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CONTROLS

C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 05761

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TEXT

TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, PINR, PINS, YO  
SUBJECT: ETHNIC RELATIONS IN KOSOVO AND MACEDONIA

REF: (A) BELGRADE 4189, (B) BELGRADE 3956

1. C-ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: SINCE HIS LAST VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA IN THE SPRING OF 1986, ALBANIAN-SPEAKING AMERICAN PROFESSOR MR. MIRVET MUCA NOTICES A DECREASE IN INTER-ETHNIC TENSIONS IN KOSOVO, BUT A MARKED INCREASE IN MACEDONIA. IN MUCA'S VIEW, KOSOVO HAS ON HAND A CROP OF YOUNG, DYNAMIC, CONFIDENT ETHNIC ALBANIAN POLITICAL LEADERS, WITH AZEM VLASI AT THE HEAD, WHO REPRESENT A CLEAR DEPARTURE FROM THE OLD-STYLE LEADERSHIP OF SINAN HASANI AND KOLJ SIROKA. THESE LEADERS, HOWEVER, ARE UNDER STRONG PRESSURE FROM BELGRADE WHICH REPORTEDLY INSTALLED THE NEW KOSOVO PARTY LEADER KACUSA JASURI. VLASI ENJOYS WIDE SUPPORT AMONG ETHNIC ALBANIANS GENERALLY, HE REPORTS, WHILE SERBIAN LEADER MILOSEVIC IS DESCRIBED AS "HATED" BY ALBANIANS. IN MACEDONIA, THE RAPIDLY GROWING ETHNIC ALBANIAN POPULATION IS FACING STRONG PRESSURE BY AN INCREASINGLY

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FEARFUL MACEDONIAN LEADERSHIP AND POPULATION. MUCA SAYS THAT, IN SOME PARTS OF MACEDONIA, ALBANIANS FEEL SO DISADVANTAGED THAT THEY BELIEVE THEY HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE. IN MUCA'S VIEW, THE SITUATION IS EXPLOSIVE AND A SPARK COULD SET IT OFF. MUCA'S VIEWS ARE PROBABLY COLORED BY HIS PRO-ALBANIAN SYMPATHIES, AND WE ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO CONFIRM EVERYTHING HE SAYS. STILL, HIS COMMENTS PROVIDE AN INTRIGUING INSIGHT INTO THE VIEWS OF ALBANIANS IN YUGOSLAVIA THAT IS DIFFICULT FOR NON-ALBANIAN SPEAKERS TO OBTAIN. END SUMMARY.

BIOGRAPHIC NOTES  
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3. ON JUNE 3, MR. MIRVET MUCA (PROTECT) MET WITH EMBOFFS TO OFFER HIS COMMENTS ON ETHNIC RELATIONS IN KOSOVO PROVINCE AND THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA, BASED ON HIS OBSERVATIONS DURING A VISIT TO THOSE REGIONS IN LATE MAY-EARLY JUNE. NOW A U.S. CITIZEN, MUCA FLED ALBANIA AS A YOUNG MAN, IN THE LATE 1950'S, AND SPENT SEVERAL YEARS IN SKOPJE, MACEDONIA, AS A STUDENT. DURING THAT PERIOD, HE SAID, HE WAS ARRESTED SEVERAL TIMES - ONCE FOR POSSESSION OF A BOOK BY MILOVAN DJILAS, ANOTHER TIME ON SUSPICION OF CONNECTIONS WITH THE ALBANIAN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE. SOMETIME AFTER HIS LAST ARREST, HE ESCAPED WITH FELLOW PRISONERS, MADE HIS WAY TO AUSTRIA, AND EVENTUALLY REACHED THE UNITED STATES. HE NOW TEACHES AT PACE UNIVERSITY IN NEW YORK, IS WORKING ON A PH.D. (HE SPECIALIZES IN YUGOSLAV-ALBANIAN FOREIGN RELATIONS), AND TOGETHER WITH HIS WIFE OWNS A CLEANING SERVICE IN CONNECTICUT WHICH EMPLOYS A NUMBER OF ALBANIANS. HE HAS RETURNED TO YUGOSLAVIA SEVERAL TIMES IN RECENT YEARS, AND HAS ENCOUNTERED NO DIFFICULTIES IN DOING SO. FROM TALKING WITH HIM, IT IS CLEAR THAT HE REMAINS INTERESTED IN THE STATUS OF ETHNIC ALBANIANS IN YUGOSLAVIA. IN HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH US, AT LEAST, MUCA DID NOT DISPLAY ANY SYMPATHY FOR ALBANIAN SEPARATIST ACTIVITIES. ALTHOUGH IT IS CLEAR WHERE HIS SYMPATHIES FALL IN THE SERB-ALBANIAN DISPUTE, HE IS SUFFICIENTLY OBJECTIVE TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THERE HAVE BEEN INSTANCES OF ALBANIAN HARASSMENT OF SERBS IN KOSOVO.

