

# **EASTERN EUROPE AND THE COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES 1994**



**A Political and Economic Survey**

# Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States 1994

SECOND EDITION

EUROPA PUBLICATIONS LIMITED

**Second Edition 1994**

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**Australia and New Zealand**  
James Bennett (Collaroy) Pty Ltd, 4 Collaroy Street,  
Collaroy, NSW 2097, Australia

**Japan**  
Maruzen Co Ltd, POB 5050, Tokyo International 100-31

ISBN 0-946653-95-X  
ISSN 0962-1040

Printed in England by  
Staples Printers Rochester Limited  
Neptune Close, Medway City Estate, Frindsbury, Rochester, Kent ME2 4LT.

Bound by Hartnolls Ltd,  
Bodmin, Cornwall.

Eastern Europe  
and the Commonwealth  
of Independent States  
1994

# FOREWORD

The second edition of *EASTERN EUROPE AND THE COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES* examines 27 countries in central and eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia. The region consists of what was the USSR (12 countries which are members of the Commonwealth of Independent States and the three Baltic republics) and the old Communist bloc of 'Eastern Europe'. The area continues to be defined more by its political experience than its geography. The countries of the region still remain distinct from a Western Europe which has so far made few concessions to the aspirations of the East to be included in a 'common European home'.

Thirty specialist writers have contributed to this comprehensive description and analysis of the countries of the region, placing them in their international and historical context. The extensively restructured introduction, Part One, consists of 12 essays providing a general background and assessment of a range of regional issues. There is also an essay on the former Soviet state and there are a number of general maps of the region.

In Part Two there are chapters on each of the 27 countries of the region. Only five of these countries existed in their current form before 1991. The potential for further fracturing remains. Thus, the section of the directory which covers local government in each country also embraces the 89 members of the Russian Federation (pp. 587-602) and the two constituent republics of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (pp. 748-54), as well as a number of polities with varying degrees of official recognition. The detailed, augmented and extensively updated statistical and directory sections also include information on major companies, other financial and business organizations, government and state institutions, religion, the media, environmental organizations and culture, to list but a few. These sections are preceded by information on the country, its people, its history, its politics and its economy: a geography and map is followed by a chronology and then two essays, one a political narrative, the other an examination of the economy. Each chapter concludes with a bibliography.

Part Three is an up-to-date Political Profiles section, expanded to include more than 200 biographical outlines of men and women prominent in the political life of the region.

The Editor is grateful to all the contributors for their articles and help and to the numerous governments and organizations which have returned questionnaires and provided statistical and other information.

April 1994

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The editors gratefully acknowledge the co-operation, interest and advice of all the authors who contributed to this volume. We are also indebted to many organizations connected with the region, particularly the national statistical offices and the ministries of information, whose help is greatly appreciated. We are especially grateful to David Lewis and to a number of chambers of commerce and ministries of local government. In addition, we are grateful to Edward Oliver, who prepared the maps which are included in this volume.

We are most grateful for permission to make extensive use of material from the following sources: the United Nations' *Demographic Yearbook*, *Statistical Yearbook*, *Yearbook of Industrial Statistics* and *Yearbook of National Accounts Statistics*; the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN's *Yearbook of Fishery Statistics*, *Production Yearbook* and *Year-*

*book of Forestry Products*; UNESCO's *Statistical Yearbook*; the International Monetary Fund's *International Financial Statistics* and *Supplement on Countries of the former Soviet Union*; and *The Military Balance, 1993-94*, published by the International Institute for Strategic Studies, 23 Tavistock Street, London WC2E 7NQ, United Kingdom.

The following publications have been of special use in providing regular coverage of the affairs of the region: *Summary of World Broadcasts: Part 1, Former USSR* and *Summary of World Broadcasts: Part 2, Eastern Europe*, from the BBC, Reading; and *RFE/RL Research Report*, from Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute, Oettingenstraße 67, W-8000 Munich 22, Germany. Notable among its many publications, the International Monetary Fund's *Economic Reviews* of the countries of the former USSR have been most helpful.

