in 1978–1986 director of the Institute for Enzymology at the same institution. In 1985–1990 president of the Committee for Settlement Development and Environment Protection of the Parliament. In 1988–1989 chairman of the Hungarian Presidential Council. From 1946 corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, from 1949 regular member, in 1967–1973 and 1985–1990 vice-president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.
- Štrougal, Lubomír (1924–): Czechoslovakian politician. In 1959–1961 minister of agriculture, in 1961–1965 minister of interior, in 1970–1988 prime minister. In 1965–1970 secretary of the CC of the CPC, in 1968–1988 member of the Presidium of the CC. Expelled from the party in 1990.
- Tarasov, Artyom Mikhailovich (1950–2017): Soviet and Russian businessman and politician of Armenian origin. He was the first officially declared millionaire of the Soviet Union in 1989. He initiated the Progress dating agency, which was closed down within a week by the authorities in Moscow despite its evident popularity.
- Tito, Josip Broz (1892–1980): Yugoslav politician. In 1937–1952 general secretary of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, in 1952–1966 general secretary and 1966–1980 chairman of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. In 1945–1953 prime minister, in 1953–1974 president, in 1974–1980 president for life of Yugoslavia.

- Tomášek, František (1899–1992): Czech Catholic prelate. From 1976 cardinal, in 1977–1991 archbishop of Prague.
- Trenchev, Konstantin Nikolov (1955–): Bulgarian politician and syndicalist, originally doctor. In 1989 imprisoned for more than a hundred days because of his protest against the government policy of forced assimilation of the Turkish minority. In February 1989 he established the Independent Confederation of Labor – Podkrepa (a trade union), which seceded from the SDS (Union of Democratic Forces – UDF) in 1991.
- Tretyak, Ivan Moiseyevich (1923–2007): Soviet military commander. In 1967–1976 commander of the Belarusian Military District, in 1976–1984 commander of the troops in the Far East, in 1986–1991 deputy minister of defense, in 1987–1991 commander of the Soviet air forces. In 1976–1990 member of the CC of the CPSU.
- Tuđman, Franjo (1922–1999): Croatian–Yugoslav historian and politician. In 1972 he was imprisoned because of his participation in the “Croatian Spring” reform movement. In June 1989–December 1990 president of the Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ), in May–July 1990 chairman of the Presidium of the Croatian Socialist Republic, in July–December 1990 president of the Presidium of the Republic of Croatia, in 1990–1999 first president of Croatia.
- Tusk, Donald Franciszek (1957–): Polish politician of Kashubian and German origin. Co-founder of the Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD), which later united with the Democratic Union (UD) creating the Freedom Union (Unia Wolności). In 2001 co-founder of the Civic Platform. In 2007–2014 prime minister, from 2014 president of the European Council. His political views are a mixture of liberal market economy (freedom from state intervention) and social conservatism.
- Tymiński, Stanisław (1948–): Canadian businessman and politician of Polish origin. He became famous just before the presidential elections of 1990, when he reached the second position in the first round of the elections, forcing Wałęsa to run for the second round. In 1990–1995 leader of the X Party founded by himself, which obtained three seats in the *Sejm* in the parliamentary elections of 1991.
- Urbánek, Karel (1941–): Czechoslovakian politician. From 1984 leader of Municipal Affairs Committee in the CPC, from 1986 member of the CC. In November–December 1989 last general secretary of the CPC. He eliminated the clause of the Constitution that gave the CPC a monopoly of power.
- Väljas, Vaino (1931–): Soviet–Estonian politician. In 1963–1967 chair of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR, in 1988–1990 first secretary of the Communist Party of the Estonian SSR, in 1990–1995 chair of the Estonian Democratic Labor Party.
- Varennikov, Valentin Ivanovich (1923–2009): Soviet military officer and politician. From 1979 deputy chief of staff, one of the planners and leaders of the war against Afghanistan, and the personal representative of the Soviet defense minister in Kabul. In 1989 commander of land forces and deputy minister of defense. Participated in the unsuccessful coup d'état against Gorbachev in August 1991.
- Vllasi, Azem (1948–): Albanian politician and jurist in Kosovo. From 1974 chair of League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia (reelected with the support of Tito). In 1980 he publicly criticized Enver Hoxha and his Albanian regime. Member of the CC of the LCY, from 1986 leader of the League of Communists of Kosovo and President of Kosovo. In November 1988 he was removed from his position during the “antibureaucratic revolution” initiated by Milošević, in 1989 he was arrested (released in April 1990).