KOSOVO  
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4. COMPARED TO HIS LAST VISIT TO KOSOVO IN THE SPRING OF 1986, MUCA REMARKED TO EMBOFFS, THERE IS LESS TENSION IN KOSOVO NOW. HE SAID THAT HE SAW MORE PEOPLE OF SERBIAN AND ALBANIAN BACKGROUND MIXING FREELY IN THE STREETS AND CAFES. MUCA, WHO SPEAKS ALBANIAN, SERBO-CROATIAN AND ENGLISH, SAID HE

CONFIDENTIAL

ALSO SAW MORE INSTANCES WHERE PEOPLE WERE USING BOTH LANGUAGES IN ONE GROUP. ALBANIAN MUSIC CAN BE HEARD OVER LOUD-SPEAKERS, WHICH WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE TWO YEARS AGO, AND ACCORDING TO MUCA, STILL CAN BE THE CAUSE FOR ARREST IN MACEDONIA. HE SAT IN ON A COURSE ON MARXISM AT PRISTINA UNIVERSITY TAUGHT BY A FRIEND AND OBSERVED--  
C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 05 BELGRADE 05761

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, PINR, PINS, YO  
SUBJECT: ETHNIC RELATIONS IN KOSOVO AND MACEDONIA

TO HIS SURPRISE--SERBIAN STUDENTS ATTENDING AND PARTICIPATING IN THE CLASS, WHICH WAS TAUGHT IN ALBANIAN. IT IS HIS UNDERSTANDING, HOWEVER, THAT SUCH A CLASSROOM SITUATION IS THE EXCEPTION RATHER THAN THE RULE. COMMENT: MUCA'S 1986 VISIT TO KOSOVO CAME WHEN TENSIONS WERE RUNNING HIGH IN THE PROVINCE. KOSOVO SERBS HAD JUST CONDUCTED THE FIRST OF SEVERAL MASS MARCHES ON BELGRADE, AND SHORTLY THEREAFTER, ONE OF THEIR LEADERS WAS ARRESTED BRIEFLY. LATER, AT THE END OF JUNE, AT THE TIME OF THE 13TH CONGRESS OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA (LCY), ANOTHER MARCH ON BELGRADE WAS STOPPED FORCIBLY IN KOSOVO BEFORE IT GOT UNDER WAY. END COMMENT.

5. MUCA TOLD EMBOFFS THAT, DURING A TEN-DAY VISIT TO KOVOSO, HE SPOKE AT LENGTH WITH MANY ETHNIC ALBANIAN POLITICIANS AND INTELLECTUALS. IN HIS OPINION, THE ALBANIAN INTELLECTUALS ARE BEGINNING TO BE MORE WILLING TO VOICE THEIR VIEWS IN PUBLIC. AS EXAMPLES, HE CITED THE PUBLIC REMARKS BY ALBANIAN WRITER REDZEP COSJA AT THE APRIL MEETING IN BELGRADE OF SERBIAN AND ALBANIAN WRITERS. (COMMENT: THE MEETING IN QUESTION WAS SPONSORED BY THE SERBIAN WRITERS' ASSOCIATION ON THE THEME, "SERBS AND ALBANIANS IN YUGOSLAVIA TODAY." AS REPORTED IN THE BELGRADE NEWS MAGAZINE NIN, COSJA SPOKE AT THAT MEETING OF AN "ANTI-ALBANIAN PSYCHOSIS" IN YUGOSLAVIA, ABOUT THE EXISTENCE OF A SERB-MACEDONIAN-MONTENEGRIN "AGREEMENT" TO TAKE A HARD LINE AGAINST ALBANIANS IN YUGOSLAVIA, AND OF WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS THE POOR LIVING AND EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS OF ALBANIANS IN KOSOVO RELATIVE TO THE KOSOVO SERBS. END COMMENT.)