# EXPLANATORY NOTE ON THE DIRECTORY SECTION

The Directory section of each chapter is arranged under the following headings, where they apply:

## THE CONSTITUTION

## THE GOVERNMENT

HEAD OF STATE

CABINET/COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

MINISTRIES

## LEGISLATURE

## LOCAL GOVERNMENT

## POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

## DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION

## JUDICIAL SYSTEM

## RELIGION

## THE PRESS

## PUBLISHERS

## RADIO AND TELEVISION

## FINANCE

CENTRAL BANK

STATE BANKS

DEVELOPMENT BANKS

COMMERCIAL BANKS

FOREIGN BANKS

STOCK EXCHANGE

INSURANCE

## TRADE AND INDUSTRY

PUBLIC CORPORATIONS

CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

## COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

EMPLOYERS' ORGANIZATIONS

TRADE UNIONS

CO-OPERATIVES

MAJOR INDUSTRIAL COMPANIES

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RAILWAYS

ROADS

INLAND WATERWAYS

SHIPPING

CIVIL AVIATION

## TOURISM

## CULTURE

NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

CULTURAL HERITAGE

SPORTING ORGANIZATIONS

PERFORMING ARTS

ASSOCIATIONS

## EDUCATION

UNIVERSITIES

## SOCIAL WELFARE

NATIONAL AGENCIES

HEALTH AND WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS

## ENVIRONMENT

GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS

ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

## DEFENCE

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# ABBREVIATIONS

Acad.	Academician; Academy	EC	European Communities
Adm.	Admiral	ECE	(United Nations) Economic Commission for Europe
admin.	administration	ECO	Economic Co-operation Organization
a.i.	ad interim	Econ.	Economist; Economics
AID	(US) Agency for International Development	ECOSOC	(United Nations) Economic and Social Council
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome	ECU	European Currency Unit
Al.	Aleja (Alley, Avenue)	Ed.	Editor
Alt.	Alternate	edn	edition
AM	Amplitude Modulation	EEC	European Economic Community
amalg.	amalgamated	EFTA	European Free Trade Association
AO	Autonomous Oblast	e.g.	exempli gratia (for example)
AOk	Autonomous Okrug	eKv	electron kilovolt
approx.	approximately	eMv	electron megavolt
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations	Eng.	Engineer; Engineering
asscn	association	est.	established; estimate; estimated
assoc.	associate	et al.	et alii (and others)
ASSR	Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic	etc.	etcetera
asst	assistant	EU	European Union
Aug.	August	excl.	excluding
auth.	authorized	exec.	executive
Ave	Avenue		
b.	born	F	Fahrenheit
Bd	Board	f.	founded
Bd.	Bulevardi	FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
b/d	barrels per day	Feb.	February
Bldg	Building	FM	frequency modulation
br.(s)	branch(es)	fmrly	formerly
Brig.	Brigadier	f.o.b.	free on board
bul.	bulvar (boulevard)	Fr	Father
C	Centigrade	FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
c.	circa; child, children	Fri.	Friday
cap.	capital	FRY	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
Capt.	Captain	ft	foot (feet)
Cdre	Commodore	g	gram(s)
CEI	Central European Initiative	GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
Cent.	Central	GDP	gross domestic product
CEO	Chief Executive Officer	GDR	German Democratic Republic
CFE	Conventional Forces in Europe	Gen.	General
Chair.	Chairman/woman	GNP	gross national product
c.i.f.	cost, insurance and freight	Gov.	Governor
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States	Govt	Government
C-in-C	Commander-in-Chief	grt	gross registered tons
circ.	circulation	GWh	gigawatt hours
cm	centimetre(s)	ha	hectares
CMEA	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance	HE	His (or Her) Eminence; His (or Her) Excellency
c/o	care of	hl	hectolitre(s)
Co	Company; County	HM	His (or Her) Majesty
Col	Colonel	Hon.	Honorary (or Honourable)
Commdr	Commander	hp	horsepower
Commdt	Commandant	HQ	Headquarters
Commr	Commissioner	HRH	His (or Her) Royal Highness
Corpn	Corporation		
CP	Communist Party	IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union	IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank)
CSCE	Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe	ICC	International Chamber of Commerce
Cttee	Committee	ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
cu	cubic	ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
cwt	hundredweight	IDA	International Development Association
d.	daughter(s)	i.e.	id est (that is to say)
d.d.	dioničko društvo (Joint-Stock Company)	ILO	International Labour Organisation/Office
DDR	Deutsche Demokratische Republik (German Democratic Republic)	IMF	International Monetary Fund
Dec.	December	in (ins)	inch (inches)
Dep.	Deputy	Inc, Incorp.,	
dep.	deposits	Incd	Incorporated
Dept	Department	incl.	including
devt	development	Ind.	Independent
Dir	Director	INF	Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces
DM	Deutsche Mark	Ing.	Engineer
Dr	Doctor	Insp.	Inspector
dwt	dead weight tons	Int.	International
E	East; Eastern	IRF	International Road Federation
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development	irreg.	irregular
		Is	Islands