- Vorotnikov, Vitaly Ivanovich (1926–2012): Soviet politician. In 1983–1988 chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR, in 1988–1990 chair of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR. In 1971–1990 member of the CC of the CPSU, in 1983–1990 member of the PB.
- Wałęsa, Lech (1943–): Polish politician, originally electrician. In August 1980 leader of the strike in the Lenin Shipyard in Gdańsk, signed the Gdańsk Agreement. In 1980–1990 chairperson of Solidarity. Interned in 1981 after the declaration of martial law, and in 1983–1990 worked again as an electrician. In 1987–1990 chair of the Provisional Executive Committee of the Solidarity Trade Union, in February–April 1990 co-chair of the round table negotiations, in 1990–1995 president of Poland.
- Wörner, Manfred (1934–1994): German politician (FRG). In 1965–1988 member of the Bundestag (CDU), in 1976–1980 chairman of the Committee for Defense, in 1980–1982 deputy chair of the CDU/CSU, in 1982–1988 minister of defense. Supported strong alliance with the USA, in 1988–1994 secretary general of NATO (the first German in this position).
- Wozniak, Konrad Marian (1936–1996): Polish politician and economist. From 1960 member of the PUWP, from 1981 member of the CC, in 1981–1988 secretary of the CC, in 1982–1985 first secretary of the PUWP in the Warsaw Committee, in 1982–1988 member of the PB, in 1988–1990 ambassador in Beijing.
- Yakovlev, Aleksandr Nikolayevich (1923–2005): Soviet politician and historian. In 1985–1986 head of the Propaganda Department of the CC, in 1986–1990 member of the Secretariat, in 1987–1990 member of the PB. One of the major advisors of Gorbachev, initiator of his reforms. He was the first Soviet politician to publicly acknowledge the existence of the secret protocols of the 1939 Ribbentrop–Molotov Pact with Nazi Germany in December 1989.
- Yanayev, Gennady Ivanovich (1937–2010): Soviet politician. In April–July 1990 chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. In December 1990–August 1991 deputy president of the Soviet Union. In August 1991 he participated in the coup d'état against Gorbachev, declaring himself acting president of the Soviet Union. After its failure he was arrested. In July 1990–January 1991 member of the PB of the CPSU, and secretary of the CC.
- Yazov, Dmitry Timofeevich (1924–): Soviet military officer. From 1944 member of the CPSU. In 1984–1987 commander of the Far East Military District, from January 1987 deputy defense minister for four months, 1987–1991 defense minister. In August 1991 participated in the coup d'état against Gorbachev.
- Yeltsin, Boris Nikolayevich (1931–2007): Soviet–Russian politician. From 1961 member of the CPSU, from 1985 member of the CC, from 1986 secretary of the CC, in 1985–1987 first secretary of the CPSU in the Moscow Committee, in 1986–1987 candidate member of the PB. In July 1990 left the party. Soon he was elected to the Congress of the Peoples' Deputies. From May 29, 1990 chairman of the Congress, in 1991–1999 the first elected president of Russian Federation.
- Zhelev, Zhelyu Mitev (1935–2015): Bulgarian philosopher and politician. In 1958 his MA thesis was rejected for political reasons, in 1965 he was expelled from the University of Sofia and excluded from the BCP. In 1966–1972 he lived in a village in internal exile. In 1974–1982 worked for the Cultural Institute. A leader of the Bulgarian antitotalitarian movement, in 1989 a founder of the Club for Glasnost and Democracy. In December 1989 he created the Union of Democratic Forces from the numerous groups in opposition. After the regime change he became the leader of the united opposition, in 1990–1997 president of Bulgaria.
- Zhivkov, Todor Hristov (1911–1998): Bulgarian politician. In 1954–1989 first secretary of the BCP, in 1962–1971 prime minister, in 1971–1989 chairman of the State Council (head of state).