6. MR. MUCA ALSO MENTIONED MEETING WITH THE ALBANIAN DIRECTOR OF THE KOSOVO ARCHIVES, WHO HAS A BOOK COMING OUT SOON ON THE "FORCED EMIGRATION" OF ALBANIANS FROM KOSOVO TO TURKEY IN THE 1957-64 PERIOD. AS MUCA NOTED, THAT WAS DURING THE PERIOD WHEN ALEKSANDAR RANKOVIC RAN THE YUGOSLAV INTERNAL SECURITY APPARATUS. IN MUCA'S VIEW (PERHAPS PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF THE FACT

CONFIDENTIAL

THAT RANKOVIC IS FAVORABLY REMEMBERED BY MANY SERBS FOR HIS TOUGH POLICY TOWARDS ALBANIANS IN KOSOVO), PUBLICATION OF THIS BOOK COULD CAUSE A SENSATION IN YUGOSLAVIA. HE ALSO NOTED THAT THE BOOK REPORTS INSTANCES WHEN KURT WALDHEIM PARTICIPATED IN OR WAS AWARE OF NAZI ATROCITIES ON KOSOVO TERRITORY. THE ARCHIVE DIRECTOR TOLD MUCA THAT DOCUMENTATION ON THE LATTER IS ALSO AVAILABLE IN FILES IN THE U.S.

THE HORVAT BOOK  
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7. MUCA NOTED FURTHER THAT ALBANIAN INTELLECTUALS "REALLY LIKE" SOME OF THE THESES PROPOUNDED BY ZAGREB ECONOMIST BRANKO HORVAT IN HIS RECENTLY PUBLISHED, CONTROVERSIAL BOOK, "THE KOSOVO QUESTION." HE EXPLAINED THAT SOME ALBANIANS ARE NOT NECESSARILY INTERESTED IN HORVAT'S ADVOCACY OF REPUBLIC STATUS FOR KOSOVO, BUT WELCOME HIS OTHER POINTS ON THE NEED TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE REGION AND TO PROVIDE BETTER CONDITIONS FOR ALBANIANS ELSEWHERE IN YUGOSLAVIA. IN PARTICULAR, HE CITED HORVAT'S CRITICISM OF THE FACT THAT THE 15,000 ALBANIANS LIVING IN ZAGREB HAVE NO ALBANIAN-LANGUAGE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AVAILABLE. MUCA SAID HE MET ALSO WITH THE RILINDJA JOURNALIST, VETON SURROI, WHOSE INTERVIEW WITH HORVAT IN THAT NEWSPAPER (THUS GIVING THE HORVAT THESES WIDE PUBLICITY IN ALBANIAN) CAUSED SUCH A RUCKUS IN APRIL. ACCORDING TO MUCA, SURROI IS UNAPOLOGETIC FOR HIS CONTROVERSIAL ACTION. SURROI DEFENDED HIMSELF ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE HORVAT BOOK WAS, BY THE TIME OF HIS INTERVIEW, ALREADY PUBLISHED; THAT PORTIONS OF IT HAD BEEN CARRIED IN "START" MAGAZINE; AND THAT IT WAS THUS A NEWSWORTHY EVENT. "WHY NOT?" SAID SURROI.

8. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION, MUCA SAID THAT FEW ALBANIANS CARE DEEPLY ABOUT REPUBLIC STATUS FOR KOSOVO, AND THAT ALMOST NONE WANT SEPARATION FROM YUGOSLAVIA AND ALLIANCE WITH ALBANIA.  
C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 05 BELGRADE 05761

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, PINR, PINS, YO  
SUBJECT: ETHNIC RELATIONS IN KOSOVO AND MACEDONIA

MUCA ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE ARE A FEW EXTREMISTS, WHO WOULD SEEK SECESSION FROM YUGOSLAVIA IN ORDER TO FORM A "GREATER ALBANIA." BUT THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE FOR ALBANIANS IN YUGOSLAVIA, HE SAID, IS IMPROVED ECONOMIC CONDITIONS. IF THE ECONOMIC SITUATION WERE BETTER, IF THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM (ESPECIALLY AMONG THE YOUTH) COULD BE SOLVED,