# ABBREVIATIONS

IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Reserves	p.u. publ. Publr	paid up publication; published Publisher
Jan.	January		
JNA	Jugoslavenska Narodna Armija (Yugoslav People's Army)	q.v.	quod vide (to which refer)
Jr	Junior	Rd	Road
Jt	Joint	reg., regd	register; registered
kg	kilogram(s)	reorg.	reorganized
kHz	kilohertz	res	reserve(s)
km	kilometre(s)	retd	retired
kv.	kvartira (apartment)	Rev.	Reverend
kW	kilowatt(s)	RSFSR	Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic
kWh	kilowatt hours		
lb	pound(s)	s.	son(s)
LCY	League of Communists of Yugoslavia	S	South; Southern; San
Lt, Lieut	Lieutenant	SAR	Serbian Autonomous Region
Ltd	Limited	SDR(s)	Special Drawing Right(s)
m	metre(s)	Sec.	Secretary
m.	married; million	Secr.	Secretariat
Maj.	Major	Sen.	Senior
Man.	Manager; managing	Sept.	September
mem.	member	SFRY	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
MEV	mega electron volts	Soc.	Society
mfrs	manufacturers	Sq.	Square
Mgr	Monseigneur; Monsignor	sq	square (in measurements)
MHz	megahertz	SSR	Soviet Socialist Republic
Mil.	Military	St	Saint; Street
mm	millimetre(s)	START	Strategic Arms' Reduction Treaty
Mon.	Monday	Str.	Strada (street)
MP	Member of Parliament	Sun.	Sunday
MSS	Manuscripts	Supt	Superintendent
MW	megawatt(s); medium wave	tech., techn.	technical
MWh	megawatt hour(s)	tel.	telephone
N	North; Northern	Thurs.	Thursday
n.a.	not available	Tr	trida (avenue)
nab.	naberezhnaya (embankment, quai)	Treas.	Treasurer
nám.	námeští (square)	Tues.	Tuesday
Nat.	National	TV	television
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation	u.	utca (street)
NCO	Non-Commissioned Officer	u/a	unit of account
NMP	net material product	UK	United Kingdom
no.	number	ul.	ulitsa, ulica (street)
Nov.	November	UN	United Nations
nr	near	UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
nrt	net registered tons	UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
Obl.	Oblast (region)	UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
Oct.	October	UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development	Univ.	University
OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference	UNPA	United Nations Protected Area
Ok	okrug (district)	UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force in Yugoslavia
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries	USA	United States of America
opp.	opposite	USAID	United States Agency for International Development
Org.	Organization	USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
p.	page	VAT	Value Added Tax
p.a.	per annum	Ven.	Venerable
Parl.	Parliament(ary)	VHF	Very High Frequency
per.	pereulok (lane, alley)	viz.	videlicet (namely)
Perm. Rep.	Permanent Representative	vol.(s)	volume(s)
pl.	ploshchad (square)	Vul.	vulitsa (street)
PLC	Public Limited Company		
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization	W	West; Western
POB	Post Office Box	WCL	World Confederation of Labour
pr.	prospekt, prasppekt (avenue)	Wed.	Wednesday
Pres.	President	WFTU	World Federation of Trade Unions
Prin.	Principal	WHO	World Health Organization
Prof.	Professor		
Pte	Private	yr	year

# LATE INFORMATION

## ALBANIA (p. 124)

### Government Change

On 17 January 1994 TRITAN SHEHU was replaced, by an independent:

**Minister of Health and Environmental Protection:** MAKSIM ÇIKULI.

## AZERBAIJAN (pp. 157-8)

### Government Changes (April 1994)

On 12 January 1994 LALA SHOVKET HAJIYEVA was dismissed as Secretary of State and it was reported that the office might be abolished.

On 4 April the Supreme Majlis of Nakhichevan elected NATIG HASANOV as its Chairman.

## BELARUS (p. 176)

On 26 January 1994 the Chairman of the Supreme Soivet (head of state), STANISLAU SHUSHKEVICH, was dismissed by parliament. On 28 January MYACHESLAU HRYB (Myachyslav Gryb) was elected by the Supreme Soviet as its new Chairman.