List of Abbreviations

- ACHAN: Allied Command Channel
ACLANT: Allied Command Atlantic
AMAE: French, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères
ASSR: Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics
BCP: Bulgarian Communist Party
BSP: Bulgarian Socialist Party
BZNS / BANU: Bulgarian, Balgarski Zemedelski Narodni Sajuz [BANU: Bulgarian Agrarian National Union]
CC: Central Committee
CDU: German, Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands [Christian Democratic Union]
CFE: Conventional Armed Forces in Europe
COMECON, CMEA, CEMA, or CAME: Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
CPC: Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [Czech, KSČ: Komunistická strana Československa]
CPSU: Communist Party of the Soviet Union [Russian KPSS: Kommunisticheskaya Partiya Sovetskogo Soyuz]a]
CPUN: Romanian, Consiliul Provizoriu de Uniune Națională [Provisional Council of National Unity]
CSCE: Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe
CSU: German, Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern [Christian Social Union in Bavaria]
CUSRPG: Canada-US Regional Planning Group
DBD: German, Demokratische Bauernpartei Deutschlands [Democratic Peasant Party of Germany]
DEMOS: Slovenian, Demokratična opozicija Slovenije [Democratic Opposition of Slovenia]
DP: Democratic Party
DPS: Bulgarian, Turkish, Dvizhenie za Prava i Svobodi; Hak ve Özgürlükler Hareketi [MRF: Movement for Rights and Freedoms]
EC: European Communities
ECOSOC: Economic and Social Council
EEC: European Economic Community
FDJ: German, Freie Deutsche Jugend [Free German Youth]
FIDESZ: Hungarian, Fiatal Demokraták Szövetsége [Alliance of Young Democrats]
FSN: Romanian, Frontul Salvării Naționale [NSF: National Salvation Front]
GATT: General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