CONFIDENTIAL

THEN THERE WOULD BE NO TALK OF A "KOSOVO REPUBLIC." MUCA MAINTAINED. HE ADDED THAT MOST ALBANIANS HE SPOKE TO ARE CONVINCED THAT THE GREATEST DANGER IN KOSOVO TODAY COMES FROM SERBIAN PRESSURE. HE SAID ALBANIANS RESENT WHAT THEY VIEW AS "SERBIAN CHAUVINISM," AND BELIEVE THAT IF IT IS NOT STOPPED THE CRISIS IN KOSOVO COULD WORSEN. ALBANIANS PARTICULARLY RESENT THE LINKS THEY BELIEVE THE KOSOVAR SERBS HAVE ESTABLISHED WITH BELGRADE. HE DESCRIBED SERBIAN PARTY CHIEF SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC AS "HATED" BY ALBANIANS IN KOSOVO, WHO CALL HIM "ANOTHER RANKOVIC." MUCA SAID KOSOVO ALBANIANS ARE ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THE IMPROVEMENT IN OFFICIAL YUGOSLAV-ALBANIAN RELATIONS SINCE THE FEBRUARY BALKAN CONFERENCE.

AZEM VLASI  
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9. SPEAKING OF THE KOSOVO POLITICAL SCENE GENERALLY, MUCA IDENTIFIED AZEM VLASI (WITH WHOM HE REPORTEDLY SPOKE ON THE PHONE), WHO JUST RELINQUISHED THE POSITION OF KOSOVO PARTY PRESIDENT, AS FAR AND AWAY THE MOST POPULAR AND INFLUENTIAL POLITICIAN AMONG ALBANIANS. HE REPORTS THAT ALBANIANS IN MACEDONIA WELCOMED VLASI'S REMARKS IN SPLIT EARLIER THIS YEAR (BELGRADE 3667) WHEN HE SAID THAT ALBANIANS IN MACEDONIA ARE "PERSECUTED" AND THEY ADMIRE VLASI AS SOMEONE STANDING UP FOR THEIR INTERESTS. MUCA SEES VLASI AS THE LEADER OF A GROUP OF YOUNG, DYNAMIC, CONFIDENT EHTNIC ALBANIAN POLITICIANS WHICH INCLUDES REMZI KOLJGECI (NOW PRESIDENT OF KOSOVO PROVINCE) AND, DESPITE HIS MORE ADVANCED YEARS, NEBI GASI (A MEMBER OF THE KOSOVO PRESIDENCY AND OF THE LC-SERBIA CENTRAL COMMITTEE). MUCA SAID VLASI IS UNDER STRONG PRESSURE FROM THE SERBIAN PARTY, BUT THAT VLASI HAS SUPPORT IN OTHER PARTS OF YUGOSLAVIA. HE ASSERTED THAT VLASI IS MARRIED TO A BOSNIAN (NON-ALBANIAN/MOSLEM), WHO IS THE DAUGHTER OF FORMER BOSNIAN LEADER DJEMEL BJEDIC. MUCA SAID THE NEW KOSOVO PARTY PRESIDENT, KACUSA JASARI WAS IMPOSED ON THE KOSOVO PARTY LEADERSHIP BY MILOSEVIC. (SHE HAS A COUSIN ON THE SERBIAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE, MUCA SAID). BELGRADE REPORTEDLY BACKED HER AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE OLD-LINE ALBANIAN POLITICIANS, DEFENDANTS OF THE STATUS QUO--INCLUDING YUGOSLAV FEDERAL PRESIDENCY MEMBER SINAN HASANI AND LCY PRESIDENCY MEMBER KOLJ SIROKA.