The Supreme Soviet adopted a new Constitution on 15 March 1994 and the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet signed it on 28 March. The Constitution provided for a democratic, presidential republic. Presidential elections were scheduled for 23 June 1994.

Government changes in February and April 1994 resulted in the following new appointments:

**Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Finance:** SIARHEY S. LINH (formerly the Chairman of the State Committee for the Economy and Planning).

**Minister of Internal Affairs:** ULADZIMIER ANTONAVICH DANKO.

**Minister of Culture and the Press:** ANATOLIY BUTEVICH (formerly Minister of Information).

**Minister of Natural Resources and Environmental Protection:** ANATOLIY M. DOROVEYEV (formerly Chairman of the State Committee for Ecology).

**Chairman of the State Committee for Television and Radio:** ALEKSANDR G. STOLYAROV.

## BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (pp. 191-2)

A Constituent Assembly, dominated by the Bosnian Muslim (Bosniak) and Croat deputies of the old Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, declared a Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina on 31 March 1994. This followed an agreement signed in Washington, DC (USA). A new President and Government were to be elected by the Assembly in April.

As part of the internationally mediated peace process, the European Union (formerly known as the European Community) proposed a German politician and former mayor as the administrator of the city of Mostar in April 1994:

**Administrator of Mostar:** HANS KOSCHNICK (designate).

## 'Herzeg-Bosna'

On 8 February 1994 MATE BOBAN resigned as President of Herzeg-Bosna and an 11-member Presidential Council was elected to carry out his duties (as Herzeg-Bosna was a party to the creation of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, its separate state institutions were likely to cease functioning in April):

**Presidential Council:** KRESIMIR KUBAK (President), IVAN BENDER (also elected Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies), PERO MARKOVIĆ, IVO ŠIVKOVIĆ, BRANIMIR HUTERER, JADRANKO PRLIĆ, JOZO MARTINOVIĆ, VALENTIN CORIĆ, MILE AKMADŽIĆ, ANTE ROSO, IVO LOZANČIĆ.

## 'Serbian Republic'

The Prime Minister of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (which refused participation in the new Federation), VLADIMIR LUKIĆ, announced his resignation on 28 March 1994, in order to allow a reorganization of government.

## BULGARIA (p. 216)

### Government Change

On 16 January 1994 the Minister of the Interior, Col VIKTOR MIKHAILOV, was dismissed.

## CROATIA (p. 245)

### 'Republic of Serbian Krajina' (April 1994)

On 12 February 1994 the newly elected Assembly chose its speaker (Chairman). On 20 March the Prime Minister, DJORDJE BJEGOVIĆ, announced his resignation, although he was to continue in office until the premier designated by the President had agreed a new coalition administration:

**Chairman of the Assembly:** BRANKO VOJNIĆ (Serbian Radical Party).

**Prime Minister:** BORISLAV MIKELIĆ (designate).

## GEORGIA (p. 318)

### Presidential Elections (March 1994)

**Deputy Prime Ministers:** AVTANDIL MARGIANI (responsible for agriculture and food production), TEMUR BASILIA, TAMAZ NADAREISHVILI.

**Minister of Finance and Economic Reform:** DAVIT IAKOBIDZE.

## YUGOSLAVIA (p. 748)

### Montenegrin Government Changes (April 1994)

**Minister of Labour, Social Welfare and the Protection of Veterans and Disabled Persons:** BRANIMIR BOJANIĆ.

**Minister of Environmental Protection:** ANA MISUROVIĆ.

**Minister of Maritime Affairs and Transport:** VOJISLAV MICUNOVIĆ.

**Minister of Planning:** NIKSIĆ RADOVAN BAKIĆ.

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PART ONE

Introductory Essays





# POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON EASTERN EUROPE

JONATHAN EYAL

In the final decade of the 20th century, Europe saw a century which began with a political assassination in Sarajevo draw to a close with mass murder in the same city of Bosnia and Herzegovina. From Sarajevo to Sarajevo: the years which followed the end of the Cold War were taking their toll.