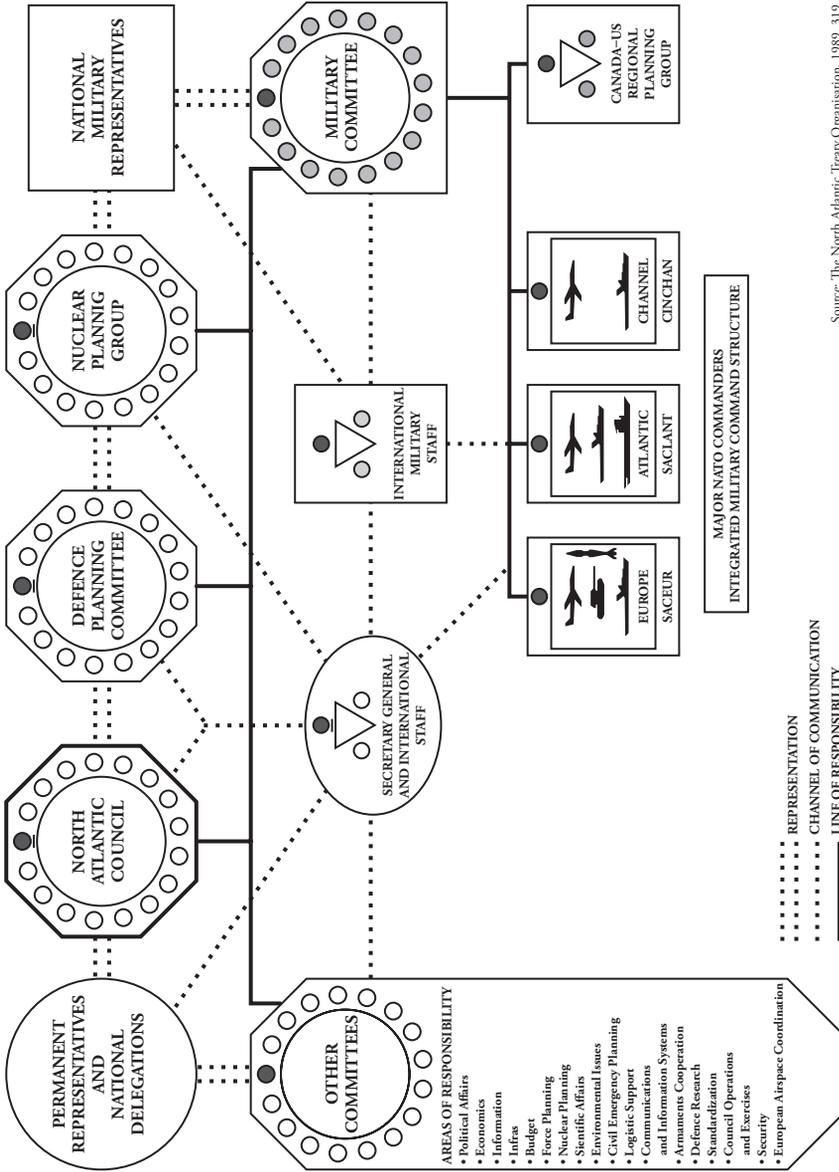
- GDP: gross domestic product
- GDR: German Democratic Republic [Deutsche Demokratische Republik, DDR]
- GNP: Gross National Product
- GRU: Russian, Glavnoe razvedivatelnoe upravlenie [Main Intelligence Directorate – Military Secret Service]
- HDZ: Croatian, Hrvatska demokratska zajednica [Croatian Democratic Union]
- HSP: Hungarian Socialist Party [Hungarian, Magyar Szocialista Párt]
- HSWP: Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [Hungarian, MSZMP: Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt]
- IMF: International Monetary Fund
- INF: Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces
- ITU: International Telecommunication Union
- JNA: Serbo-Croatian, Jugoslovenska Narodna Armija [Yugoslavian Peoples' Army]
- KDH: Slovakian, Kresťanskodemokratické Hnutie [CDM: Christian Democratic Movement]
- KGB: Russian, Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti [Committee for State Security]
- KGD: Bulgarian, Klub za gласnost i demokraciya [Club for Glasnost' and Democracy]
- KLD: Polish, Kongres Liberalno-Demokratyczny [Liberal Democratic Congress]
- KOR: Polish, Komitet Obrony Robotników [Workers' Defense Committee]
- LCY: League of Communists of Yugoslavia
- LDPD: German, Liberal-Demokratische Partei Deutschlands [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany]
- MDF: Hungarian, Magyar Demokrata Fórum [Hungarian Democratic Forum]
- MDP: Hungarian, Magyar Dolgozók Pártja [Hungarian Workers' Party]
- MKP: Hungarian, Magyar Kommunista Párt [Hungarian Communist Party]
- MNL OL: Hungarian, Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára [National Archives of Hungary]
- MSZMP: Hungarian, Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party]
- MSZP: Hungarian, Magyar Szocialista Párt [Hungarian Socialist Party]
- MTA: Hungarian, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia [HAS: Hungarian Academy of Sciences]
- MVD: Russian, Ministerstvo Vnutrennikh Del [Ministry of Internal Affairs, SU, Russia]
- NA: NATO Archives
- NAC: North Atlantic Council
- NACC: North Atlantic Coordinating Council
- NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
- NDPD: German, National-Demokratische Partei Deutschlands [National Democratic Party of Germany, East Germany]
- NKT–Podkrepa: Bulgarian, Nezavisima konfederatsiya na truda – podkrepa [Independent confederation of labor – ‚Podkrepa’]
- NKVd: Russian, Narodniy Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del [Peoples' Commissariat for Internal Affairs]

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- NSDAP: German, Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National Socialist German Workers' Party).
- NSWP [countries]: Non-Soviet Warsaw Pact [countries]
- NZS: Polish, Niezależny Związek (Zrzeszenie) Studentów [Independent Students' Union]
- ODS: Czech, Občanská Demokratická Strana [Civic Democratic Party]
- OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
- OIC: Organization of the Islamic Conference
- OPZZ: Polish, Ogólnopolskie Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych [All-Polish Agreement of Trade Unions]
- OSCE: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
- PB: Political Bureau, Politburo
- PC: Polish, Porozumienie Centrum [Centre Agreement]
- PC: Political Committee [a NATO committee]
- PGU: Russian, Pervoe glavnoe upravlenie [First Chief Directorate, KGB]
- PIB: Hungarian, Politikai Intéző Bizottság [PEC: Political Executive Committee]
- PNȚCD: Romanian, Partidul Național Țărănesc Creștin Democrat [Christian Democratic National Peasants' Party]
- POC: Polish, Porozumienie Obywatelskie Centrum [Center Civic Alliance]
- PPSH: Albanian, Partia e Punës e Shqipërisë [Party of Labor of Albania]
- PRK: People's Republic of Kampuchea [khmer, Sathéaranakràth Pracheameanit Kâmpŭchéa]
- PSD: Romanian, Partidul Social Democrat [Social Democratic Party, Romania]
- PSL: Polish, Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe [Polish People's Party; traditionally translated as Polish Peasants' Party]
- PUWP: Polish United Workers' Party [Polish, PZPR: Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza]
- RCP: Romanian Communist Party [Romanian, PCR: Partidul Comunist Român]
- RETÖRKI: Hungarian, Rendszerváltás Történetét Kutató Intézet és Archivum [Research Institute and Archives for the History of Regime Change]
- RFE: Radio Free Europe
- RMDSZ: Hungarian, Romániai Magyar Demokrata Szövetség [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania]
- ROAD: Polish, Ruch Obywatelski Akcja Demokratyczna [Citizens' Movement for Democratic Action]
- RSFSR: Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic
- RSSR: Russian Soviet Socialist Republic
- SDA: Croatian, Stranka Demokratske Akcije [Party of Democratic Action of Croatia]
- SDP: Slovene, Stranka demokratične prenovе [Party of Democratic Change]
- SDS: Bulgarian, Sayuz na Demokratichnite Sili [UDF: Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)]
- SED: German, Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands [SUPG: Socialist Unity Party of Germany, East Germany]