10. MUCA SURMISES THAT THE IMPOSITION OF JASARI IS ONE OF A NUMBER OF MOVES AGAINST VLASI, EMANATING FROM BELGRADE, WHICH HAVE KEPT VLASI UNDER TREMENDOUS PRESSURE DURING THE LAST YEAR. MUCA

CONFIDENTIAL

HARKENED BACK TO THE FALL OF 1987, WHEN THE ONCE TOP KOSOVO POLITICO, FADILJ HODZA, WAS DRUMMED OUT OF POWER (1987 BELGRADE 10958). HAD VLASI NOT DEFENDED HIM, HODZA WOULD HAVE BEEN PROSECUTED. ACCORDING TO MUCA, VLASI AND ONE OF THE MACEDONIAN REPRESENTATIVES ON THE LCY PRESIDENCY (MILAN PANCEVSKI, WHO HEADED THE LCY COMMITTEE WHICH INVESTIGATED HODZA) FOUGHT BITTERLY OVER THE HODZA ISSUE LAST FALL (INCLUDING, AT ONE POINT, FISTICUFFS).

11. MUCA TELLS A SIMILAR TALE ABOUT AN EXPLOSIVE VERBAL EXCHANGE THIS SPRING BETWEEN NEBI GASI AND SERBIAN PARTY CHIEF SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC. MUCA DID NOT IDENTIFY THE SUBJECT MATTER, BUT GASI REPORTEDLY TOLD MILOSEVIC, "DON'T TALK TO ME THAT WAY," REMINDING MILOSEVIC THAT HE, GASI, WAS A PARTISAN WHEN MILOSEVIC WAS STILL A CHILD. GASI THEN SUPPOSEDLY PULLED OUT HIS HANDGUN AND PLOPPED IT DOWN ON THE TABLE BETWEEN THEM. (COMMENT: THIS CALLS TO MIND YET ANOTHER SUCH STORY WHICH CIRCULATED EARLY LAST FALL, TO THE EFFECT THAT MILOSEVIC AND VLASI  
C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 05 BELGRADE 05761

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, PINR, PINS, YO  
SUBJECT: ETHNIC RELATIONS IN KOSOVO AND MACEDONIA

HAD ENGAGED IN A HEATED ARGUMENT, IN THE COURSE OF WHICH MILOSEVIC GROSSLY INSULTED VLASI. VLASI REFRAINED FROM RETURNING THE INSULT, BUT SWORE PASSIONATELY TO REMEMBER IT. END COMMENT.)

MACEDONIA  
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12. IN MACEDONIA, BY CONTRAST, MUCA SAID TENSIONS BETWEEN MACEDONIANS AND ALBANIANS ARE MUCH WORSE THAN DURING HIS VISIT TWO YEARS AGO. ALBANIANS, HE SAID, FEEL SERIOUSLY PERSECUTED BY MACEDONIANS. SKOPJE IS CLEARLY DIVIDED BETWEEN THE RELATIVELY MORE AFFLUENT MACEDONIAN SECTION AND THE VERY POOR CONDITIONS IN THE ALBANIAN SECTION. RELATIVES OF HIS, WHO HAVE BEEN RECENTLY OR STILL ARE IN RESPONSIBLE POLITICAL POSITIONS, DESPAIR OF ANY POSSIBILITIES FOR PROGRESS. MUCA BELIEVES THE SITUATION IS DANGEROUS AND COULD LEAD TO OUTBURSTS OF VIOLENCE MUCH MORE READILY IN MACEDONIA THAN WOULD BE THE CASE IN KOSOVO. MUCA SAID THAT TENSIONS ARE PARTICULARLY HIGH IN WESTERN MACEDONIA, IN TOWNS ALONG THE ALBANIAN BORDER SUCH AS TETOVO, GOSTIVAR, AND DEBAR, WHICH HAVE LARGE ALBANIAN POPULATIONS.