'Europe whole and free is calling for a new beginning. We invite our peoples to join in this great endeavour.' Almost every sentiment in this declaration, adopted with great pomp by the leaders of the member countries of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) at a special Paris summit, in November 1990, was thwarted within a few years. The lesson of Yugoslavia was that, far from being 'whole', Europe remained divided, paralysed by a maddening competition between institutions. The European Community (from November 1993 a part of the new European Union, which, under the Treaty of Maastricht, enhanced the non-economic aspects of the association of 12 Western European states), the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the CSCE, the Western European Union (WEU) and the UN: all were supposed to solve the continent's problems, but were all found wanting, for they still worked according to priorities devised for a world order which no longer existed. For Eastern Europe (the former Communist countries of central Europe and the Balkans), 1993 appeared to mark the beginning of the decline. After the elation of liberation came the reality of economic and political reform. Instead of collective security and peace, the Eastern Europeans witnessed the dismemberment of Yugoslavia and Western Governments proclaiming principles they had no intention of upholding, while eschewing direct involvement in the problems of the area. After the disaster in Yugoslavia the peaceful dissolution of Czechoslovakia, as 1993 began, was actually received with relief. And, after the rule of idealistic intellectuals, came the return of the hardened politicians, in the shape of Poland's former Communists. However, to be more positive, although Western Europe proved to be woefully inadequate at handling the problems of the East, the crises in Eastern Europe also shattered the West's own illusions. Whether it would wish it or not, the West was inextricably linked to Eastern Europe; either the problems were to be solved together, or all the institutions which ensured Europe's co-operation and stability after the end of the Second World War would fall apart.

It may be tempting to place the blame for the political paralysis which engulfed the West in the face of the crises in the East on incompetent leaders, bereft of what former US President George Bush called the 'vision thing'. However, the true causes of the malaise were more profound, for they were rooted in a fundamental misunderstanding of the consequences of the demise of Communism. The decades of the Cold War conditioned generations of Western politicians into believing that, confronted by the threat of the USSR, all other conflicts were of little significance. On the fault lines between the ideological blocs, in South-East Asia, the Middle East and Africa, wars did erupt. Yet they were often just testing exercises by one 'super-power' or another. Europe, where the slightest move across the divide would have triggered a nuclear cataclysm, remained frozen in a state of outward calm.

Many Europeans genuinely believed that, with the demise of Communism, there was no need for either large armies or coherent security policies. The West had triumphed and all that the Eastern Europeans needed to do was to become 'people like us': to reform their economies and restructure their societies. Western constitutional experts descended on the East (throughout the former USSR, as well as the old Eastern European bloc in central Europe and in the Balkans) in order to teach the natives 'democracy'. Furthermore, everyone advocated the virtues of the market economy, at a time when the very meaning of this concept was still being debated in the West. By the mid-1990s what results there were were fairly haphazard: most of Eastern Europe still had constitutions imposed from above, intended to teach people democracy, rather than genuine constitutional contracts demanded from below by people persuaded of democracy's virtues. There was also a market economy, but alongside a vast and loss-making state sector. Much of this was unavoidable, given the region's history. Yet much of the pain of transformation was far too severe, mainly because the Western part of Europe was never seriously persuaded that the East's problems were also its own. What went wrong?

In essence, the West's understanding of Europe's challenges was at fault. For the previous 40 years the Western Europeans had spoken of a united continent when, in fact, it was known that Europe's division into ideological blocs could not be reversed. So, the West proceeded to create institutions which answered its own needs. Thus, the European Community (EC) co-ordinated economic policy and NATO, with its US contribution, protected the West from a sudden Soviet attack. Meanwhile, market economies ensured a steadily rising standard of living. In the process, many of the conflicts which previously drove the continent into war were settled. The border between France and Germany was no longer questioned and, with the end of the Spanish, Portuguese and Greek dictatorships, human rights became fundamental values which all Western Europeans shared. The West forgot that Eastern Europe's problems were essentially similar and that they were never settled. Borders, minorities, economies and security: all these were questions which confronted the West too in 1945. The solution to any of these problems could only come through international co-operation, yet, after the end of the Cold War, nothing of the kind was on offer. In at least this respect, therefore, the war in Yugoslavia was entirely unsurprising.

## MINORITIES AND FRONTIERS

The basis of Eastern Europe's ethnic and territorial problems was clearly historic. In the West the formation of states was lengthy and ancient; in the East it was sudden and fairly recent. In the West states were created by the gradual enlargement of central authority to the provinces; in the East countries were born out of the collapse of central authority. At the beginning of the 20th century the Eastern Europeans were citizens of three multi-ethnic empires: the Ottoman, the Habsburg and the Russian. All three Empires collapsed in 1918 and the results remained present at the end of the 20th century, as did the historic memories.