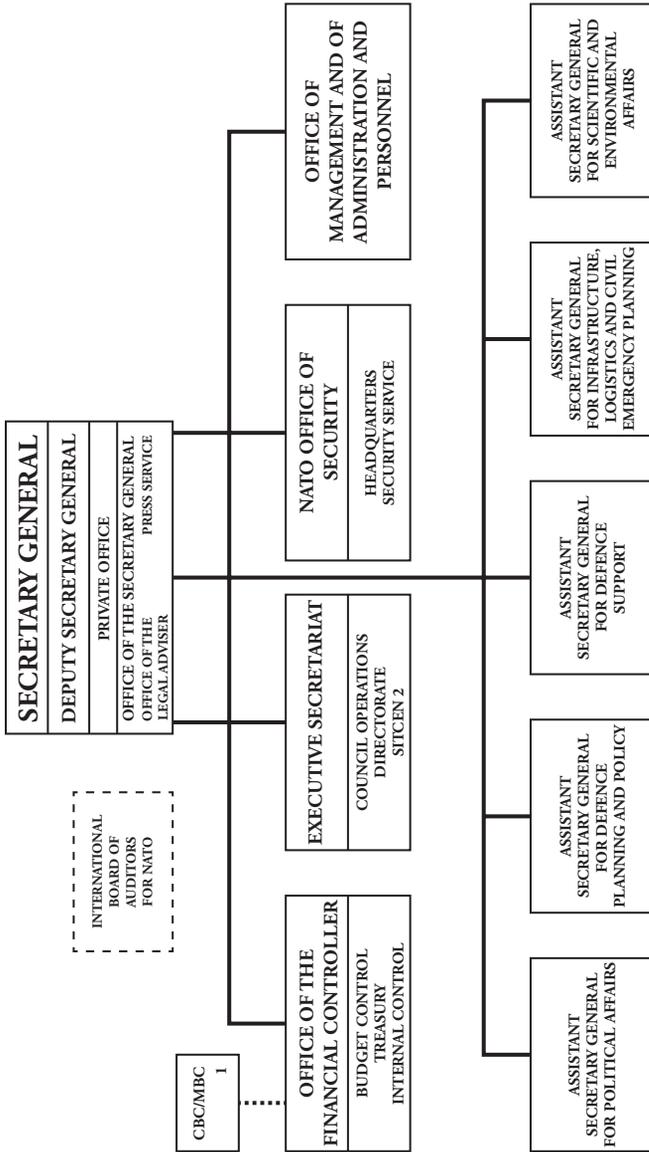
SFSR: Soviet Federative Socialist Republic
SHAPE: Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe
SPD: German, Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands [Social Democratic Party of Germany]
SSR: Soviet Socialist Republic
StB: Czech, Státní bezpečnost [State Security]
SZBK: Hungarian, Szegedi Biológiai Központ [Biological Research Centre, Szeged]
SZDSZ: Hungarian, Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége [AFD: Alliance of Free Democrats]
UD: Polish, Unia Demokratyczna [Democratic Union]
UNCHR: United Nations Commission on Human Rights
UNDP: United Nations Development Programme
UNITA: Portuguese, União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]
UN(O): United Nations (Organization)
UNGA: United Nations General Assembly
UPP: United People's Party [Polish, Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe]
URP: Ukrainian, Ukrainiska Respublikanska Partiya [Ukrainian Republican Party]
USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
UW: Polish, Unia Wolności [Freedom Union]
VONS: Czech, Výbor na obranu nespravedlivě stíhaných [Committee for the Defense of Unjustly Prosecuted]
VPN: Slovak, Verejnost' proti násiliu [Public Against Violence]
WEU: Western European Union
WMD: weapons of mass destruction
WP: Warsaw Pact, formally known as the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance
ZKS: Slovene, Zveza komunistov Slovenije [LCS: League of Communists of Slovenia]