CONFIDENTIAL

13. MUCA SPOKE WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO DEBAR, A SMALL TOWN FROM WHICH HE CAN GAZE ACROSS THE BORDER INTO ALBANIA AND IDENTIFY HIS OLD FAMILY HOME. TWO YEARS AGO IN DEBAR, ETHNIC ALBANIANS HELD POSITIONS OF AUTHORITY, SAID MUCA. NOW, AS ELSEWHERE IN WESTERN MACEDONIA, MACEDONIAN MUSLIMS ARE SYSTEMATICALLY BEING CHANNLED INTO SENSITIVE POSITIONS, INCLUDING THE POLICE, 75 PERCENT OF WHOM ARE MACEDONIAN MUSLIMS "HATED" BY THE LOCAL POPULATION. THE TWO GROUPS DO NOT GET ALONG AT ALL, DO NOT EVEN SPEAK TO EACH OTHER. THE NEW POLICE CHIEF IS SAID TO BE A MAN WITH ONLY FOUR YEARS EDUCATION WHO ACTS IN A VERY ARROGANT WAY TO THE LOCAL POPULATION. REPORTEDLY, THE POLICE HAVE CONFISCATED GUNS, EVEN THOSE FOR WHICH THE OWNERS HAD PERMITS--OSTENSIBLY FOR THE PURPOSE OF SAFETY INSPECTION. BUT THE WEAPONS HAVE NOT BEEN RETURNED. THE RESULT OF ALL THIS, SAYS MUCA, IS THAT ALBANIANS IN THIS PART OF MACEDONIA NOW BELIEVE THEY HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE. THE SITUATION IS EXPLOSIVE AND A SPARK COULD SET IT OFF, MUCA CLAIMED.

14. HAVING ONCE SPENT SEVERAL YEARS IN MACEDONIA AS A STUDENT, MUCA LAMENTS THE FACT THAT THE UNIVERSITY IN SKOPJE NO LONGER OFFERS ANY COURSES IN ALBANIAN, AS USED TO BE THE CASE, ALTHOUGH TO A LIMITED EXTENT, IN THE 1950'S AND EARLY 1960'S. MUCA WAS VERY CRITICAL OF THE FACT THAT SO MANY (ABOUT 5,000) ALBANIAN SECONDARY AND UNIVERSITY STUDENTS FROM MACEDONIA HAVE TO GO TO KOSOVO IN ORDER TO AVAIL THEMSELVES OF EDUCATION IN THEIR MOTHER TONGUE.

15. MUCA ALSO DENOUNCED POLICIES ADOPTED IN MACEDONIA INTENDED TO CURB POPULATION GROWTH AMONG THE ETHNIC ALBANIAN POPULATION OF THE REPUBLIC. THESE MEASURES INCLUDE LIMITS ON CHILD SUPPORT PAYMENTS AND CHILD HEALTH CARE FOR FAMILIES WITH MORE THAN THREE CHILDREN. CONFIRMING REPORTS WE HAD HEARD EARLIER, MUCA SAID THAT THESE POLICIES ARE NOT YET IMPLEMENTED ACROSS THE BOARD IN MACEDONIA, BUT ARE IN EFFECT IN TETOVO AND KUMANOVO (AREAS WITH LARGE ALBANIAN POPULATIONS WHERE INTER-ETHNIC TENSIONS HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY TROUBLESOME). MUCA CLAIMED SOME ALBANIANS ALREADY WERE REACTING TO THESE MEASURES BY GIVING BIRTH AT KME RATHER THAN IN HOSPITALS, THEREBY CIRCUMVENTING HAVING THEIR CHILDREN ENTERED IN THE OFFICIAL REGISTRY. MUCA WAS UNABLE TO DETERMINE HOW ALL THIS WILL EVENTUALLY AFFECT CONSCRIPTION, EDUCATION, AND OTHER SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS.

COMMENT  
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**CONFIDENTIAL**

16. MUCA'S PRESENTATION OF HIS IMPRESSIONS OF MACEDONIA AND KOSOVO MAY WELL BE COLORED BY HIS EVIDENT SYMPATHIES FOR HIS FELLOW ALBANIANS. WE  
C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 05 OF 05 BELGRADE 05761

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, PINR, PINS, YO  
SUBJECT: ETHNIC RELATIONS IN KOSOVO AND MACEDONIA

ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO CONFIRM ALL THAT HE REPORTS OR TO VERIFY HIS ANALYSIS. STILL, HIS CHARACTERIZATION, IN PARTICULAR, OF THE LINE-UP AMONG KOSOVO POLITICIANS AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THEIR SERBIAN AND MACEDONIAN COUNTERPARTS SEEM REASONABLE, FIT INTO OUR GENERAL PICTURE OF THE SITUATION, AND PROVIDE AN INTERESTING INSIGHT INTO THAT ASPECT OF YUGOSLAV DOMESTIC POLITICS.  
SCANLAN

ADMIN  
END OF MESSAGE

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