NATO'S CIVIL AND MILITARY STRUCTURE



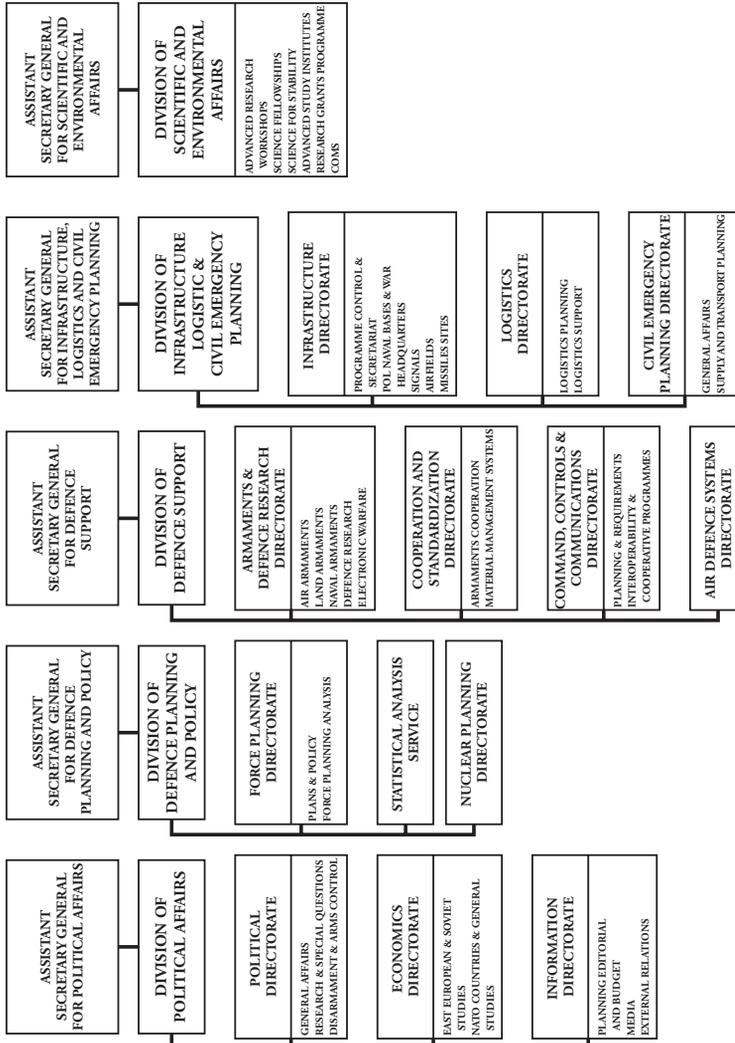
Source: The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 1989, 319.

NATO INTERNATIONAL STAFF



1 Office of the Chairman of the Civil Budget Committee and of the Military Budget Committee
 2 Under the daily supervision of the Director, International Military Staff

DIVISIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF



Source: The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 1989, 3, 29.

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Summary

A View from Brussels

Secret NATO Reports about the East European Transition
1988–1991

“It is not easy to predict the future course of events, which will depend to a large extent on the overall political situation in the USSR” is the cautious evaluation of the confidential expert report for the North Atlantic Council in October 1989. In 1988–1991, the relationship was fundamentally transformed between the Western alliance system led by the United States and the East European socialist bloc dominated by the Soviet Union. The military, political, cultural and ideological confrontation – with the weakening of Moscow and the collapse of its empire – was replaced during a few months by a new type of cooperation of the parties separated previously by the Iron Curtain. The eight reports (formerly classified confidential) from the NATO Archives, published in the present volume for the first time in English, illuminate the East European events of these four eventful years from the perspective of expert advisors of the alliance.

The analysis of the situation in the Soviet Union and its allies in Central and Eastern Europe had by 1988 a decades-long tradition in NATO. The Working Group on Trends of Soviet Policy, which was established by the decision of the North Atlantic Council of October 8, 1952, prepared its reports for the sessions of the foreign ministers of the NATO Council. Its activity was taken over on January 1957 by the Political Committee, which was formed originally as the Committee of Political Advisers at the proposal of the Committee of Three established for the reform of the alliance. There were five experts’ working groups belonging to this committee, among them those that examined the trends of Soviet policy and the East European satellite states.

In the elaboration of these analyses about the Soviet Union and the other states of the Soviet bloc a great role was played by the preliminary studies of the national diplomatic organs and the consultative discussions of the experts delegated by the individual states. In the spirit of the decision-making principles of NATO, the purpose of these meetings was to build a consensus. Most of the delegated experts worked in the sections of their respective foreign ministries that dealt with Eastern Europe and/or the Soviet Union.

I found four documents in the Archives of the French Foreign Ministry in which the French participants of the working group reported on the course of these

sessions. On the basis of these reports we can form an idea about the nature of these debates as well as about the methods of analysis employed in the experts' reports. While the reports' conclusions reflected a consensus, sharp disagreements often surfaced during the discussions. For instance, in the course of the meeting of March 1988 the West German expert forcefully requested that a statement from the British draft be removed from the final text according to which the Brezhnev doctrine still was valid in the relations of the Soviet Union and the allied states, and that therefore Moscow might still intervene if some of the East-European communist regimes were threatened by a sudden collapse. But the French delegation, supported by the American and British experts, spoke out against deleting the sentences in question.

The published papers reveal how the situation in the Soviet bloc was evaluated by the foreign ministries of the NATO powers in 1988–1991 on the basis of their internal documentation, the consultations in NATO and among each of the foreign ministries, and other sources. But it should be emphasized that the NATO states, that is, the United States, Great Britain, France and Germany, that played a key role in the elaboration of these reports did not share all available information with their allies. They prepared the summaries for the ministerial sessions of the North Atlantic Council, occurring twice a year. These documents, which review the previous six months of the Soviet bloc, represent an excellent source on the views about Eastern Europe in the important decision-making centres of NATO in a given period.

The eight experts' reports give a comprehensive overview about an Eastern Europe that was experiencing cataclysmic changes in this period. In the reports the summary and the main conclusions are usually included in the introduction. The first chapters generally describe the shaping of Soviet domestic and foreign policy. The parts exploring the situation of the allied states are presenting in the order of importance ascribed to them by the experts, and focusing on the issues considered to be most pressing. Although they were not parts of the Soviet bloc in that period, the analyses examining "Eastern Europe" reported, as in the past, on communist Albania and on Yugoslavia, which was sinking into an increasingly serious crisis in that period.

The introductory essay portrays the relationship of the North Atlantic Alliance and Eastern Europe in the period covered by the documents. The study illuminates the working principles of NATO. It analyses the sweeping changes in the alliance. Lastly, it exposes the circumstances of the origin of the published papers, referring to the antecedents of the experts' work dealing with Eastern Europe that dates back to the 1950's. The documents section presents the reports in chronological order, annotated with explanations in footnotes. The Appendix contains biographical notes, a list of abbreviations, and figures about the structure of the political and military organizations of NATO.

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“It is not easy to predict the future course of events, which will depend to a large extent on the overall political situation in the USSR” is the cautious evaluation of the confidential expert report for the North Atlantic Council in October 1989. In 1988-1991, the relationship was fundamentally transformed between the Western alliance system led by the United States and the East European socialist bloc dominated by the Soviet Union. The military, political, cultural, and ideological confrontation – with the weakening of Moscow and the collapse of its empire – was replaced during a few months by a new type of cooperation of the parties separated previously by the Iron Curtain. The eight reports from the NATO Archives (formerly classified confidential), published in the present volume for the first time in English, illuminate the East European events of these four eventful years from the perspective of expert advisors of the alliance. How were these dramatic changes in Eastern Europe perceived and interpreted in Brussels?

